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IOANNES SPOTISWOODE ARCHIEPISCOPVS S. ANDREANVS, TOTIVS SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET METROPOLITANVS, EIVSDEMQVE REGNI CANCELLA-

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THE HISTORY OF THE Church and State OF SCOTLAND,

Beginning the Year of our Lord 203, and continued to the end of the Reign of King JAMES *the* VI. *of ever bleſſed Memory.*

In Seven Books.

Wherein are deſcribed,

The Progreſs of Chriſtianity, The Perſecutions and Interruptions of it, The Foundation of Churches, The Erecting of Biſhopricks, The Building and Endowing Monaſteries and other Religious Places, The Succeſſion of Biſhops in their Sees, The Reformation of Religion, And the frequent Diſturbances of that Nation by *Wars*, *Conſpiracies*, *Tumults*, *Schiſms*.

Together with great variety of other Matters, both *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Political*.

WRITTEN
By that Grave and Reverend Prelate, and wiſe Counſellor, *J. SPOTSWOOD*, Lord Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, and Privy Counſellor to King *CHARLES* the FIRST, that moſt Religious and Bleſſed Prince and Martyr.

Res in exitu æſtimantur, & cùm abeunt ex oculis, hinc videntur.

The Fourth Edition Corrected, Whereunto is added a Large Appendix.

LONDON,
Printed for *R. Royſton*, Book-ſeller to his Moſt Sacred Majeſty,
M DC LXXVII.

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THE PUBLISHER TO THE READER.

THIS Hiſtory being wrote in calm and quiet Times, and by a perſon whoſe temper and diſpoſition was not unſuitable to them, had the ill hap to have an hideous Storm tread upon the heels of it; which, among other greater wrecks and Ruins, might very likely have buried this, never to have been raiſed up again: But Providence had ſo diſpoſed of it, that a Copy of it lighting into more Ingennous and Noble hands, it was thought a ſin by them to ſtifle and conceal it from the world, which now being in dotage, and infinitely in love with Change, may read here (if they do not feel it already) the ſad Effects which an unruly and a miſgovern'd Reformation, uſher'd in by Tender Conſciences, brings upon them.

Nor doth it come forth now to caſt any Obloquy upon that Church or Nation, famous in former Times for ſo much Piety, that the devotion of the Natives under ſo cold a Clime (whether you conſider the rich Endowments or magnificent Structures of Places dedicated to Gods Service) can hardly be match'd; but to ſhew rather the Variation of all Humane Things, and how eaſie it is to ſlide from ſomething that might look like Superſtition into the contrary Vices of Sacrilege and Profaneneſs; for which they have felt ſo remarkable a Scourge, that unleſs it be in the ſame Iſland (and all Circumſtances conſidered, ſcarce in that) cannot the whole world and the Stories of it ſute them with a Parallel.

But there is leſs to be ſaid of this, becauſe if the Times become patient of hearing Truth, you may poſſibly by the Induſtry of ſome good hand have the latter and more Fatal part of the Story: For though this Cloud in the North was at firſt no bigger than a Hand, and might have been graſp'd, and eaſily diſpers'd by the Authority then in being (had it not miſcarried in being too tender towards it) it hath ſince, for the ſins of both Nations, rowl'd it ſelf into a more univerſal Darkneſs, and pour'd down ſuch a ſweeping Rain upon us, as hath carried away all that is Sacred with it. And for us that live to ſee the Deſolation on all hands, our only portion left us is to mourn in ſecret; for

To the Reader.

--------Nihil, præter plorare, relictum eſt.

And that you may know to how innocent and unbiaſſed a Perſon you owe this Story, do but impartially read it, and you ſhall find it woven with ſo even a thread, and ſo much of the ſpirit of Meekneſs in all the paſſages of it, that neither the Rage of the firſt Reformers, nor the Fury of them who in after-Times did ſecond them, could tempt him to diſpenſe ſo much with his own nature as to paſs any bitter Reproof upon them, but leaves them upon the Stage with the bare Narrative of their Actions, and truſts the judgment of the Reader either to condemn or to acquit them.

What the Life of this Author was, hath been diligently and faithfully collected by a Reverend Perſon of that Nation, who out of the midſt of the ruines of his Church hath gather'd out of the Rubbiſh of it the ſubſtance of theſe following particulars: that this world of ours, being now grown barren of ſuch Examples, might at leaſt have an excellent Copy ſet before them, which if they have not the will to imitate, yet let them uſe it as they do their Pictures, and commend the Hand, though they neglect his Vertues.

There is no more to ſay to thee but this, That if there be ſo much Devotion in thee as to melt thee into Prayers and Tears for the Sufferings of thine own Church, let there be ſo much Charity too as to beſtow ſome of them on our Neighbour-Nation, from whom our ruine came, and which hath ſince ſo deeply ſmarted for it, that a diſcreet and a very conſiderable perſon among them hath ſo far in my hearing expreſſed his Penitence for it as to ſay, That it was true, that he with the reſt of his Nation had buried Epiſcopacy and their Ancient Monarchy in one and the ſame Grave; but upon the ſad conſequences of it, they could be content to tear up the very earth of that Grave with their Teeth, ſo that they might raiſe up Both again.

And when this ſingle Vote ſhall come to be the Vote of the whole Nation, God is where he was, and, without the attending the revolution of Plato's *Great Year, can, when he pleaſeth, and by what means he pleaſeth, reſtore them to their former Happineſs.*

Non, ſi male Nunc, & Olim ſic erit.

THE

THE
AUTHORS LIFE,
Written by
The Right Reverend Father in God, Bryan *Late Lord Biſhop of* Wincheſter.

THough Buildings are looked upon with more pleaſure when they are rear'd than in their Foundations, yet that this Reverend Prelate, raiſed in his own Country to the higheſt Honor that his condition was capable of, may not ſeem obſcurely to have ſtole into the World, as a Muſhrome of a night's growth, or as that *Roman* did of whom it is ſaid in *Tacitus*, *Videtur* Curtius Rufus *è ſe natus*; it can no way be impertinent to mention that he was deſcended from the Lairds of *Spotiſwood* in the *Merſe*, an ancient race of Gentlemen, and the chief of that ſurname. His Grandfather died in the bed of Honor with his King, *James* the Fourth, in the battel of *Flodden* field: a Battel that might have been looked upon as moſt unfortunate to that Nation, had not their latter conteſts by the Sword proved infinitely more unhappy.

His Father was no Sword-man, but betook himſelf to the ſtudy of the Arts, paſſing his courſe of Philoſophy in the College of *Glaſgow*, with a purpoſe the better to enable himſelf for Theology, to which, by the guidance of Gods Spirit over him, he ſtood moſt affected. But matters of Religion being at that time in his Country like the eddies of waters, rowling and confuſed, (the old way queſtioned, and the new perſecuted) none knowing in this turning tide which ways the Times would run, he withdrew himſelf into *England*, where bringing with him an unſettled mind, and doubtful what party he ſhould incline to, Providence caſt him upon a familiarity with Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, who ſoon confirm'd him in thoſe Truths which afterward he never varied from. About the time of the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned into *Scotland*, where by occaſion given by the Earl of *Glencarn*, (to whom he had applied himſelf) he became known to *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*; who finding him a perſon judicious, and diſcreet, and fitted by theſe qualities for managing of buſineſs, emploied him to *Henry* the Eighth of *England*, when *France* upon ſome jealouſies was ſo unkind to him as to caſt him off. Affairs upon this ſucceeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, the Earl came into *England*, with whom ſome Months he there remained. But longing to ſee the

ſmoke

ſmoke of his own Country, he returned once more to enjoy himſelf among his friends; where being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, (a perſon of great authority in thoſe times) he was moved by him to accept of the Parſonage of *Calder*; which upon the beginning of the Reformation was then void. Not long after this he was made Superintendent of *Lothian*, *Merſe* and *Teviot-dale*, where he exerciſed fully the power and diſcharged faithfully the Office of a Biſhop, though under another ſtyle: for it was not the Office, but the Name, which the firſt Reformers out of humor ſtartled at; though they who have ſucceeded them (for in Errors of this kind the laſt comers think they have done nothing unleſs they outbid the former) have ſince to their own ruine caſt out both. He continued in this holy Function with the approbation of all good men till his death; when being full of days, and leaving the perfume of a good name behind him, he peaceably departed out of this life on the fifth of *December*, in the year 1585. His Wife was *Beatrix Crichton*, a grave and a diſcreet Matron, Daughter to the Laird of *Lugton*, an ancient Baron of *Scotland*. And from theſe Parents *John Spotiſwood*, the Author of this Hiſtory deſcended.

Born he was in the year of our Lord 1565, when he was no ſooner brought into the World but a remarkable paſſage accompanied it: For among the reſt that were preſent (not ordinary Goſſipers, but Women of good note) there was one among them who in a ſober, though in a prophetick fit, taking the child in her arms, called aloud to the reſt in theſe or the like terms, *You may all very well rejoyce at the birth of this Child, for he will become the Prop and Pillar of this Church, and the main and chief inſtrument in the defending of it.* From what principle this prediction came, or how ſhe was thus inſpired, I will not ſearch into; but that her words came really to paſs may evidently appear to him that reads this ſhort Story of his life.

His Education was anſwerable to his Birth. For, being a Child of a pregnant wit, great ſpirit and good memory, he was by the care of his Parents brought up in the Univerſity of *Glaſgow*, where he came ſo early to perfection, that he received his Degrees in the ſixteenth year of his age: for though the Fruits of the Earth under that Northern Clime do not mature ſo ſoon, the men generally are of a better mold, and mellow as early into a Ripeneſs as any of thoſe Nations who, becauſe they have more of the Sun, plead for a priority, forgetting that ſome kind of Grain is ripened beſt by Froſts. And this ſo many Excellent men of all ſorts as have been of that Nation are ſo many examples of.

But to revert to this one amongſt the reſt, who having laid his foundation in humane Arts and Sciences, did not make his period there, but uſed them as the rundles of a ladder by which he might climbe higher to the knowledge of Diviner things, to the practice of which

which by way of charge he was ſooner called than he expected; for his father being by age and weakneſs of body unable to appear any more in publick, none was thought fitter to ſucceed in the Parſonage of *Calder* than his Son, though otherwiſe in a well-govern'd Church his age (being then but eighteen) might in an ordinary courſe have been a bar againſt him: but his early parts, and his conſcientious diligence in attending this Cure, ſupplied his defect of years; and the Greenneſs of his youth was corrected and tempered by ſo ſober a Gravity, as *no man* could either *deſpiſe* his *youth*, or think him unfit for the employment.

Nor were theſe Vertues of his buried and confined within the boundaries of his Pariſh; for having formerly had a relation to the Noble family of *Lennox*, he was looked upon as the fitteſt perſon of his quality to attend *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* as his Chaplain in that ho- *An.* 1601. nourable Ambaſſy to *Henry* the Fourth of *France*, for confirming the ancient Amity between both the Nations: wherein he ſo diſcreetly carried himſelf, as added much to his reputation, and made it appear that men bred up in the ſhade of Learning might poſſibly endure the Sunſhine, and when it came to their turns might carry themſelves as handſomely abroad, as they whoſe education being in a more Pragmatick way uſually undervalue them. In the retinue of this Noble Perſon he returned from *France* through *England*, where Queen *Elizabeth* being in her declining age was in his Maſters name ſaluted by this Ambaſſador, who ſeeing her night draw on ſo faſt, could the eaſier gueſs that his Maſters riſing in this Horizon was not then far off.

Some two years after this Queen *Elizabeth* (after the glorious Reign *An.* 1603. of forty four years) by her Death made way for King *James* her Succeſſor; and when all the World ſtood at a gaze what would become of the Crown of *England*, (which the Jeſuite under the name of *Dolman* had bandied over into *Spain*, and ſome of the contrary extreme were then in conſultation (though upon different purpoſes) to make a game of it at home) there was a Diviner hand of providence which ſo unexpectedly ordered it, that without any conteſt at all it ſettled on the right Heir, to the admiration of the neighboring Nations, and (had we known our own good) to the infinite Happineſs of this. The King, being to take poſſeſſion of his Hereditary Crown here, choſe out for his Attendants the moſt eminent perſons of all kinds: and among his Clergy this Author (being then no farther advanced than to his Cure of *Calder*) was ſummoned to this ſervice. That year *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* dying, the King (who being of excellent Parts himſelf could the better diſcover and value them in others) not only preferred him to that See, but farther admitted him for his prudence and dexterity in Civil things to be one of his Privy Council in *Scotland*. And being graced with theſe Honors, he was ſent back from *England* the

ſame

ſame year to attend Queen *Anne* in her Journy to *London*, who knowing his integrity made him her Almoner for the better diſpenſing of her Charity, which could not confidently be credited but to clean hands and an uncorrupt heart, ſuch as his really was.

An. 1610. Not long after this he preſided in the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow*, where the power of Biſhops *ex Jure poſtliminii* was reſtored. The ſame year, upon the Kings command, he with the Biſhops of *Brechin* and *Galloway* repaired to *London*, where he received the ſolemnities of Conſecration from the Biſhops of *London*, *Ely* and *Bath*, in the Chappel at *London-houſe*.

At his entry to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow* he found the Revenues of it ſo dilapidate, that there was not one hundred pounds ſterling of yearly Rent left, to tempt to a new Sacrilege: But ſuch was his care and husbandry for his Succeſſors, that he greatly improved it, and yet with ſo much content to his Dioceſe, that generally both the Nobility and Gentry and the whole City of *Glaſgow* were as unwilling to part with him, as if he had been in the place of a Tutelar Angel to them. But part with him they muſt; for after eleven years preſiding there, the

An. 1615. See of S. *Andrews* being vacant, King *James* (who like another *Conſtantine* thought himſelf as highly concerned in providing Succeſſors for Churches as Heirs for his Crown) removed him from *Glaſgow* (being then about the age of forty nine years) to be the Primate and Metropolitan of all *Scotland*.

An. 1616. The next year after this he preſided in the Aſſembly at *Aberdene*, where the Earl of *Montroſs* being the Kings Commiſſioner, the Excommunicated Marqueſs of *Huntley* was upon his Penitence received into the Boſome of the Church. And at the ſame Aſſembly there paſt an Act for the drawing up a Liturgy for the Church of *Scotland*, and ſome of the moſt learned and grave among the reſt (*William Cowper* Biſhop of *Galloway* being deſigned the chief) were deputed to that Work, wherein the Service of God and the Peace of that Church was ſo deeply concern'd: Which I the more willingly mention, that the deceived party might know that the deſign of a Liturgy, which was afterward look'd upon as the dangerous *Trojan* Horſe ſent in by their ſuſpected Neighbors, might have proved more properly ſuch a *Palladium* to them as might have preſerved them to this day, had they not only ſcornfully, but ſeditiouſly rejected it, and have therefore found the ſame fate as they of *Troy* did; of whom it was obſerved,

Peritura Troja perdidit primum Deos.

Being inveſted by the Kings favour in this Primacy, he made ſo much farther uſe of it, as he procured three hundred pounds ſterling of yearly Rent (being by the Sacrilege of former times ſwallow'd up in the

the Crown-Revenues) to be reſtored to his See: Nor did he find any difficult buſineſs of it; for certainly theſe latter Ages have not produced in any Nation a Chriſtian Prince that underſtood better than he the horror of Sacrilege and the Concernments of Religion, which never ſuffers more than when the Profeſſors of it are expoſed to Scorn and Poverty. For however this was the portion of the beſt and Primitive Times, when the Chriſtian Faith had no publick Civil Authority to own it; yet after it had pleaſed God to make Kings the Nurſing-Fathers, and Churches were endowed by pious men, their Revenues were ever held Sacred, till the Covetouſneſs of ſome and the profaneneſs of others had conſulted with that ſubtile Oracle, that delivers it *tanquam è Tripode* that there can be no ſuch ſin as Sacrilege; for as Nothing can be given to God, ſo Nothing can be taken from him.

All King *James* his time he lived in great favor with him, and was the prime Inſtrument uſed by him in ſeveral Aſſemblies, for the reſtoring the ancient Diſcipline, and bringing that Church to ſome degrees of Uniformity with her Siſter-Church of *England*; which had we on both ſides been worthy of, might have proved a Wall of Braſs to both Nations. Nor was his Induſtry leſs for the recovery of ſome remnants and parcels of the Churches Patrimony, which (though they were but as a few Crums in compariſon of that which at a full Meal Sacrilege had ſwallow'd) he found to be an hard Province; yet by his zeal and diligence he overcame many difficulties, and ſo little regarded his own eaſe, that for the effecting of this, and what elſe conduced to the recovery of that Church in Patrimony and Diſcipline, they who knew the paſſages of his life have computed that he made no leſs than fifty journeys from *Scotland* to *London*. The Aſſemb'y of *Perth* 1618.

Nor was he leſs gracious with King *Charles* his Bleſſed Son, who was Crown'd by him in the Abbey Church of *Halirud-houſe* with ſuch high applauſe and acclamations of that Nation, that it could not have been poſſibly imagined that ſuch an *Hoſanna* ſhould ever be turned into a *Crucifige*; or that a Prince, ſo paſſionate a lover of his own native Country, ſhould find ſuch enemies in the bowels of it, as either to contrive or to aſſiſt his Ruine. But thus God had ordered it (as in the caſe of *Joſiah*) rather as a puniſhment for our ſins, than his, that leaving his earthly Crown (which to him really proved but a Crown of Thorns, whatever it may prove to others) to the bold Hand that would next venture to take it up, he might be put in poſſeſſion of a more glorious Diadem, and ſit Crowned there, where (if the joys of Heaven admit of ſuch a diverſion) he looks down upon things below and all that happens here with ſo much unconcernment, as what was ſaid of the brave *Roman* may in a Chriſtian ſenſe be more ſutable to him, *An.* 1633.

-----*Illic*,

------*Illic, poſtquam ſe Lumine vero*
Implevit, Stellaſque vagas miratur, & Aſtra
Fixa Polis, vidit quanta ſub nocte jaceret
Noſtra dies, ridetque ſui ludibria trunci.

But to return to this pious man, (who was ſo happy as to have his eyes cloſed before the Crown which he ſo ſolemnly ſet upon his Maſters Head was to the aſtoniſhment of the World ſnatched from him) there muſt be added to this Story, That as he enriched his See of *Glaſgow*, ſo he did the like for S. *Andrews*, procuring the Revenues of the Priory (being then in Lay hands) to be added to his Church. But having compaſſed this, to ſhew that it was done rather for the Churches Intereſt than his own, he dealt by way of humble Petition with the King, that of his large Dioceſe of S. *Andrews* ſo much as was of the Southſide of the River of *Forth* might be diſmembred, for the erecting of a new Biſhoprick: which accordingly was done, and being amply endowed was ſeated in their prime City of *Edinburgh*.

An. 1635. Two years after this the Earl of *Kinnoul* being Chancellor dying (a perſon of ſingular Prudence and Integrity) his Majeſty knew not where to fill the place with a Succeſſor with whom he might more ſecurely truſt his Conſcience than with this aged Prelate, near to God by his Function, and by his age (being then arrived to *Davids* great Climacterick) ſo near to his end, as might well put him in remembrance that the account which he was to give of his Stewardſhip could not be far off. And this Honor he enjoyed to his death with the approbation of all, only ſuch excepted whoſe evil eye at the Clergy and their own particular Ambition wrapt into ſuch a fancy, as made them think every Honor to be miſplac'd that was not ſetled on their own ſhoulders.

He had not fully meaſured out four years in the diſcharge of the duties of this place which did not ſo entangle him but that the danger of the Church, which then was drawing on, filled him full of thoughts which way he might divert it) when that unhappy deſign which had been ſo long hatching under the wings and warmth of a male-content and ſeditious party begun to be ready to fly abroad. And what could be called for as a fitter Midwife to this birth, than ſomething that at leaſt might look like Religion? For the Rule was given long ago, before ever *Machiavel* lived to vent it, and is likely to hold to the end of the World,

------*Quoties vis fallere Plebem,*
Finge Deum.

And from hence roſe that Storm which with ſo much violence fell on this Reverend good man, that he was forced by it for ſafety of his life to retire

retire into *England*, where age and grief, with a ſad Soul in a crazy body, had ſo diſtempered him, that he was driven to take harbor in *Newcaſtle*, till by ſome reſt and the care of his Phyſicians he had recovered ſo much ſtrength as brought him to *London*. But this proved but a ſhort reprieve, for being come thither he fell into a relapſe, and the ſentence of death being to be executed on him, he took his bed ſome nine days before, waiting for that bleſſed hour, when being freed from any farther heart-breakings for thoſe Evils he could not prevent, he might be admitted into his Maſters joys, where future Calamities could not reach him. *An.* 1639.

In this time of his Sickneſs and preparation for his end he was viſited by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſome other Biſhops, with whom, with great devotion, he received that bleſſed *Viaticum*, the Bread that came from Heaven, in the ſtrength of which he was to paſs unto Eternity.

After which, though his deſire was rather to compoſe himſelf for privacy and ſilence than to admit of any company, he could not prevent the Viſits of many honorable Perſons. Among whom the Viſit of the Marqueſs *Hamilton* (being looked upon by the eye of the World as diſaffected to the whole Order) deſerves more particularly to be remembred; and the circumſtances of it you ſhall have in thoſe terms as they are related.

The Marqueſs coming near to his bed-ſide was pleaſed to ſay, My Lord, I am come to kiſs your Lordſhips hands, and humbly to ask your bleſſing. To which the Archbiſhop with a ſoft voice anſwered, My Lord, you ſhall have my bleſſing, but give me leave to ſpeak theſe few words to you: My Lord, I viſibly foreſee that the Church and King are both in danger to be loſt, and I am verily perſuaded that there is none under God ſo able to prevent it as your Lordſhip; and therefore I ſpeak to you as a dying Prelat in the words of *Mordecai* to *Eſther*, *If you do it not, Salvation in the end ſhall come where elſe, but you and your houſe ſhall periſh.* To whom the Marqueſs made this worthy reply; That what he foreſaw was his grief, and he wiſhed from his heart he were able to do that which was expected from him, though it were to be done with the ſacrificing of his Life and Fortunes. After which upon his knees he received the Archbiſhops Bleſſing and departed. I ſhall make no Commentary upon it, for the beſt interpreters of words are actions.

As he lived, ſo he died in peace, with a ſtilneſs ſo much more than ordinary, that they who were about him could not by any outward agony perceive when that peaceable Soul of his departed. But before the laſt minute (ſad to his friends, but to him infinitely joyful) had cloſed up thoſe eyes which had ſo long been watchful for the Church he govern'd, his Intellectuals and beſt Faculties being clear and undiſturbed, and deſiring to leave the world a copy of the Faith he died in,

he premiſed it to his laſt Will and Teſtament in this form following.

Firſt, for that I eſteem it the duty of every Chriſtian (eſpecially of thoſe whoſe ſervice it hath pleaſed God to make uſe of in his Church) to make ſome open declaration of his Faith wherein he lives and dies, I profeſs that I believe all the Articles of the ancient Chriſtian Creed, commonly called The Apoſtles Creed; *the ſum whereof is, That God is One in Three Perſons; the Father, Creator of all things; the Son, made Man in fulneſs of time, who by his Paſſion and Death having redeemed Mankind, roſe from death, and aſcended to heaven, from whence he will come to judge all fleſh; and the Holy Ghoſt, proceeding from the Father and the Son, the Sanctifier of all that believe; That this God hath choſen to himſelf a Church, the Members whereof living in Communion, though never ſo diſperſed, ſhall by his infinite mercy receive remiſſion of all their ſins, and being raiſed again in their Bodies at the laſt day ſhall enjoy everlaſting life.*

This is the ſum of my Faith: Other Additaments, which Ignorance and Corruption have ſuperinduced into Chriſtianity, I ſimply refuſe, beſeeching God to purge his Church from the Errors and Superſtition that hath crept into the ſame, and at laſt to make us all that are called Chriſtians the Sheep of one Fold.

For matters of Rites and Government, my judgment is, and hath been, That the moſt ſimple, decent and humble Rites ſhould be choſen, ſuch as the Bowing of the knee in the receiving of the holy Sacrament, with others of the like kind; Profanenſs being as dangerous to Religion as Superſtition. As touching the Government of the Church, I am verily perſwaded that the Government Epiſcopal is the only Right and Apoſtolick Form; Parity among Miniſters being the breeder of all Confuſion, as experience might have taught us. And for thoſe Ruling Elders, as they are a mere humane Device, ſo they will prove (when the way is more open to them) the Ruine of both Church and State.

In the ſimplicity of this Faith he lived, and in this he died, like one of the Biſhops of thoſe Primitive Times, when the modern names of Faction were not known; and whoſoever agreed to theſe Fundamentals, the Church was not ſo nice a Mother as to caſt them out. And though in the paſſages of this Life enough hath been ſaid already to give you the Character of this Excellent perſon: Yet becauſe Pictures drawn at length, where nothing of the figure or proportion is left out, are the moſt graceful Pieces, I ſhall ſo far enlarge it for the Readers ſake, as may with more advantage induce him to copy it out into his own life and manners.

And for this, though the voice of publick fame be loud enough to give directions, yet I ſhall rather owe them to thoſe perſons of integrity who in his Life-time being admitted to be nearer witneſſes of his Converſation than others, may with more ſecurity be hearkned to. For

Flattery

Flattery follows no man farther than his grave, and it were well if Malice went no farther.

And this he had the leſs reaſon to fear, becauſe in his Life he had ſet ſo ſevere a watch upon himſelf, that his Converſation was without reproof, even in thoſe times when the good name of every Clergy-man was ſet at a rate, as formerly were the heads of Wolves. Only one hath been found (that ever I heard of) who thought he could not ſufficiently vindicate his *Diana*, the new model'd Church of *Scotland*, (which under the notion of the *Kingdom of Chriſt* were then buſie to ſet up a Kingdom of their own) unleſs he raked into the grave of this innocent perſon, and violated his duſt, whom in his Life-time he could not look upon without reverence. Nor ſhall I do him the honor to name him, much leſs to anſwer him, but rather leave him to the Tribunal of his own Conſcience, where, if the Court be not infinitely corrupted, he ſtands condemned already. And this I forbear the rather, that writing his Life I might in this particular imitate the Life I write of, which had ſo much of Moderation and calmneſs in it, that though he had many encounters with thoſe φύσεις θερμαὶ καὶ μεγάλαι, (ſuch as Biſhop *Nazianzen* complains of) yet he never dealt with them at their own weapons, but borrowed his from the Armory of his Saviour, from whence he was furniſhed with Humility enough to oppoſe their Pride, and Meekneſs enough to anſwer their Choler.

As for his Patience in ſuffering, which is a neighbor Vertue to the former, he is a rare example; for living in thoſe Tumultuous and undiſtinguiſhing times, when Rapine and Malice was called Zeal, and Sedition wore the colours of Religion, and being thereupon driven both from his native Country and from the Honors and Preferments which he enjoyed, he was never ſo much as heard to complain of his enemies, but upon his death-bed made it his ſolemn Prayer to God, that he in his own particular might be forgiven upon no other terms than as he for Chriſts ſake forgave them.

For Piety he was more for ſubſtance than for ſhew, more for the Power of Godlineſs than the bare Form of it. Frequent he was in his private Prayers, and in the publick Worſhip of God of ſuch an exemplary carriage, as might warm the coldeſt Congregation to gather heat, and to joyn with him in the ſame fervency and height of his Devotion.

For Preaching he was rightly gifted, though not in the modern ſenſe, where Ignorance and Impudence, without any farther Commiſſion, make up the Preacher. For his conſtant way was to deliver much matter in few words; not affecting or looking for applauſe from them, who doat upon the beſt Lungs and the longeſt Preacher, but conſidering ſeriouſly whoſe Meſſage he brought, he diſcharged it with ſo much judgement, and yet with ſuch ſimplicity of ſpirit, as might ſooner get Souls for God than praiſe from men.

For outward works of Charity, he looked upon them as the proper Badge of his Heavenly Maſter, and could no more eſteem him a Chriſtian who boaſted of his Faith without them, than he could believe a Thorn or Bramble to be a Fig-tree. And in his own particular he acted in this way to the utmoſt of his means; for beſides the diſpenſing of his private Charity, where the right hand was not to know what the left hand did, he publickly upon his own charges built and adorn'd the Church of *Darſy* after the decent *Engliſh* form; which if the boiſterous hand of a mad Reformation had not diſordered, is at this time one of the beautifulleſt little pieces of Church-work that is left to that now-unhappy Country. Nor is to be buried in ſilence what he did in a time of Famine for the relief of the Iſles of *Orkney*, when he did not only incite others to a liberal Contribution, but led the way to them by his own example, in ſuch a proportion as ſuted rather with the largeneſs of his mind than of his fortunes.

There remain but two things more to be accounted for, The Children of his Body, and the Iſſue of his Brain. The former were numerous, but of theſe three only came to perfect age, whom he had by *Rachel Lindeſay* daughter to *David Lindeſay* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, of the Houſe of *Edzell*, an Honorable Family in *Scotland*. His eldeſt Son Sir *John Spotiſwood* lives yet, though not in a plentiful, yet in a contented condition, not any way caſt down, or aſham'd of his Sufferings, but comforting himſelf rather, that in this general Ruine brought upon his Country he hath kept his Conſcience free, though his Eſtate hath ſuffered.

His ſecond Son was Sir *Robert Spotiſwood*, a great ornament to his Nation for his many and rare Abilities, who, after he had ſtudied nine years abroad, was for his great wiſdom and knowledge in the Laws preferred firſt by King *James* to be Lord of the Seſſion extraordinary, and afterward by King *Charles* not only to be the conſtant Preſident thereof, but to be his chief Secretary for that Nation. And although he ſuffered a violent death upon the Scaffold at S. *Andrews*, yet ſeeing he was found guilty of no Crime but that of Loyalty and Fidelity to his Maſter, which in no Records of Law nor in any Age but this (*ubi ipſa rerum nomina perdidimus*) was ever reckoned among Treaſons, let his Memory be had in honor, as of a Martyr that ſuffered for Righteouſneſs ſake: for which he had ſo great a zeal, that upon that very Scaffold where he was to ſuffer he ſhew'd ſuch a Religious and honeſt Boldneſs towards his Countrymen, as to call to as many of them as curioſity had brought thither to ſee his end, That they ſhould keep faſt their Duties to their God and to their King, and beware of thoſe Seditious Miniſters into whoſe mouthes, as into the Prophets of *Ahab*, the Lying ſpirit had entred, both to ſeduce them, and to ruine that noble Nation.

The third left of his Progeny was a Daughter, who being vertuouſly and

and religiouſly bred, was happily married to Sir *William Saint-clare* of *Roſline*, one of the ancient Barons in *Scotland.*

As for any Works that he left behinde him (beſides the memory of his Life, which might have made the greateſt Volume) I hear of none extant but this excellent Hiſtory: For though he were a perſon both of great Place and Parts, he was not eaſily tempted to trouble the Preſs and to ſhew himſelf abroad. Nor was this Hiſtory undertaken by him by any free motion of his own, but by the inſtance and command of King *James*, whoſe diſcerning ſpirit had ſingled out him as a perſon beſt qualified for an Hiſtorian, with Prudence and Candor, and clearneſs of Style, and ſo much innocent courage, as neither to fear to ſpeak the Truth, nor to dare to ſpeak a Lie. And though his obedience to the Commands of his Soveraign had a very powerful influence upon him; yet being to deal with a King who made not his Will his Law, but, being a great Maſter of Reaſon, was as ready to hear as to give it, he took the liberty in an humble way to propound ſeveral Objections, one of which more eſpecially deſerves to be remembred, not only for the Hiſtorians ſake, but for his that ſet him on work: and it was thus; *It is not unknown to your Majeſty* (ſaith the Biſhop, being willing enough to find an handſome excuſe) *that your Majeſties Mother being defamed by the bold writings of a malicious party and the credulity of eaſie people (who, to avoid the trouble of ſearching into them, uſe to ſwallow ſuch Reports as theſe without chewing) hath not left a clear Name behind her: And as in mine own particular judgement I cannot joyn with them in thoſe Scandals which they have with ſo malicious a falſhood caſt upon her, ſo your Majeſty muſt give me leave to ſay, that in all things ſhe did I cannot approve her: And being of neceſſity to ſpeak of her in the Series of this Hiſtory, what to do therein I know not.* To whom the King replied, *Speak the Truth, man, and ſpare not.*

And upon this encouragement from ſo Excellent a King (which few of the Rulers of this preſent world dare give to their Hiſtorians) he chearfully ſet about this Work, and laying aſide all Partialities, that he might more faithfully go through with it, he had not only the uſe of all the Regiſters both of Church and State in *Scotland*, but of all Letters of State that could any way concern the work he was about, which either were ſent to him to be ſurvey'd by his own eyes, or tranſcribed by ſworn Officers, and atteſted by the Clerks hands. With this caution and with theſe advantages he undertook, continued and finiſhed this Hiſtory, as the Intervals of publick buſineſs and his own private Studies and Devotions would give him leave. And the Work being of that nature as not to be *Res Ingenii* and to be woven out of his own Brain, but ſuch as required ſearch and deliberation, and ſuch helps as were not always ready at command, but were to be waited for, let not the Reader wonder that this Hiſtory, begun by King *James* command, ſhould not come into the

world till both King *James* was in his grave, and the Writer too; but let him rather wonder that it comes out now: for it was left like an Infant of the *Israelites* in an Ark of Reeds, and, if Providence had not found out very tender hands and heart to save it, it had been lost. And now it is time to bring this Reverend Prelate to his Grave, though his good Name and Story may be longer-lived. The manner of his Burial by the command and care of his Religious King was solemnly ordered; for the Corps being attended by many Mourners, and at least 800 Torches, and being brought near the Abbey-Church of *Westminster*, the whole Nobility of *England* and *Scotland* (then present at Court) with all the Kings servants and many Gentlemen came out of their Coaches, and conveyed the body to the West-door, where it was met by the Dean and Prebendaries of that Church in their Clerical habits, and buried according to the solemn Rites of the *English* Church, before the extermination of decent Christian Burial was come in fashion.

Above his Corps these words following are engraven in Brass.

MEMORIÆ SACRUM.
DOMINUS JOANNES SPOTISWOOD, ECCLESIÆ SANCTI ANDREÆ ARCHIEPISCOPUS, SCOTIÆ PRIMAS ET REGNI CANCELLARIUS,

VIGINTI ANNOS PRESBYTER,
UNDECEM ANNOS ARCHIEPISCOPUS GLASGOENSIS,
VIGINTI QUINQUE ANNOS S. ANDREÆ,
ET PER
QUATUOR ANNOS REGNI SCOTIÆ CANCELLARIUS,
EX HAC VITA IN PACE MIGRAVIT
ANNO DOMINI 1639.
SEXTO CALENDAS DECEMBRIS,
REGNI CAROLI 15.
ÆTATIS SUÆ 74.

Præsul, Senator, *pene* Martyr *hic jacet*,
Quo nemo Sanctior, Gravior, Constantior
Pro Ecclesia, *pro* Rege, *pro* Recta Fide,
Contra Sacrilegos, Perduelles, Perfidos,
Stetit ad extremum usque Vitæ Spiritum,
Solitumque talium Meritorum Præmium
Diras Rapinas Exiliumque pertulit.
Sed hac in Urna, in Ore Posterum, in Deo
Victor potitur Pace, Fama, Gloria.

M. D.

G. Faithorne Excud.

Carolus Primus D.G. Anglia
Scotia Francia et Hibernia Rex. &c.

To the KING His Moſt Sacred Majeſty,

CHARLES,

By the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

MOST DREAD SOVEREIGN,

THERE is not amongſt men a greater help for the attaining unto wiſdom, than is the reading of Hiſtory. We call Experience a good Miſtris, and ſo ſhe is; but, as it is in our Scottiſh Proverb, It ſeldom quits the coſt: *Hiſtory not ſo; it teacheth us at other mens coſts, and carrieth this advantage more, that in a few hours reading, a man may gather moe Inſtructions out of the ſame, than twenty men living ſucceſſively one after another, can poſſibly learn by their own Experience. Therefore hath Hiſtory by all wiſe men been ever held in good eſtimation; and none thought to deſerve better of the Church and State wherein they lived, than they that have taken the pains to record unto Poſterity the things fallen forth in their days:* For there is no new thing under the Sun; what hath been, or is, the ſame alſo ſhall be, *ſaith the Preacher.*

To know the ſucceſs and event of every courſe, there needs only the knowledge of things paſt, and ſit comparing of them with the preſent. Now this knowledge is chiefly got by Hiſtory; the want whereof hath bred in our Church many ſtrange miſtakings. For did men underſtand how things went at our Reformation and ſince that time, they would never have been moved to think that Epiſcopacy was againſt the Conſtitutions of this Church; one of the firſt things done in it being the placing of Superintendents with Epiſcopal Power in the ſame, and no act ſo often iterated in the General Aſſemblies of the Church, as that Miniſters ſhould be obedient to their Superintendents under pain of Deprivation. Then for the Conſiſtorial Diſcipline brought from Geneva *ſome ſixteen years after the Reformation; did men know the Troubles raiſed thereby both in the Church and State, with the neceſſity that Your Majeſties Father of bleſſed Memory was put to for Reforming that confuſed Government, they would never magnify nor cry it up as they do. To remedy this want, and let all that deſire to be truly informed of things fallen out in our times, I took the pains to collect this Hiſtory, which I do now humbly preſent unto Your Sacred Majeſty. If the ſame ſhall be graciouſly accepted, as I cannot but preſume upon Your accuſtomed humanity to all, I have that I deſire: for with me it is a ſmall thing to be judged of others; God knoweth I have followed the Truth, and ſtudied to obſerve the Laws of Hiſtory.*

The Collection permitted in the two Firſt Books, concerning the Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, with the worthy Inſtruments that God raiſed to propagate the true Faith both here and in the neighbouring Countries contained no great matters: as of thoſe firſt Ages whereof we have few or no Records remaining, how ſhould any great things be truly affirmed? Yet the little I have found and brought together may let us ſee the exceeding

goodneſs

goodneſs of God toward this Nation, having ſo ſoon after the Aſcenſion of our Saviour unto the Heavens made the Goſpel here to be Preached, and a Church thereby gathered, which to this day hath found a ſafe harbour under Your Majeſties Royal Progenitors. Fourteen hundred years and above we reckon ſince King Donald *the Firſt of that name his imbracing the Chriſtian Faith: All which time there hath not been wanting in the Royal Stock a moſt kind Nurſing Father to this Church: or if a careleſs and diſſolute King (which in ſo long a Succeſſion of Princes is not to be wondred) happened to reign, the ſame was ever abundantly repaired by one or other of the Kings that followed; neither did this bring them leſs happineſs than honor: For give me leave, Sir, to ſpeak it, which I hold not unworthy of Your Majeſties conſideration, the* Scottiſh *Kingdom, once the leaſt of nine Kingdoms that ruled in the Iſle, by the wonderful providence of God is now encreaſed, firſt in the Perſon of Your Majeſties bleſſed Father, and now in your own, as the Scepter of the whole is put into Your Majeſties hands; which that You may long happily ſway and your Poſterity after you to the worlds end, is the hearty wiſh of all loyal Subjects. For my part, (next to God his undeſerved love) I do aſcribe this happineſs to the Piety and Devotion of your Princely Anceſtors, and to their zeal in maintaining the Rights and Liberties of this Church. Your Majeſty keeping the ſame courſe (which, bleſſed be God, you hold,) You may be confident of God his protection againſt all dangers whatſoever; for He will honor them that honor Him, and never turn away his Face from his Anointed.*

God Almighty I beſeech to multiply his Bleſſings upon Your Majeſty and Your Royal Progeny, to give You the deſire of Your Heart, and clothe all your Enemies with ſhame.

So he prayeth that is

Your Sacred Majeſties

Moſt humble Subject

and Servant,

S. *Andrews.*

From the place of my Peregrination 15 *Nov.* 1639.

CHARLES R.

CHarles the Second, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *Scotland*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.* To all Our Loving Subjects to whom theſe preſents ſhall come, Greeting. Whereas Our Welbeloved Subject and Servant *Richard Royſton*, Our Bookſeller in Ordinary, hath by his humble Petition informed Us, That he hath acquired, and is become the Lawful and Sole Owner and Proprietor of a certain Work compiled by the late Moſt Reverend Father in God *John Spotſwood* Arch-Biſhop of S. *Andrews* in Our Realm of *Scotland*, and of the Privy Council of Our late Royal Father of bleſſed memory, Entitled, *The Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland beginning the Year of Our Lord* 203. *and continued to the end of the Reign of King* James *the Sixth*. Which he the ſaid *Richard Royſton* is now about to ſet out in a fair Volume in *Folio* being the Fourth Edition. And having therefore humbly beſought Us, that as well in regard the ſaid Copy is his ſole Propriety, as that the Charge he ſhall be at in Publiſhing the ſame will be very great, We would be pleaſed, for the better preventing the Reprinting the ſaid Work by any others to grant him Our Royal Priviledge for the ſole Printing thereof for Fourteen Years; Out of Our Princely inclination to encourage undertakings of publick uſe and benefit, and being alſo willing to gratify Our ſaid ſervant, of whoſe Loyalty and good Service We retain a gracious ſenſe; We have thought fit, and do hereby grant Our Royal Licence and Priviledge unto the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators and Aſſigns for the ſole Printing and Publiſhing the aforeſaid Hiſtory for the term of Fourteen Years from the date hereof; And We do by theſe Preſents require and command, That during the ſaid term of Fourteen Years, no Printer, Bookſeller or other Our Subjects do preſume to imprint or cauſe to be imprinted without the knowledge and conſent of him the ſaid *Richard Royſton*, his Heirs, Executors, Adminiſtrators or Aſſigns, the foreſaid Book in whole or in part, or to ſell the ſame ſo imprinted, or to import into Our Kingdoms any Copys thereof imprinted in parts beyond the Seas, upon pain of the loſs and forfeiture of all Copies ſo imprinted, ſold or imported contrary to the tenour of this Our Royal Licence, and of being further proceeded againſt, as the Laws and Statutes of this Our Realm do direct.

Given at Our Court at White-Hall, *the Ninth day of* April 1677. *in the Nine and Twentieth Year of Our Reign.*

By His Majeſties Command,

H. Coventry.

The Contents of the ſeveral Books.

Book I.

CContaineth the Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the Picts, *which fell out about the year of our Lord* 840. Fol. 1.

Book II.

Containeth the Succeſſion of Biſhops in the ſeveral Sees of this Kingdom, eſpecially in the See of S. Andrews, *with other principal things that happened in their times.* fol. 25.

Book III.

Sheweth the Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church, and how it was wrought. fol. 117.

Book IV.

Sheweth the things that fell out after Queen MARY *her coming from* France *into this Kingdom, unto her Reſignation of the Crown to King* JAMES *her Son.* fol. 176.

Book V.

Declareth how matters paſſed in the State and Church during the Government of the Four Regents, his Majeſty being yet Minor. fol. 213.

Book VI.

Containeth the things that happened after his Majeſties aſſuming of the Government in his own perſon, unto his happy Succeſſion to the Crown of England. fol. 282.

Book VII.

Rehearſeth the Proceedings after his Majeſties going into England, *unto his Dying.* fol. 473.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The First BOOK.

The Contents.

The Planting and Progreſs of Chriſtian Religion in this Kingdom, unto the Subverſion of the PICTS, which fell out about the year of our Lord 480.

HAving purpoſed to write the Hiſtory of this Church, I have thought meet to begin at the time in which this Kingdom did firſt receive the Chriſtian Faith; for albeit we have few or no Records left us of thoſe firſt Times; yet as much is to be found in Stories as will ſhew what was the condition of this Church in every Age: and herewith we muſt content our ſelves, till we come to the times that yield greater plenty of matter. When I ſhall come to our own Time, I purpoſe to ſet down at length the things that have happened both in the Church and State, together with the Counſels and Cauſe of thoſe Events, without the which the Hiſtory ſhould be of little uſe; for, take away from Story the Cauſes whereupon, the Manner how, and the Purpoſe wherefore things were done, that which remaineth is more like a Fable than an Hiſtory, delighting the Reader, it may be, for the preſent, but giving little or no Inſtruction at all. I am not ignorant how unſafe it is to write of matters ſo recent, and what offence it may give to divers perſons; but the deſire I have to give poſterity a true information of things, and to have them made wiſe by our Errors, weigheth down with me all ſuch fears: wherefore, without further prefacing, to begin. THE PREFACE.

An. 203.

Scotland converted to the Faith of Chriſt, *Anno* 203. *Boeth. li.* 6. *Buch. li.* 4. *Leſl. l.* 3.

IN the year of our Lord 203 (which was the fourth of *Donald* the Firſt his Reign) the Faith of Chriſt was in the Kingdom firſt publickly embraced; King *Donald* with his Queen and divers of his Nobles being then ſolemnly baptized. Yet was not that the firſt time wherein Chriſt was here made known: for *Tertullian*, who lived ſome years before, ſpeaking of the propagation of the Goſpel throughout the World, doth reckon among the Countries, the parts of *Britanny* unto which the *Romans* could not find acceſs; and what theſe parts were we cannot doubt, all the In-land of *Britanny* being then made ſubject to the *Romans*, and no part free but that little corner of the Iſle which the *Scots* did inhabit. Moreover, it cannot in reaſon be thought that the Converſion of this Kingdom was all wrought at one inſtant, great Alterations, ſuch as that muſt needs have been, not being made but by little and little; ſo as we may well think that numbers of people have been won to the Chriſtian profeſſion before the ſame was publickly embraced by the King and the Nobles.

The Planters of Chriſtianity in this Kingdom.

But who they were that God uſed as Inſtruments in that work is not certainly known. *Nicephorus* writeth that *Simon Zelotes* (after he had travelled through *Ægypt*, *Cyrene*, *Africk*, *Mauritania* and *Libya*) came at laſt *ad occidentalem Oceanum inſulaſque Britannicas*, and there preached the Goſpel: *Dorotheus* addeth that he was crucified in theſe parts. There be Authors likewiſe of no ſmall credit who write that St. *Paul* the Apoſtle, after his Impriſonment at *Rome*, did viſit this Iſle, and preach the Goſpel in the utmoſt parts thereof.

Reaſons why Pope *Victor* could not be the worker of our Converſion.

The opinion moſt commonly received is, That Pope *Victor*, upon the intreaty of King *Donald*, did ſend hither ſome Preachers, and that theſe were the men that wrought our Converſion: but this cannot hold, for divers reaſons. As firſt, If the King did move the Pope in any ſuch buſineſs, it muſt needs have been upon ſome knowledge and liking he had of the Chriſtian profeſſion; and if ſo, the Preachers that he ſent hither could not be the firſt that taught us the Faith of Chriſt. Again, The eſtate of the time maketh this opinion improbable; for the year in which the King is ſaid to have ſent that Legation to *Rome*, was the very laſt of Pope *Victor*, (for he ſuffered Martyrdom in the year 203) and hardly we can think that in the heat of Perſecution, which then did rage in all the *Roman* Provinces, the King would have imployed any in ſuch a meſſage. Thirdly, If our Converſion had been wrought by Pope *Victor*, how came it that our Church was not faſhioned to the *Roman* in outward Rites, eſpecially in the obſervance of *Eaſter*, whereof *Victor* was ſo zealous, as he excommunicated all the Churches of the Eaſt for their Diſconformity with the *Roman* in that point? And it is clear that for the ſpace of many Ages our Church did keep a Form different from the *Roman*, and with much ado was brought to accept their Cuſtoms and Rites. Laſt of all, The learned Cardinal *Baronius*, although he will have our Converſion to be made by ſome one of the *Roman* Biſhops, eſteemeth this which is ſaid of *Victor* no better than a Fable; for *how is it*, ſays he, *that neither* Beda, *nor* Marianus, *nor St.* Hierom *have made any mention of it? In all likelihood, if any ſuch thing had been, ſome one or other of them would have remembred the ſame.* Leaving therefore this conceit, and not deeming theſe other opinions very warrantable, if place may be given to conjecture, I verily think that under *Domitian*'s Perſecution, when the Apoſtle S. *John* was relegated to *Pathmos*, ſome of his Diſciples have taken their refuge hither, and been the firſt Preachers of the Goſpel in this Kingdom. And this I am induced the rather to believe, becauſe in that hot contention moved about *Eaſter*, ſome two hundred years after, I find our Church did ſtill retain the cuſtom of the Oriental, and maintain their practice by the authority of St. *John*, from whom they pleaded to have received the Faith. But whatſoever be in this, ſure not long after the Aſcenſion of our Lord, at leaſt whileſt the Apoſtle Saint *John* yet lived, the Faith of Chriſt was known and embraced in divers places of this Kingdom; ſo as we may truly glory in this, that we were *inter Primitias*, as *Origen* ſpeaketh, among the Firſt-fruits of the Gentiles

tiles gathered unto Christ. This made that venerable Abbot *Petrus Cluniacenſis* call the Scots *antiquiores Chriſtianos*, of greater Antiquity than many others. *An.* 277.

But to return to King *Donald*: It was in his purpoſe to have rooted out Paganiſm, and planted the Chriſtian Faith every where in his Kingdom; but whileſt he was about to do it, the Emperour *Severus* put him to other buſineſs; he thinking to take in the whole Iſle, and joyn the ſame to the *Roman* Empire, entered into *Britan* with a mightier Army than had ever here been ſeen, and leaving his Son *Geta* in the South, went himſelf in expedition to the North parts, making no ſtay (though he was gouty and compelled to travel in a Litter) till he was come to the utmoſt ends of the Iſle. The *Scots* in the mean time keeping the Mariſhes and Mountains, though they durſt not encounter the *Roman* forces becauſe of their numbers, yet did annoy them much, taking them at advantages: which *Severus* perceiving, and that there were no means utterly to ſubdue them, as he had firſt intended, he made offer of Peace, if ſo they would quit what they poſſeſſed betwixt the Wall of *Adrian* and the River of *Forth*. The condition, though hard and unreaſonable, was yielded unto by the *Scots*, who deſired to be freed of ſo mighty an Enemy: and he, to exclude them from the reſt of *Britan*, did raiſe a wall of ſtone betwixt the Rivers of *Forth* and *Cluyd*, two and thirty miles long, fortifying the ſame with Bulwarks and Watch-towers in many places. Nor was it long after this Peace obtained that King *Donald* departed this life; whereupon the Chriſtian Religion for many years was little or nothing promoted. *Buchan. l.* 4. *Severus* his expedition into *Britan.*

For *Ethodius* that ſucceeded was a Prince of no government, and the Kings that came after him, all, unto *Cratilinth*, either wickedly inclined, or intangled with wars and troubles; but *Cratilinth* coming unto the Crown in the year 277, made it one of his firſt works to purge the Kingdom of heatheniſh Superſtition, and expulſe the *Druides*, a ſort of Prieſts held in thoſe daies in great reputation. Their manner was to celebrate Sacrifices and perform their other Rites in Groves, with leaves and branches of Oak: and thence, ſaith *Pliny*, they were called *Druides*; for δρῦς in the Greek language doth ſignifie *an Oak*. *Cæſar* in his Commentaries doth farther write, that beſides the managing of Sacrifices which were committed to them, they were truſted with the deciſion of controverſies private and publick, and that ſuch as would not ſtand to their judgment were interdicted from being preſent at their Sacrifices and holy Rites; which was taken for a grievous puniſhment. It is likewiſe teſtified of them, that they were well learned in all natural Philoſophy, men of moral converſation, and for Religion not ſo groſly ignorant and ſuperſtitious as other heatheniſh Prieſts: for they taught, "That there was one "only God, and that it was not lawful to preſent him in an Image; That the Souls "of men did not periſh with the Bodies, and that after death men were rewarded "according to the life they led on earth. Some alſo have written that they did propheſie of the conception of a Virgin, and of the birth of him who ſhould be the Saviour of the world. But that ſuch Myſteries were revealed unto them, and ſo plainly as the Prophets of God in the Old Teſtament had ſcarce the like, is not credible. They lived likewiſe in great reſpect with all ſorts of people, and ruled their affairs very politickly; for being governed by a Preſident, who kept his reſidence in the Iſle of *Man*, (which then was under the dominion of the *Scots*) they did once every year meet in that place to take counſel together for the ordering of affairs, and carried matters with ſuch diſcretion, that *Cratilinth* found it difficil enough to expulſe them, becauſe of the favour they had among the people. *An.* 277. King *Cratilinth* expulſes the *Druides*. A ſhort deſcription of the *Druides*.

But that which furthered not a little the propagation of the Goſpel in theſe parts was the perſecution raiſed by *Diocletian*, which at that time was hot in the South parts of *Britan*. This brought many Chriſtians, both Preachers and Profeſſors, into this Kingdom, who were all kindly received by *Cratilinth*, and had the Iſle of *Man* given them for their remaining, and revenues ſufficient aſſigned for their maintenance. In this Iſle King *Cratilinth* erected a ſtately Church to the honour of our Saviour, which he adorned with all neceſſary Ornaments, and called *Sodorenſe Fanum*, that is, the Temple of our Saviour; hence it is, that the Biſhops of the iſles are ſtyled *Sodorenſes Epiſcopi*. For ſo long as that Iſle remained in the poſ- *Diocletian* his Perſecution. *Sodorenſe Fanum.* *Boeth. l.* 6.

An. 360. seſſion of the *Scots*, the Biſhops of the Iſles made that Church their Cathedral. After their diſpoſſeſſion, the Iſle *Jona*, commonly called *Icolumkil*, hath been the Seat of the Biſhops, and continueth ſo until this day.

Amphibalus the firſt Biſhop of *Mán.* In this Iſle *Amphibalus* ſate firſt Biſhop, a *Britan* born, and a man of excellent Piety: he lived long, preaching carefully the Doctrine of Chriſt both amongſt the *Scots* and the *Picts*, and after many labours taken for promoting Chriſtian Religion died peaceably in the ſame Iſle. Our Stories report that at the ſame time there lived in this Kingdom divers zealous and notable Preachers, of which number they name theſe ſix, *Modocus*, *Priſcus*, *Calanus*, *Ferranus*, *Ambianus*, and *Carnocus*, that ſeem to have been men of principal note; and of them all generally it is witneſſed, that, living ſolitary, they were in ſuch a reputation for their Holineſs of life, as the Cells wherein they lived were after their deaths turned into Temples or Churches. And of this it came that all the Churches afterwards erected were called *Cells*, which word I hear is yet retained amongſt the Iriſh *Scots*. The Prieſts they termed *Culdees*, which *Hector Boeth.* thinks to have ſignified as much as *Cultores Dei*, the Worſhippers of God: but it is more like this title was given them for their living in theſe Cells, where people aſſembled to hear ſervice. Somewhat it maketh for this, that in certain old Bulls and Reſcripts of Popes I find them termed *Keledei*, and not *Culdei*.

Culdees, why ſo called. *Boeth. li. 6.*

Biſhops in *Scotland* at the firſt planting of the Faith. *Boeth. ibidem.*

The ſame *Boeth.* out of ancient Annals reports that theſe Prieſts were wont for their better government to elect ſome one of their number, by common ſuffrage, to be chief and principal among them, without whoſe knowledge and conſent nothing was done in any matter of importance; and that the perſon ſo elected was called *Scotorum Epiſcopus*, a *Scots* Biſhop, or a Biſhop of *Scotland*. Neither had our Biſhops any other title whereby they were diſtinguiſhed before the daies of *Malcolm* the third, who firſt divided the Country into Dioceſes, appointing to every Biſhop the limits within which they ſhould keep and exerciſe their Juriſdiction. After that time they were ſtyled either by the Countries whereof they had the overſight, or by the City where they kept their reſidence.

But to return to *Cratilinth*: During his Reign Chriſtian Religion did proſper exceedingly; and *Fincormachus*, his Couſin-german, that ſucceeded, keeping the ſame courſe, gave in his time a perfect ſetling unto it. So great a happineſs it is to have two Kings of qualities alike good ſucceed one to another; for what the one beginneth, the other doth perfect and accompliſh.

An. 360. *Maximus* the Roman Preſect practiſeth with the *Picts* againſt the *Scots*. *Boeth. l. 6.* *Buchan. l. 5.* Yet this felicity endureth not long, the ſtate both of the Kingdom and Church being within a few years after his death quite overturned by this occaſion. *Maximus*, a man born in *Spain*, but of *Roman* education, being ſent Lieutenant into *Britan*, and preſuming to bring the whole Iſle under his power, did practiſe ſecretly with the *Picts* for rooting out the *Scots*, promiſing that all the lands which the *Scots* poſſeſſed ſhould be given to them. The *Picts*, a perfidious people, greedily embracing this offer, did joyn their forces with the *Romans*, and both made invaſion upon the *Scots*; who, doing the beſt they could for their own defence, after divers ſharp encounters, in a Battle fought at the water of *Dun* in *Carrick* were wholly defeated, and King *Eugenius* with the moſt part of his Nobility ſlain.

The *Scots* exiled. *Buchan. l. 5.* This defeat was followed with a rigorous Edict, commanding all the *Scots*, of what age, ſex or condition ſoever, to depart out of this Iſle before a certain day: which was ſo preciſely executed, as neither man nor woman, young nor old, were permitted to ſtay; nay not a Church-man (though all of that profeſſion were in good eſteem among the *Picts* themſelves at the time.) Thus all the *Scots* went in exile, betaking themſelves ſome into *Ireland*, others into the countries of *Denmark*, *Norway*, *Sweden*, or where it was in their fate to be caſt: only ſome few Churchmen, after they had long wandred from place to place, got privately into *Jona*, one of the Weſt Iſles, where living in a poor condition, they laid the foundation of a Monaſtery, which in ſucceeding Ages became famous by the beneficence of our Kings, and the ſanctity of the Monks that there profeſſed. Never was any Church or Kingdom brought to a greater deſolation; but how long it continued, our Writers do not agree: for *Boeth.* will have the *Scots* to live in exile the ſpace of

of 44 years, and ſaith that they returned in the year 422. *Buchanan* caſts their return into the year 404, and ſo maketh their exile to have laſted 27 years only. *An.* 370.

Now whileſt they lived thus exiled, it happened that one *Regulus* a Grecian Monk arrived in theſe parts. This man (as they write) living in *Achaia*, had warning given him in a Viſion by night to forſake his Countrey and go into *Albion*, an Iſle ſited in the utmoſt parts of the world, and to carry with him the Arm-bone, three Fingers, and as many Toes of St. *Andrew* the Apoſtle. The man troubled at firſt with the ſtrangeneſs of the Viſion, did after a little time reſolve to follow the warning, and taking a little Box in which he put thoſe Reliques, went to Sea, taking ſome perſons in company with him. The Story nameth *Damianus* a Prieſt, *Gelaſius*, *Thebaculus*, and *Mermacus*, brother to *Damianus*, Deacons; *Nerinus* and *Eliſenius* a *Cretian*, *Merinus* and *Silvineus* his brother, Monks by profeſſion. Some eight more are ſaid to be in his company, but their names are not expreſſed. The Ship wherein they ſailed being toſſed with grievous tempeſts, was driven at laſt into the Port or Haven called then *Otholinia*, now St. *Andrews*. *Regulus* arrives in *Albion*. *An.* 370.

Herguſtus King of *Picts*, under whoſe dominion that part of the Country as then was, advertiſed of the Strangers arrive, and the *Reliques* they had brought with them, came thither, and pitying their loſſes, (for beſides the Reliques they had nothing ſaved) when he beheld the men, and the form of their ſervice, did ſo like it, as he took order for their entertainment. Shortly after he gave unto *Regulus* his own Palace, with certain lands adjoyning, and nigh thereunto erected a Church, (the ſame whereof we ſee a part yet remaining on the South of the ruined Cathedral, called to this day *The Church of* St. *Rewle*.) Here did *Regulus* and his company abide, ſerving God devoutly, and for the auſtere life they led were in great reputation with all men. *Herguſtus* King of the *Picts* gave his Palace to *Regulus*.

Whether *Regulus* had ſuch a Viſion or not, I leave it to thoſe that liſt to believe. But that he did bring with him ſuch Reliques is not improbable; for in theſe times Chriſtians did hold the Bones and Reliques of Martyrs in a reſpectful reverence: which doth in no ſort juſtifie the abuſes which afterwards crept into the Church, when from the keeping of Reliques, they grew to worſhip and adore them; yea, and in many places, Prieſts out of their covetouſneſs did uſe impoſtures, foiſting in the Bones of Aſſes and other Beaſts in ſtead of the Reliques of Martyrs and Saints departed. Theſe and the like abuſes did juſtly bring the keeping and carrying about of Reliques to be deteſted. In the time of perſecution, when the Bodies of Martyrs were thrown into the fields and caſt into Dunghils, it might be held a charitable and pious work to gather and preſerve them: but now that thoſe things are ſuperſtitiouſly uſed, and vile deceipts therewith practiſed, no wiſe man will allow ſuch follies. *Better it were*, as *Caſſander* adviſed, *to incite people to the imitation of the Saints Vertues, than to reſerve their Bones, which can ſerve to no uſe, and ſavoureth only of vain oſtentation.*

But leaving this, let us follow the ſtory. In the Battel wherein *Eugenius* fell, *Echadius*, or, as others call him, *Ethodius* his Brother, being ſore wounded and found among the dead, was ſaved by the clemency of the *Roman* Prefect, and, flying into *Denmark* with his young ſon *Erthus*, was received by the King of that Countrey, and kindly entertained. This *Erthus* matching with one *Rocha* the daughter of a Nobleman in theſe quarters, had by her a Son called *Fergus*, a Prince of much valour, who growing in years, and his Father and Grandfather both deceaſed, out of an innate hatred againſt the *Romans*, joyned with the *Franks* in a War they made upon the *Gauls* that were ſubject to the *Romans*. That Expedition not ſucceeding, he followed *Alarick* King of *Goths*, and was with him at the ſack of *Rome*. *Alarick* dying, he ſerved under *Athaulfus* his ſucceſſor, and, by the fortunate exploits he made, purchaſed the reputation of a great Captain: The fame whereof (with the news that were dayly brought of the defection of the *Roman* Provinces, and of the Irruptions made upon the Empire by the *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Franks*, and other Barbars) gave the *Scots* encouragement, and put them in ſome hopes of returning to their Countrey. Once or twice, by the help of the *Iriſh*, having ſought to repoſſeſs themſelves, ſtill they were put to the worſt. But *Maximus* in the end proclaiming

An. 404. claiming himſelf *Cæſar*, and tranſporting beyond Sea the whole power of *Britan*, they reſumed new courage, and upon advertiſement of *Fergus* his return to *Denmark*, did intreat him to take the opportunity, and do ſomewhat for himſelf and for his Country. The *Picts* in the mean time being held in miſerable ſubjection by one *Victorinus* a new Governor ſent into *Britan*, and ſo repenting the courſe they had taken, did ſecretly reconcile with *Fergus*, offering reſtitution of all they poſſeſſed belonging to the *Scots*, and their aſſiſtance for recovering the reſt.

An. 404. King *Fergus* came to the Firth of *Murray*. *Boeth. li.* 7.

Fergus upon theſe advertiſements prepared to return, and with him divers voluntaries of the *Danes*, *Norwegians* and others did joyn, beſides the *Scots* that lived exiles in thoſe parts. With this company taking Sea, on the eighth day after his embarking he landed in the Firth of *Murray*; and from thence marching directly to *Argile*, where the Chair of Marble was kept, was placed therein, and crowned with the Rites accuſtomed. The news hereof diſperſed, there gathered to him from all parts numbers of people, with whom in a ſhort time he recovered all the Countries out of which the *Scots* had been expulſed. The *Britans* upon this ſent to implore aid of the *Romans*, of whom they obtained the ſupply of a Legion under the conduct of *Heraclianus*; but he making no long ſtay, one *Placidius* was left in place, whom *Fergus* overthrew in battel, and forced to ſeek Peace. This concluded, *Fergus* dividing the lands among the *Scots* and Strangers that had ventured with him, did re-order all things according to the ancient form. The

He repaireth the Churches.

Churches that were ruined or defaced he cauſed repair, reſtored the Church-men to their places, and in the Iſle *Jona* erected a Religious Houſe, with a Library furniſhed with the Books that he had brought with him from *Rome*. Never was any Prince more nobly given, nor in ſo ſhort ſpace performed greater actions, having regained the Kingdom that was loſt, and reduced it to a better eſtate than before: neither had he ceaſed there, if the *Romans* had not fallen upon him with a freſh power, and ſent one *Maximianus* hither, by whom he was in battel vanquiſhed, and ſlain in the ſixteenth year of his Reign.

King *Fergus* vanquiſhed and ſlain. *Boeth. li.* 7.

This overthrow did ſo terrify the *Scots*, that they looked for nothing but to have been chaſed again forth of the Iſle, but the Irruptions made upon all the parts of the Empire did not ſuffer the *Romans* to make long ſtay, wherefore having repaired the Wall of *Severus*, and made it much ſtronger than it was at firſt, they departed, adviſing the *Britans* to uſe their own forces without any more expectation of ſuccour from them. Upon intelligence of their departure, *Greem* a Nobleman of

Greem batter-eth the wall of *Severus*. *Buch. l.* 5.

Britan, who had lived long among the *Scots*, and whoſe daughter King *Fergus* had married, raiſed an Army, and battering down the Wall which the *Romans* had fortified, chaſed the *Britans* beyond the Wall of *Adrian* an hundred miles more inward, and forced them to accept that for the march, and content themſelves with the lands lying in the South of that Wall. Peace on theſe terms made with the *Britans*, *Eugenius* the eldeſt of King *Fergus* his ſons was declared King; and, becauſe he was yet within years, the Regency of the Realm committed to *Greem* his Grandfather; which he diſcharged ſo well, as whileſt he lived there was no trouble either within or without the Kingdom.

Eugenius aſſiſted by the *Picts*, overcometh the *Britans*.

But he dying, *Eugenius* (who was then grown to ſome years) laying claim to his Grandfather's lands, did repeat the ſame by his Ambaſſadors; and the *Britans* defending themſelves by the conditions of the late Peace, when after divers Meſſages no ſatisfaction could be had, War was of new raiſed. The *Picts* aſſiſting the *Scots*, a ſore overthrow was given to the *Britans*, and they compelled to reſign all

An. 450. the land lying betwixt *Tine* and *Humber*; which the *Scots* and *Picts* did peaceably enjoy unto the coming of the *Saxons*, about the year 450.

The *Church* notwithſtanding theſe Wars did flouriſh all this time by King *Eugenius* his favour. *Ninian* (he who with the poſterity had the reputation of a *Saint*)

St. *Ninian*.

was of great fame at that time. This man was born in *Britan*, and had his education in *France* under *Martin* Biſhop of *Tours* his grand-Uncle: having remained there ſome years, and made good profit in Letters, he returned in to *Britan*, and became a zealous Preacher of the Goſpel. His chief reſidence was among the *Picts* in the country of *Galloway*; there he bult a Church all of white ſtone, (a ſort of ſtructure

not

not uſual in thoſe parts) and called the ſame by the name of St. *Martin*; not meaning to have him taken for the tutelary Saint of that place, (which in after-Ages, when Superſtition prevailed, was the conceit of the people) but to preſerve the memory of his Vertues, and incite others to the imitation thereof. This was the chief reſpect in thoſe firſt Times that Chriſtians had in denominating their Churches by the names of Saints departed; that other they utterly diſclaimed. *Nos Martyribus noſtris*, (ſaith St. *Auguſtin*) *non templa ſicut diis fabricamus, ſed memorias ſicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt ſpiritus*, We do not build Temples to our Martyrs as unto Gods, but memorials as unto dead men, whoſe ſpirits with God are ſtill living. *An.* 450. St. *Auguſtin de civitate Dei. li.* 22. *cap.* 10.

Bede in his Eccleſiaſtical ſtory ſpeaking of this *Ninian*, ſaith that he learned at *Rome*, and was there taught the myſteries of Truth. But we cannot think that he went a novice thither, being trained up under ſo kind and learned an Uncle. As ever that was, he proved a notable inſtrument in the Church; for he converted the Southern *Picts* to the faith of Chriſt; and for his continual labours in preaching (not among them alone, for he travelled alſo among the *Scots* and *Britans*) but eſpecially for his innocency and holineſs of life, he was in ſo great regard, as to which of the three ſoever he came, they did reverence and accept him as the meſſenger of Chriſt. Among the Biſhops of *Galloway* he is reckoned the firſt, and thought to have been the Founder of that Colledge; for from that Church which he built all of white ſtone (as we ſaid) the Biſhops of that See have ſtill been, and to this day are, ſtyled *Epiſcopi Candidæ caſæ*. *Beda* his Eccleſiaſt. Hiſt. *li.* 3. *cap.* 4.

It was in the time of this *Eugenius* that *Palladius* came into *Scotland*, imployed, as they write, by *Celeſtine* Biſhop of *Rome* for reſiſting the *Pelagian* Hereſie, which began to ſpread in this Church. This man, a *Grecian* by birth, learned, moderate and ſingularly wiſe, as appeared in all his actions, did purge the Church from thoſe Errors, and wan ſuch love and credit, as by the ſpace of 24 years he governed all Eccleſiaſtick affairs in theſe parts without any grudge or oppoſition. *Palladius* ſent into *Scotland* by Pope *Celeſtine*. *Beda. l.* 1. *c.* 13.

Buchanan is of the opinion, that before his coming there was no Biſhop in this Church: *Nam* (ſaith he) *ad id uſque tempus, Eccleſiæ abſque Epiſcopis per monachos regebantur, minore quidem cum faſtu & externa pompa, ſed majore ſimplicitate & ſanctimonia*; that is, The Church unto that time was governed by Monks without Biſhops, with leſs pride and outward pomp, but greater ſimplicity and holineſs. What warrant he had to write ſo, I know not, except he did build upon that which *Joannes Major* ſaith, ſpeaking of the ſame *Palladius*, *Per ſacerdotes & monachos, ſine Epiſcopis, Scoti in fide erudiebantur*; The *Scots* (he ſays) were inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by Prieſts and Monks, without any Biſhops. But from the inſtruction of *Scots* in the faith to conclude, that the Church after it was gathered had no other form of Government, will not ſtand with any reaſon. For be it as they ſpeak, that by the Travels of ſome pious Monks the *Scots* were firſt converted unto Chriſt; it cannot be ſaid that the Church was ruled by Monks, ſeeing long after theſe times it was not permitted to Monks to meddle with matters of the Church, nor were they reckoned among the Clergy. As to the *pride* and *pomp* which he taxeth in Biſhops, of later times it might be truly ſpoken; but after *Palladius* coming, for the ſpace of ſix hundred years and more, there was no ſuch exceſs to be noted in them. *Buch. li.* 5. *Buch.* his opinion reſelled. Monks not reckoned among the Clergy.

But to return to *Palladius*; he was a man moſt careful in promoting Chriſtian Religion, and the firſt that made Chriſt to be preached in the Iſle of *Orkney*, ſending *Servanus* one of his Diſciples thither. Another called *Tervanus* he employed among the Northern *Picts*, and ordained both of them Biſhops. His own remaining for the moſt part was at *Fordon* in the Country of *Mernis*, where he built a little Church, which from him is to this day by a corrupt word called *Padie Church*: There was his Corps after his death interred. In the year 1494. *William Shevez* Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, viſiting that Church, did in reverence of his memory gather his Bones, and beſtow them in a ſilver ſhrine; which, as the report goeth, was taken up at the demoliſhing of the Churches by a Gentleman of good rank who dwelt near unto that place. The people of the Countrey obſerving the decay which followed in that Family not many years after, aſcribed the ſame to the violation of *Palladius*'s Grave. *Servanus* and *Tervanus* ordained Biſhops by *Palladius*. *Boeth. li.* 7. *Hiſt. li.* 4.

Much

An. 491. St. *Patrick* the Converter of *Ireland*. *Bal. cent.* 1. *Baron. to.* 5. *in Anno* 431. *Sect.* 191. *Camden* in the deſcription of *Ireland*.

Much about this time was *Ireland* converted to the Faith of *Chriſt* by the labors of *Patrick* a Scotchman, born upon the River of *Cluid*, not far from *Glaſgow*. They write of him, that being thirteen years of age only he was taken priſoner by ſome *Iriſhes* at an Invaſion they made upon the Weſt parts of *Scotland*, and ſold to *Moluc*, one of their Kings: being kept there as a Slave the ſpace of four years he was ranſomed by his parents, and ſent to School; where having made a reaſonable progreſs in Letters, he went to *France*, and there remained 18 years in the company of *German* Biſhop of *Auxerre*, under whom he attained to a great perfection of knowledge, eſpecially in the holy Scriptures. Thereafter travelling to *Rome*, Pope *Celeſtine* (the ſame that ſent *Palladius* to *Scotland*) hearing of his qualities, and how he had lived ſome years in *Ireland*, made choice of him as the fitteſt perſon to work the Converſion of that people. *Patrick* accepting the imployment, addreſſed himſelf ſhortly after to the journey, and in his way by *Scotland* took with him *Columba*, (who came afterwards to be in great eſteem.) Divers upon the report of his good ſucceſs followed him thither; and ere many months paſſed, all the Country almoſt was brought to embrace the Profeſſion of Chriſt.

Joh. Bitſons in Deſcriptione Britanniæ.

He was doubtleſs a notable perſon, and moſt worthy to be remembred. Some idle and ignorant Monks have pitifully wronged his memory by their Legends. But what a ſingular man he was, and what pains he took to do good in his lifetime, the Churches he founded, reckoned to 365, and the Prieſts he ordained, numbred to be three thouſand, may ſufficiently witneſs. He lived 122 years, & ended his days in the city of *Down* within the Province of *Ulſter*, in the year of our Lord 491. That fabulous Purgatory (the invention whereof is falſly aſcribed to him) was the device of a Monk of *Glaſtenbury* Abbey in *England*, who bare the ſame name, but was of a much later time, and lived about the year 850. For the opinion of a fiery *Purgatory*, in which Souls are tormented after their going forth of the body, was not then known among Chriſtians; nor did the ancient *Iriſh* believe any ſuch matter.

An. 491.

Sedulius educated under *Hildebert* a Biſhop. *Bal. cent.* 14. *Leſſ. li.* 4.

In our Church at the ſame time one *Hildebert* a Biſhop was in great accompt for his Learning and Piety. *Cælius Sedulius* had his education under him, a man of excellent qualities, as his works yet extant both in Proſe and Poeſie do witneſs. How long *Hildebert* lived he abode in his company, but after his death he betook himſelf to travel, and, jorneying through *France* and *Italy*, ſailed unto *Greece*; there he wrote certain Explanations upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, and returning from thence to *Rome*, made his abode in that City. In a Synod gathered by *Gelaſius* Biſhop of *Rome*, in the year 494, in one of the Canons then made touching Books allowed, we read theſe words; *Venerabilis Viri Sedulii Paſchale Opus, quod heroicis deſcripſit verſibus, inſigni laude proferimus*, We eſteem the *Paſchal* Work, that venerable *Sedulius* compoſed in heroick verſes, worthy of ſingular recommendations. And even at this day in the Church of *Rome* certain hymns compiled by him are ſung in the Feſtivals of the Nativity and Epiphany; which ſheweth in what eſteem he was held.

An. 494. *Gratian. Decret. par. diſtinct.* 15.

Sedulius proved to be a *Scottiſh*-man againſt the *Iriſh* Writers.

Some *Iriſh* Writers contend that this *Sedulius* was their Country-man born, as the like they affirm of all that were of any note in our Church in thoſe firſt Ages. And albeit in divers of his Works he doth intitle himſelf *Sedulius Scotigena*, and that *Sixtus Senenſis*, *Thrithemius*, *Baronius*, and divers others do all witneſs him to be of the *Scottiſh* Nation; yet they will have him to be an *Iriſh*, becauſe, forſooth, in thoſe elder times the name of *Scoti* was common to the inhabitants of the greater and leſſer *Scotland*. But this reaſon is naught: for, granting that the Countries were ſo diſtinguiſhed of old, and that *Ireland* was called *Scotia major*, and the part of *Britan* which the Colony deduced from thence did inhabit *Scotia minor*, whereof there is ſome appearance; yet that will not infer him to be an *Iriſh* more than a *Scot*. This I truſt they will not deny, that *Scotland* was Chriſtian long before *Ireland*, and that *Sedulius*, of whom we ſpeak, was come to a good age before *Patrick* went about their Converſion. Now if he had been an *Iriſh* by Nation, would not he much rather have imployed his travels to inſtruct his Country-men in the Truth, than have ſpent his time abroad among Strangers? Farther, I ſhould deſire theſe who plead ſo earneſtly to have our men eſteemed to be of their Country, to name

any

any one or other worthy of credit, that ſince the *Scots* were reduced from their exile by *Fergus* the Second did ever call *Ireland Scotland the greater*. They will not find any of truſt: the name of *Scots* being long before appropriated to the Colony reduced from thence, and quite extinct among the *Iriſh*. It is true that we oft find the *Scots* called *Iriſhes*, like as yet we term commonly our *Highlandmen*, in regard they ſpeak the *Iriſh* language, and retain divers of their cuſtomes. But that the *Iriſh* were called *Scots*, or the country of *Ireland* called *Scotland*, ſince they grew to be different Nations, and were known to be ſo, I am confident will not be ſhewed. To cloſe this; howſoever *Ireland* be the Mother and *Scotland* the Daughther, as a reverend Prelate hath written, and we deny not (for our firſt Progenitors we hold came from that Country) there is no reaſon why the Sons which the Daughter hath brought forth ſhould be reckoned the Sons of another Mother, and ſhe thereby robbed of her honour.

An. 500.

Scotland a Colony deduced from *Ireland*.

But to our ſtory; the condition of this Church in thoſe times was moſt happy, all the care of Preachers being to win Souls unto Chriſt; Avarice and Ambition, the two main Peſts of the Church, had not as yet ſeiſed upon them, ſo as they were held with all people in great veneration. *Beda* ſaith, that *whoſoever did meet them by occaſion, either in the ſtreets, or otherwiſe in journeying by the way, they would not depart without their bleſſing*. And which increaſed greatly the felicity of the Time, the Kings who then reigned were all wiſe and religious.

An. 500.

Congallus the ſecond deſerves by the reſt to be mentioned; *Vir ob egregias virtutes* (ſaith *Buchanan*) *omnium ſeculorum memoria dignus; Nam præter æquitatem in jure dicundo, & animum adverſus avaritiam invictum, certabat moderatione vitæ cum Monachis, qui ea ætate ſeveriſſima diſciplina utebantur*. That is, He was a man for his notable vertues worthy to be had in everlaſting remembrance; For beſides his equity in the miniſtration of Juſtice, and the uncorrupt mind he carried, being free of all Covetouſneſs, in moderation of life he was nothing inferiour to the Monks, who in that Age obſerved a moſt ſtrict Diſcipline. This good King conſidering how eaſily people are brought to contemn Miniſters that ſtand in need of their ſupply, and that the contempt of Miniſters breedeth ever contempt of Religion, did carefully provide for their neceſſities, appointing to them Manſion-places at the Churches where they ſerved with a competent portion of land thereto adjoyning, and declaring the Tenth of all Corns, Fruits, Herbs and Flocks, which did either produce or nouriſh, to appertain properly to the Church. He did further enact for the ſafety of their perſons, *That if any ſhould happen to ſmite a Church-man, his hand ſhould be cut off; and if the Church-man was killed, that the murtherer ſhould loſe all his goods, and be burnt alive*. For the greater reverence of Church-cenſures, it was likewiſe his Ordinance, *That whoſoever were by the Church excommunicated, ſhould not be admitted to ſtand in judgment, nor credit given to their teſtimony*.

Congallus an excellent Prince. *Buch. in vita Congalli.*

Tithes declared to appertain to the Church.

A Law for the ſafety of Church-men.

The fame of this Kings pious diſpoſition drew *Columba* back from *Ireland*, where he had lived a long time. There came with him ſome twelve in company, of whom the principals were *Sibthacus* and *Ethernanus*, his Nephews by his brother, both of them Presbyters, *Domitius Rutheus* and *Comineus*, men of excellent learning and good behaviour; who were all well accepted of the King. But of *Columba* he made ſuch accompt, as he did nothing in any matter of importance till he had firſt conſulted with him. By his advice the Monks, that in former times lived diſperſed, were gathered into Cloyſters or Colleges, and had Rules preſcribed unto them: which falling afterward to be neglected, in place of religious Monks, there crept in a ſort of idle-bellies, that diſordered all things, and made the Profeſſion, which in the beginning was well deviſed, to be miſliked and hated of all.

Columba returneth into *Scotland*. *Scotichron. l.* 3. *Boeth. l.* 9.

Monks placed in Monaſteries.

King *Congallus* after a little time ſickning, ſent *Columba* into *Ireland* to bring home *Aidanus* the right Heir of the Kingdom (who had fled thither after the murther of his Father *Goranus*) that he might poſſeſs him with the Crown before his death: But ere he returned the King was dead, and his Brother *Kinnatellus* crowned King. This accident troubled *Columba*, and made him doubtful what to do: For if he ſhould ſend *Aidanus* back, he knew not how *Kinnatellus* would take it; and to go on, (not knowing how the King ſtood affected towards *Aidanus*) he held it dangerous.

Columba ſent to bring *Aidanus* the heir of the Crown from *Ireland*.

Congallus dieth, to whom his brother ſucceedeth.

An. 603. *Boeth. l.* 9. *Buchan. l.* 5. *Leſl. l.* 4.

dangerous. After a little debating with himſelf, he reſolved to hold forward, and taking *Aidanus* in company, did preſent him to the King; who, againſt the expectation of moſt men, accepted him moſt lovingly, bidding him be of good heart, for he ſhould in a ſhort time inherit his Fathers Crown: mean while, becauſe of his own age and infirmity, he committed to him the adminiſtration of affairs, and deſigned him his Succeſſor. After a few daies *Kinnatellus* dying, *Aidanus* was crowned King, *Columba* performing the Ceremonies; at which time he is ſaid to have made a moſt pithy and eloquent ſpeech, exhorting *the King to the love of Juſtice, the Nobles to the obſervance of Peace, the people to Obedience, and them all to conſtancy in the Chriſtian profeſſion*: wherewith the whole Aſſembly was ſo much affected, as by holding up their hands they did ſolemnly ſwear to continue loyal Subjects to the King, and to be obedient to him as their *ſpiritual Paſtor.*

Aidanus crowned King.

Columba retireth to the Iſle *Jona.*

The Coronation ended, *Columba* retired to the Iſle *Jona*, (for he loved to remain in that place) and *Aidanus* applying himſelf to order the Eſtate, went through the countries of *Galloway*, *Cathnes* and *Loqhaber*, holding Juſtice-Courts in all theſe parts, and reforming what he found amiſs. But, as no proſperity is laſting, it happened in a ſport of hunting, that ſome Noble-men falling at diſcord, there was a great ſlaughter committed, the Authors whereof, fearing the ſeverity of Law, fled to *Brendeus* King of the *Picts*, and being demanded according to the conditions of the League, were after ſome delays directly refuſed. *Aidanus* taking this to heart, whileſt he thought to recover them by force, had his Son *Arthur*, (*Buchanan* calleth him *Griffin*) a Prince of great hopes, and *Brenden* his Nephew, with divers of his Nobles, killed. *Columba* grieved with this accident, came to the King, and rebuked him bitterly for making war with his neighbour upon ſo light an occaſion; wherewith he is ſaid to be no leſs moved than with the loſs he had received: for *Columba* ſtriving to be gone, he caught him by the hand, and confeſſing he had been too haſty, entreated his beſt advice and counſel how to repair things. But he replying that no advice could redreſs the harm that was done, the King burſt forth into tears: *Columba* fell alſo a weeping, and, after a little ſpace, ſaid that he would counſel him to make peace: which he was content do to at his ſight. The matter moved to *Brendeus*, he likewiſe agreed to remit all to *Columba*, who ſhortly after brought them to be friends. But the heart-burning between the two people ceaſed not, which *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland* (a wicked and avaritious man) craftily entertained, ſtirring the *Picts* to make freſh incurſions upon the *Scots*, ſo as *Aidanus* was compelled to take Arms. *Columba* being adverti ſed of the neceſſity the King was put to, gave order that private ſupplications ſhould be made for his ſafety, and the overthrow of his enemies: which falling out according to their wiſhes, was generally aſcribed to *Columba* his Devotion. For, as the report went, in the ſame hour wherein the enemies were defeated, he did call his Collegues together, and willed them to turn their Prayers into Thankſgivings, for that the King had obtained the Victory: yet was the place of the conflict diſtant from *Jona*, where *Columba* lived, 200 miles at leaſt.

Aidanus maketh War againſt the *Picts.*

Aidanus rebuked by *Columba.*

Aidanus forced to take up Arms againſt the *Picts.*

The *Picts* overcome, and *Aidanus* getteh the victory.

Columba dieth in the year of our Lord, 603. *Boeth. l.* 9.

The year following, which was the year of our Lord 603. *Columba* died, being of a good age; neither did the King *Aidanus* long ſurvive him. The *Iriſh* contend that *Columba* died in the City of *Down*, and was buried in St. *Patrick's Tomb*; and for verifying the ſame, allege an old Diſtich which was (they ſay) engraven upon the Tomb, and defaced only in the daies of King *Henry* the eighth.

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, *atque* Columba *pius.*

But it carrieth no likelihood that *Columba*, being ſo far in years, would make a journey into *Ireland*, or that *Aidanus*, who loved him ſo dearly, would ſuffer him to depart whileſt he lived. It may be that upon ſome occaſion his Bones were tranſlated thither; yet the Pilgrimages made in ſuperſtitious times to the Iſle *Jona* for viſiting his grave do ſhew what the received opinion was of his death and burial.

Kentigern, or St. *Mungo.*

Kentigern, commonly called St. *Mungo*, was famous alſo at this time, and one moſt familiar with *Columba*. He was the ſon of *Thametes* daughter to *Loth* King of

Picts,

Picts, begotten (as was ſuppoſed) by *Eugenius* the third King of *Scots*, his father not being certainly known: poſterity not being willing that his birth, whom they ſo greatly eſteemed, ſhould be in any ſort ſtained, gave out that he was *born of a Virgin*; which was believed of ſimple and credulous people. But the reproach which lay upon him that way he overcame by his ſingular Vertues. In his younger years being truſted to the education of *Servanus* Biſhop of *Orkney*, he gave tokens of his rare Piety; for he was in prayer more frequent than young ones are uſually ſeen to be, of a ſpare diet, and ſo compaſſionate of the poor, as all that came in his hands he diſtributed among them. *Servanus* his Maſter loving him beyond others, was ordinarily wont to call him *Mongah*, which in the *Noriſh* tongue ſignifieth a *dear friend*; and this way came he to be called *Mungo*.

An. 500. *Boeth. l.* 9.

Mongah in the *Noriſh* tongue ſignifieth *dear friend.*

After *Servanus* death he went to the countrey of *Wales* in *England*, where living a ſolitary life, he founded a Monaſtery betwixt the Rivers of *Elwid* and *Edwy*. They write *that in his Monaſtery there were daily entertained ſix hundred threeſcore and three perſons, of which number three hundred were kept at ſome manual work within the Monaſtery; other three hundred did labour in the fields, and practiſe huſbandry; and the reſt, being appointed for Divine ſervice, had the day and night divided among them, ſo as one company ſucceeded to another, there were ſome always in the Church praying and praiſing Almighty God.* Having ſtayed there a few years, he reſigned his place to *Aſaph*, a godly and vertuous man; and returning to *Scotland*, he made his abode at *Glaſgow*, where he layed the foundation of a ſtately Church, and was therein at his death interred. It is affirmed that after he came to years of underſtanding he did never eat fleſh, nor taſte wine or any ſtrong drink; and when he went to reſt, ſlept on the cold ground, having a ſtone for his pillow; and that notwithſtanding he lived thus hardly, he did attain to the age of nineſcore and five years. Many lying Miracles have been aſcribed unto him; but certainly he was a man of rare parts, and worthy to have been made a ſubject of truth to poſterity, not of Fables and Fictions, as the Legends of Monks have made him.

Kentigern his journey to *Wales.*

Kentigern his auſtere life and death.

Baldred and *Convallus* were his Diſciples, and zealous preachers of the Truth. The firſt ſerved for the moſt part in *Lothian*, which as then was under the dominion of the *Picts*, and was ſo beloved and honoured in his life, as after his death the Pariſhes of *Aldham*, *Tuningham* and *Preſton* did contend who ſhould have his Corps to bury. As they grew to ſome heat, the Biſhop of the bounds (the ſtory doth not expreſs his name) intervened, and willed the people to defer the funeral to the next morrow, and in the mean time be earneſt in prayer with God, that he would declare his will in that buſineſs. The next day they found three Coffins with as many Corpſes, betwixt which no difference could be perceived; and interpreting this for a Miracle, went away each of them with a Coffin well ſatisfied and pleaſed. What policy the Biſhop uſed in this is not known, but hereby we may ſee how eaſily people were in thoſe times led with their Teachers. The other, *Convallus*, lived at *Inchynnan*, ſome ſeven miles from *Glaſgow*, and made the Oration at the Funeral of King *Aidanus*; in which he foretold many things, that came afterward to paſs, touching the ſtate of the Kingdom.

Baldred and *Convallus* were *Kentigerns* Diſciples.

Boeth li. 9. *Leſl. li.* 4.

There lived at this time in the Iſle of *Jona* one *Convallanus*, who was Governor of that Monaſtery, a man of excellent holineſs and learning; from under his hand, as they write, *prodierunt examina ſanctiſſimorum virorum*, hives or multitudes of moſt holy men came forth. Among theſe are named *Mornanus* a Biſhop, *Cormachus* a Presbyter, *Hebred*, *Dunſtan*, *Jonas*, *Gabrianus*, *Gallus* and *Columbanus*, all famous men for their holineſs of life. *Gallus* travelling into *Switzerland* was in great eſteem, and having converted many to the Faith of Chriſt, laid there the foundation of a Monaſtery, which was afterwards greatly inriched, and to this day is called by his name St. *Gall*. *Columbanus* in *Burgundy* did found the Abbey of *Luxeule*, reſolving to make his abode in thoſe parts; but the licentiouſneſs of King *Theodorick*, whom by no means he could reclaim from his unchaſt life, did enforce him to change, ſo that going to *Italy*, in the borders thereof he ſetled himſelf, and there erected the Monaſtery of *Bobie*.

Convallanus Governor of the Monaſtery in *Jona*. *Boeth. ibidem.*

Neither lacked there in the female Sex examples of rare piety. *Brigida*, commonly

Brigida.

An. 518. *Boeth. l.* 9. monly St. *Bride*, was above the reſt renowned both among the *Scots* and *Picts*: this Woman was born in *Cathnes* of honourable parents, and the heir of a fair patrimony, which ſhe voluntarily forſook, that ſhe might be conſecrated to God. Divers Virgins moved by her example did in like ſort apply themſelves to the ſolitary life; not as the Votariſts that in after-times roſe up, for they did not bind themſelves by vows to that which was not in their power, nor did they think to merit thereby at Gods hands, and the chaſtity they profeſſed, they kept inviolate. Did the times wherein we live afford ſuch Virgins, ſo far are we from diſliking that ſtate of life, as we think it ſhould bring a great benefit to the Kingdom. But the bondage of Vows, with the opinion of Merit and Perfection, is it we diſcommend, things unknown to the holy Women of thoſe Primitive times. Another *Brigida*, or rather *Brigitta*, there was born in *Sweden*; who, as *Trithemius* writeth, came to *Avignon* in the year 1362, to ſue for the Popes confirmation to an Order of Nuns by her invented: But our *Brigida* was of a much older time, and died at *Abernethie* in the year 518, where ſhe was alſo interred.

Brigida dieth at *Abernethy*. *An.* 518.

An. 600. *Auguſtin* the Monk ſent into *Britan*. *Beda l.* 3. *c.* 2. Now are we come to the time in which *Auguſtin* the Monk was ſent into *Britan*. *Gregory* Biſhop of *Rome* did chuſe this man for planting Religion among the *Engliſh Saxons*, who had at that time ſubdued the *Britans*, and driven them beyond *Severn* into narrow bounds. At his firſt arrival he converted King *Ethelbert* to the Chriſtian Faith, and wrought much good. But whileſt he ſtrove to conform the *Britan* Churches to the *Roman* in Rites Eccleſiaſtick, and to have himſelf acknowledged for the only Archbiſhop of *Britan*, he did caſt the Church into a ſea of troubles. After divers conferences, and much pains taken by him to perſwade the *Britans* unto conformity, when he could not prevail, he made offer, that if they would yield to miniſter Baptiſm and obſerve Eaſter according to the *Roman* manner, and be aſſiſting to him in reforming the *Saxons*, for all other things they ſhould be left to their ancient Cuſtoms. But they refuſing to make any alteration, he fell a threatning, and ſaid, *That they who would not have peace with their brethren, ſhould find war with their enemies.* This falling out as he foretold, (for *Edelfrid* King of *Northumberland* invading them with a ſtrong Army ſlew at one time 1200 Monks that were aſſembled to pray for the ſafety of their country-men) made *Auguſtin* to be ſuſpected of the murther, and did purchaſe him a great deal of hatred. Whether he foreknew the practice or not, is uncertain, but ſhortly after the murther of theſe Monks he himſelf died.

The *Britans* refuſe to conform themſelves to the Rites of *Rome*.

There ſucceeded to him *Laurentius*, a *Roman* alſo, who followed the buſineſs of Conformity no leſs earneſtly, and with his fellow Biſhops *Mellitus* and *Juſtus*, wrote to the Church of *Scotland* in this manner: *Dominis chariſſimis, Fratribus Epiſcopis & Abbatibus per univerſam* Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus & Juſtus *Epiſcopi, ſervi ſervorum Dei. Dum nos Sedes Apoſtolica, more ſuo, ſicut in univerſo orbe terrarum, in his occidnis partibus ad prædicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc inſulam, quæ* Britannia *nuncupatur, contigit introiſſe, antequam cognoſceremus credentes, quod juxta morem univerſalis Eccleſiæ ingrederentur, in magna reverentia ſanctitatis tam* Britones *quam* Scotos *venerati ſumus: ſed cognoſcentes* Britones, Scotos *meliores putavimus*: Scotos *vero per* Dagamum *Epiſcopum in hanc quam ſupra memoravimus Inſulam, &* Columbanum *Abbatem in* Galliis *venientem, nihil diſcrepare à* Britonibus *in eorum converſatione didicimus. Nam* Dagamus *Epiſcopus ad nos veniens, non ſolum cibum nobiſcum, ſed nec in hoſpitio, quo veſcebamur ſumere voluit.* In Engliſh thus, Laurence, Mellitus *and* Juſtus *Biſhops, Servants of all the ſervants of God, to our Lords and deareſt Brethren the Biſhops and Abbots through all* Scotland. *While as the Apoſtolick See, according to the cuſtom it hath obſerved in the reſt of the world, did ſend us to preach the Goſpel unto the Heathen in theſe Weſtern parts, and that it happened us to come into this Iſle which is called* Britan, *we held in religious reverence both the* Scots *and* Britans, *believing that they did walk after the cuſtom of the univerſal Church: but after we had known the* Britans, *we judged the* Scots *to be better minded: yet now we perceive by* Dagamus *the Biſhop who is come hither, and by* Columbanus *the Abbot in* France, *that the* Scots *differ nothing in their obſervations from the* Britans; *for Biſhop* Dagamus *being here refuſed not only to eat with us, but even to ſtay in the ſame Inn or Lodging.*

A letter from the Biſhops of *England* to the *Scottiſh* Church. *Beda l.* 2. *c.* 4.

I

I find no answer returned to this Letter. Some thirteen years after, *Honorius* Bishop of *Rome* did move the matter of new, and in his Letters directed to the Church of *Scotland* exhorted them, *Ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terræ finibus constitutam, sapientiorem antiquis sive modernis quæ per orbem terræ erant Christi Ecclesiis æstimarent; neve contra Paschales computos, & Decreta Synodalia totius orbis Pontificum, aliud Pascha celebrarent:* That they being a few, and seated in the utmost borders of the earth, would not think themselves more wise than the Ancient or Modern Churches of Christ through the whole world; and that they would not celebrate another Easter contrary to the Paschal compts, and Synodal Decrees of the Bishops of the world.

An. 6——

Honorius writeth to the Church of *Scotland.* *Beda l.2.c.19.*

Pope *Honorius* dying, *Severinus* that succeeded insisted for an answer, which was sent; but he also departing this life before the same came to *Rome*, the Clergy there replied as follows. *Dilectissimis & sanctissimis*, Thomiano, Columbano, Chromano, Dimao, Bathano, *Episcopis*, Chromano, Hermanno, Laustrano, Stellano, & Sergiano, *Presbyteris*, Sarano, *cæterisque Doctoribus seu Abbatibus* Scotis; Hilarius *Archipresbyter, & servans locum Sedis Apostolicæ*, & Johannes *Diaconus in nomine Dei electus, item* Joannes *Primicerius, & servans locum sanctæ Sedis Apostolicæ*, & Johannes *servus Dei, Consiliarius ejusdem Sedis Apostolicæ. Scripta quæ latores ad sanctæ memoriæ* Severinum *addduxerunt, eo de hac luce migrante, reciproca responsa ad ea quæ postulata fuerant siluerunt. Quibus reseratis ne diu tantæ quæstionis caligo indiscussa remaneret, reperimus quosdam Provinciæ vestræ contra orthodoxam Fidem novam de veteri Hæresin renovare conantes, Pascha nostrum in quo immolatus est* Christus *nebulosa caligine refutantes, & quartadecima Luna cum* Hebræis *celebrare nitentes* &c. *Deinde exposita ratione Paschalis observantiæ, de* Pelagianis *subdunt, Et hoc quoque cognovimus, quod virus* Pelagianæ *Hæreseos apud vos denuo reviviscat: quod omnino hortamur, ut à vestris mentibus hujusmodi venenatum Superstitionis facinus auferatur. Nam qualiter ipsa quoq; execranda Hæresis damnata est, latere vos non debet; quia non solum per istos ducentos annos abolita est, sed & quotidiano nobis anathemate sepulta damnatur: & hortamur, ne quorum arma combusta sunt, apud vos eorum cineres suscitentur.* That is, *Hilarius* the Archbishop, conservator of the privileges of the Apostolick See, and *John* the Deacon in the name of God elect of the same See, likewise *John* the Pronotary and Conservator of the said privileges, and *John* the servant of God, Counsellor of the Apostolick See; to our best beloved and most holy Bishops, *Thomianus*, *Columbus*, *Chromanus*, *Dimaus* and *Bathanus*, and to the Presbyters, *Chromanus*, *Hermannus*, *Laustranus*, *Stellanus* and *Sergianus*, also to *Saranus*, and the rest of the Doctors or Abbots of *Scotland*. The Letters which were brought unto Pope *Severinus* of blessed memory have to this time received no answer, by reason of his decease. We having now unsealed them, lest questions of such consequence should be too long unsatisfied, do perceive some of your Province to be renewing an old Heresie against the Orthodox Faith, and ignorantly refuse to celebrate our Easter, in which Christ was offered, observing the fourteenth Moon, after the manner of the *Hebrews*. Then shewing how and when Easter should be observed, they subjoyn touching the *Pelagians* these words; We farther understand, that the poison of *Pelagian* Heresie is again breaking out among you; wherefore we exhort you to beware, and to keep your minds free of that venomous Superstition; for ye should not be ignorant how that execrable Heresie is condemned, and by us every day anathematized, notwithstanding that two hundred years since the same hath been abolished: therefore we beseech you not to stir the ashes of those who have had their Arms once burnt and consumed.

A Letter from the Clergy of *Rome* to the Church of *Scotland.* *Beda ibidem.*

Beda his judgment of the Letter.

Beda setting down this Letter, saith, that *it was full of learning, & contained evident proofs that Easter should be kept upon the* Sunday *which falleth betwixt the* 15 & 21 *of the Moon; whereas it was the custom of the* Scots *Church to keep it upon the Sunday falling betwixt the* 14 & 20, which he calleth an Heresie, and taketh our Church to have been newly infected therewith; neither yet the whole Church, but some certain in it only. But in this last he doth not agree with himself; for speaking afterwards of Bishop *Aidan*, he thus excuses his disconformity with *Rome* in the keeping of *Easter*, *quod suæ gentis authoritate devictus*, that he was overcome with the

An. 6— authority of his own Nation, *& contra morem eorum qui ipſum miſerant facere non potuit*, and could not keep Eaſter contrary to the cuſtom of them who had ſent him. So he acknowledgeth to have been the cuſtom of the *Scots* Church, and not of certain in it only. And whereas he ſaies that it was an Error, or Hereſy newly ſprung up, he greatly miſtaketh; for in the contention about the keeping of Eaſter, which grew afterwards very hot, we ſhall hear them plead the Antiquity of their cuſtom, and derive it from the very firſt times of the Church. But that we may know how this Contention grew, and who they were that withſtood the alteration deſired, we muſt make a little digreſſion.

Buchan. l. 5. *Boeth. l.* 9. *Leſl. l.* 4. The *Saxons* having overcome the *Britains*, and brought the Country of *England* to an *Heptarchy* by the partition they made of it, were never quiet, encroaching ſtill one upon anothers ſtate, till at laſt one got all. *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, the mightieſt of the whole, after he had reigned 22 years with great avarice and cruelty, was killed by *Redwald* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Edwin* (whom he had expelled) placed in his room. This *Ethelfrid* left behind him ſeven ſons, *Enfred* or *Eanfred*, *Oſwald*, *Oſſaus*, *Oſwin*, *Offas*, *Oſmond*, *Oſik* or *Oſrick*, *Buchan. l.* 9. and one daughter named *Ebba*, who upon their Fathers death fled into *Scotland*, and were liberally entertained by King *Eugenius* the fourth, notwithſtanding the enmity betwixt him and their Father whileſt he lived. Eighteen years they remained in *Scotland* exiled from their Country, and were by the care of the ſame *Eugenius* inſtructed in the knowledge of Chriſt, and baptized.

Edwin being killed in the 17 of his Reign by *Penda* King of *Mercia*, they returned all home, *Ebba* only excepted, who remained ſtill in *Scotland*. The Succeſſour of *Edwin* named *Oſrick*, parting the Kingdom with *Enfred* the eldeſt ſon of *Ethelfrid*, was made King of the *Deirians*, and *Enfred* King of the *Bernicians*; theſe two turning Apoſtates, and forſaking the Chriſtian Profeſſion which they had once embraced, were the Summer following deprived both of their lives and Kingdoms.

Bedal. 3. *c.* 5. *Oſwald* the ſecond ſon of *Ethelfrid* did upon their deaths ſucceed in both the Kingdoms, a noble and vertuous Prince, whoſe chief ſtudy was to promote Chriſtian Religion. To this effect he ſent his Ambaſſadors unto *Donald* the fourth then reigning in *Scotland*, and entreated him, by the old familiarity that had been among them, to help him with ſome worthy and learned man, that could inſtruct his people in the Faith of Chriſt. The King recommending the matter to the Clergy, one *Cormanus* was elected to go thither. But his labour proving unprofitable, he returned about the end of the year, and in a Synod of the Biſhops and Clergy informed that they were a people indocile and froward, that the pains taken upon them were loſt, they neither being deſirous nor capable of inſtruction.

Cormanus ſent into *Northumberland.*

Aidanus ſent for the converſion of *Northumberland.*

It grieved the Synod exceedingly to hear this, and while they were conſulting what to do, *Aidanus*, a learned man and reverend Preacher, is ſaid to have adviſed them *not to give over the work at any hands, for that the bad ſucceſs of* Cormanus *labours might poſſibly proceed from himſelf, that had not uſed the people tenderly, nor according to the Apoſtles rule*, fed them at firſt with milk; *and therefore deſired ſome other approved man might be employed of new, who would poſſibly do good among them*

Aidanus ordained Biſhop, and ſent into *Northumberland.*

This opinion allowed by all, none was thought fitter for this ſervice than he who had given the advice; and ſo with common conſent was *Aidan* ordained Biſhop, and appointed to that Charge. Being come thither, he ſet himſelf to amend the fault which he ſuppoſed *Corman* had committed, and ſo tempered his Doctrine, as multitudes of people daily did reſort unto him to be inſtructed. It was a great hindrance unto him at firſt that he was not skilled in the *Saxon* tongue, neither did the people underſtand his language; but this defect the King himſelf ſupplied, interpreting to the Auditory all that *Aidanus* delivered in his Sermons. So by the Kings zeal and *Aidanus* his diligence ſuch numbers were brought to the Chriſtian profeſſion, as in the ſpace of ſeven daies fifteen thouſand perſons were by him baptized.

The Vertues of King *Oſwald.*

Whether this people was more happy in their King or in this Biſhop, it is difficil to ſay. For the King, he did ſo excel in Piety and Prudence, that, as *Beda* writes, *all the Nations and Provinces within* Britan *were at his devotion; and not the leſs, his heart*

heart was never lifted up within him, but ſtill he ſhewed himſelf courteous and affable, and of the poor moſt compaſſionate. Among examples of his liberality towards theſe, the ſame *Beda* relateth, 'That ſitting at Table on Eaſter-day, and *Aidanus* 'by him, when it was told that a number of poor men were at the gate expecting 'his Alms, he commanded to carry the meat that was ſet before him unto them, 'and the Platter of Silver wherein it was to be broke in pieces, and diſtributed 'among them. *Aidanus* beholding it, took the King by the right hand, and 'kiſſing it, ſaid, *Nunquam marceſcat hæc manus*, never let this hand conſume or 'wither. Which, as he writeth, came alſo to paſs. 'For being killed in battel, 'and his arm and his hand cut off, the ſame was incloſed in a ſilver ſhrine, and 'remained for many years uncorrupted in the Church of S. *Peter* at *Bamborough*. This and the other Miracles he reporteth, I leave upon the credit of the Writer, who is too laviſh oftentimes in ſuch Fables and Fictions. *An.* 651.

As to *Aidanus*, he was an enſample of Abſtinence, Sobriety, Chaſtity, Charity, and all other Epiſcopal Virtues; for as he taught, ſo he lived, was idle at no time, nor did he admit any of his retinue to be ſo, but kept them in a continual exerciſe, either reading Scripture, or learning the Pſalms of *David* by heart. If he was invited to any Feaſt, (as rarely he went) he made no ſtay, but after a little refreſhment taken got himſelf away. In Preaching he was moſt diligent, travelling through the Country, for the greater part on foot, and inſtructing the people whereſoever he came. In a word, he was deficient in no duty required of a good Paſtor; and having governed the Church in thoſe parts moſt happily the ſpace of 17 years, died in the Iſle of *Lindisfarne*, (now called *Holy-Iſland*) the place he chuſed for his Reſidence, where he was alſo buried. The commendation of the Biſhop *Aidanus*.

After his death, which happened in the year 651, *Finnanus* was ordained Biſhop, and ſent to the *Northumbers* from *Scotland*. He followed his Predeceſſor in all, and was greatly troubled by *Romanus*, or *Conanus*, (as others name him) about the obſerving of Eaſter. This *Conanus*, born in *Scotland*, had lived ſome years beyond Sea, and was much taken by the *Roman* Rites; for advancing whereof (ſo zealous he was that way) he left his ſtation in *Kent*, and coming to *Northumberland*, did challenge the Biſhop to a Diſpute. The Biſhop anſwering, that he would not refuſe to diſpute, but to admit an alteration in Church Rites, whileſt he lived, he would not, the Diſpute ceaſed; and ſo for the time that he ſate Biſhop, Eaſter was celebrated after the ancient manner of the *Scots*. *Finnanus* in the mean time applying himſelf to better exerciſe, did work the Converſion of the *Eaſt-Saxons* and *Mercians*. For having baptized *Penda* the Prince of *Mercia*, he ſent with him four Preachers, who reformed all that part of the Country. *Divina*, or *Duina*, a *Scottiſh*-man was one of thoſe Preachers, and conſecrated Biſhop of *Finnan* in the year 656. In the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Litchfield* I find him firſt placed. There ſucceeded to him *Kellach*, a *Scottiſh*-man alſo; but he renouncing his Charge, becauſe of the Contentions that aroſe, returned to his Country. *Finnanus* ſucceeded *Aidanus*. *An.* 651.

Now *Finnan*, having governed the Churches of *Northumberland* the ſpace of ten years, died in *Lindisfarne*, and was buried in a Church which he himſelf had there erected. So great was the affection of theſe *Northumbers* to theſe preceeding Biſhops, as they would accept of none other but a *Scottiſh*-man. Whereupon *Colman* was brought, and placed in that See. In his time the controverſie of Eaſter was again wakened, and more hotly followed than before: great dealing there was to work him to a Conformity, but he would not forſake the courſe that his Predeceſſors had kept. After divers Conferences, a publick Diſpute was in the end condeſcended to for deciding the queſtion. The place was choſen at *Whitby*, (*Beda* calleth it *Starnſhalt*) a Religious houſe in *Yorkſhire*, whereof *Hilda* a learned & devout woman was Abbeſs: ſhe was a profeſſed adverſary to all the Rites of *Rome*, eſpecially Clerical Tonſure; which made *Colman* more willingly to agree unto the meeting. *Oſwy* King of *Northumbers* with *Elfred* his ſon were preſent in perſon, and many Eccleſiaſtick men of all degrees. The Reaſoners were *Colman* on the one part, who was aſſiſted by the *Scottiſh* Clergy, and *Hilda* the Abbeſs; on the other part, *Agilbert*, a *French*-man born, Biſhop of the *Eaſt-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* and *Agatho* Presbyters, *Finnan* dieth, to whom *Colman* ſuccedeth. The controverſy about Eaſter wakened. A Diſpute for the time of Eaſter.

An. 651. with *Jacob* and *Romanus*, two learned men. *Cedda* lately consecrated a Bishop by the *Scots* was chused to be *partis utriusque Interpres*, that is, (as I take it) the Recorder of all that should be spoken by either party, or enacted in that Conference and Meeting. The King himself did incline to *Colman*, but his Son favoured the other party, for that *Wilfrid* had been his Tutor.

Oswy King of *Northumbers* his Speech to the Disputers.

When all were placed in their seats, the King using a short Speech said, *That it was meet they who served one God, and looked to be heirs of one Kingdom in the Heavens, should keep one Rule and Form, and not vary in their Rites and Ceremonies*: therefore desired, *seeing they were come together for composing of differences, especially touching the Celebration of* Easter, *that they should calmly enquire what was the most ancient and best Form, to the effect all might observe and follow the same.* Then turning towards *Colman*, he willed him to deliver his opinion and reasons; who answered as followeth. 'The Easter which I observe I received from my elders, who did send me hither, and ordained me Bishop: 'all our Forefathers, men beloved of God, are known to have celebrated 'Easter in the same manner that I do; and if any think light of this, the blessed 'Evangelist S. *John*, the Disciple whom our Lord especially loved, with all the 'Churches whereof he had the oversight, observed the same, which to us is a 'warrant sufficient.

Colman his Reasons for the observing of Easter after the *Scottish* manner.

Agilbert being desired next to declare his mind, excused himself by the want of the *English* tongue, entreating the King that *Wilfrid* might be allowed to answer for them all; which granted, *Wilfrid* began in this sort: 'The Easter which 'we keep, we have seen observed at *Rome*, where the holy Apostles *Peter* and *Paul* 'did preach, and suffered Martyrdom. As we travelled through *France* and *Italy*, 'we saw the same order every where kept; and by relation we hear that the 'Churches of *Africk*, *Asia*, *Egypt*, *Greece*, and, to be short, the whole Christian 'world doth observe the same time: only these men and their followers, the *Bri-* 'tans and *Picts*, with some remote Islands, and not all these neither, do foolishly 'contend in this point against the whole world.

Wilfrid his Reply to *Colman*.

Here *Colman* interrupting his speech said, 'It is a marvel you should call our 'doing *foolish*, seeing we follow the ensample of that great Apostle who was 'held worthy to lie in the Lord's bosom, and is known to have lived most 'wisely.

Colman interrupteth *Wilfrid* for calling their observation *foolish*.

Wilfrid replying said, 'Far be it from me to charge S *John* with Folly, he 'observed the Rites of *Moses Law* according to the letter, the Church as yet *Ju-* 'daizing in many things, and the Apostles not being able to abdicate upon the 'sudden the whole Observations of the Law which God had ordained: for this 'cause did S. *Paul* circumcise *Timothy*, offer sacrifices in the Temple, and shave 'his head at *Corinth* with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*; which things he did only to eschew 'the offence of the Jews. In this consideration, S. *James* said to the Apostle 'S. *Paul*, *Thou seest, brother, that many thousands of the Jews do believe, yet are* 'they all zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospel now shining 'throughout the world, it is not lawful for a Christian to be circumcised, or to 'offer carnal sacrifices to God. Thus S. *John*, keeping the custom of the Law, 'began the Celebration of Easter upon the 14 day of the first month at evening, 'not caring whether it fell upon the Sabbath-day or any other day of the week. But 'S. *Peter* preaching at *Rome*, when he considered that the Lord did rise from 'the death on the first day after the Sabbath, thought good to institute Easter 'on that day. And that this is the true Easter to be observed by all Christians, 'it is clear by the *Nicene* Council, which did ratifie and confirm the same by 'their Decree. But you neither follow the example of S. *John* nor S. *Peter*, 'nor doth your Celebration of Easter agree either with the Law or Gospel. For 'S. *John*, observing it according to the Law, had no respect to the first day af- 'ter the Sabbath, whereas you keep not Easter but on the first of the Sabbath: 'Saint *Peter* did celebrate Easter from the 15 of the Moon to the 21, which you 'do not; for you keep Easter from the 14 to the 20 day, and often you begin 'Easter on the 13 day at night, whereof the Law maketh no mention; neither

Wilfrid excusing himself, persisteth in his Reply.

'did

'did our Lord the author of the Goſpel eat the Paſſeover on the 13 day, but up- *An.* 651.
'on the 14 at night, and at the ſame time he did celebrate the Sacrament of the
'New Teſtament in remembrance of his death and paſſion. So as I have ſaid,
'you neither agree with Law nor Goſpel, with S. *John* nor with S. *Peter*, in the
'Celebration of the greateſt Feſtivity.

To this *Colman* anſwered; 'And did *Anatholius* then, who in the Eccleſiaſtick *Colman* his Anſwer.
'Hiſtory is ſo highly commended, go againſt both the Law and the Goſpel, when
'as he ſaid that Eaſter ought to be kept from the 13 day to the 20? or ſhall we
'think our moſt reverend Father *Columba* and his Succeſſors, who were all dear
'unto God, did tranſgreſs in obſerving Eaſter after that manner? They were men
'of great Piety and Vertue, as their Miracles have declared; and I making no
'doubt of their Holineſs, will endeavour to follow their Order and Diſcipline.

Then ſaid *Wilfrid*, 'It is known that *Anatholius* was a godly and learned man; *Wilfrid* his reply.
'but what have you to do with him, that obſerve not his cuſtoms? for he follow-
'ed the true rule of keeping Eaſter, and obſerved the Circle of 19 years, which
'either you know not, or if you do, ye ſet at naught, although the ſame be obſer-
'ved in the univerſal Church of Chriſt. He did ſo account the 14 day, as he ac-
'knowledged the ſame to be the 15 at night, after the manner of the *Egyptians*,
'and ſo the 20 day he believed to be the 21 in the evening; which diſtinction
'you know not, as appears by this, that ſometimes you keep Eaſter on the 13 day
'before the full Moon. As to your Father *Columba* and his followers, whoſe Rule
'and precepts confirmed by Miracles you confeſs to follow, I may anſwer, That
'in the day of Judgment the Lord will ſay to many that *propheſied in his name*,
'did *caſt out Devils*, and wrought other miracles, *I know you not*. But God for-
'bid I ſhould ſpeak this of your Fathers; ſeeing it is better to believe good of
'thoſe we know not, than ill. Therefore I will not deny them to have been the
'Servants of God and beloved of him, ſeeing they ſerved God with good intent,
'though in ſimplicity. Neither do I think the Order they keep in Eaſter did
'hurt them much, ſo long as they had none among them that could ſhew the right
'obſervation thereof. If the truth had been ſhewed them, I doubt not they would
'have followed the ſame as well in this matter as in others which they knew.
'But if you and your aſſociates ſhould refuſe the Decrees of the Apoſtolick See,
'or rather of the whole Church allowed by holy Scripture, now after you
'have heard the ſame, without all queſtion you ſin heavily. Howbeit your Fa-
'thers were holy men, you muſt not think that a few dwelling in a corner of a
'remote Iſle are to be preferred to the univerſal Church of Chriſt. And if *Columba*
'your Father, yea and ours alſo, if he was of Chriſt, was mighty in Miracles;
'yet is he not to be equalled to the Prince of the holy Apoſtles, unto whom the
'Lord ſaid, *Thou art* Peter, *and upon this Rock will I build my Church, againſt*
'*which the gates of Hell ſhall not prevail; and will give unto thee the keys of the*
'*Kingdom of Heaven.*

The King, who had hearkened diligently unto all which they ſpake, taking hold The King determineth the Queſtion.
of theſe laſt words, asked *Colman if it was ſo that the Lord had ſpoken theſe words unto* Peter. He anſwered, *that it was truth. And can you ſhew*, ſays he, *that the like authority was given to your Father* Columba? *Colman* anſwered, *Not.* Then ſaid the King, *Do both agree in this, that theſe words were ſpoken to S.* Peter, *and that the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven were given to him?* They anſwered that they did. Then ſaid he, *Seeing S.* Peter *is the door-keeper of Heaven, I will follow his Rule in every thing, leſt when I come to Heaven's gates the doors ſhall be ſhut againſt me.* Theſe ſpeeches of the King, full of ſimplicity, were ſeconded with the acclamations of many of the hearers, and the victory adjudged to the adverſaries of *Colman.*

But he nothing moved therewith retained ſtill his opinion, and would not *Colman* reſigneth his place.
change; yet fearing that ſome trouble might ariſe if he ſhould make longer ſtay in thoſe parts, he reſigned his Biſhoprick, in which one *Tuda* a *Scottiſh-man* ſucceeded, who was content to ſubmit himſelf to the *Roman* obſervation of Eaſter, and to receive the *Clerical Tonſure:* but he lived not one whole year, and died of the Plague.

An. 651.

Colman returning into *Scotland* was welcomed by his Countrymen; for he was in great eſteem, and bare no ſmall authority, both in the Church and State, before he went into *England*; as appeared in the Inſurrection made againſt King *Ferqhard*. The Nobility having conſulted to depoſe him from his Kingdom for the deteſtable cruelties he had committed, by *Colman* his authority they were only kept back, who told them, *That the puniſhment of Kings belonged to God, and that he ere it were long would take vengance of his wickedneſs.* Which as he foretold came to paſs; for the King after a few days being at hunting, happened to be bitten by a Wolf, and falling into a Fever, ſuch a putrefaction enſued in his body, that out of every part there iſſued abundance of Lice and Vermine, which made him abhorred of all men. Languiſhing in this Conſumption a long ſpace, and touched with a bitter remorſe for his wicked life, he ſent for *Colman*, to whom he expreſſed a great ſorrow for the ill life he had led, intreating the help of his prayers; and, to teſtify his humiliation, would needs be carried forth to the next fields wrapped in ſackcloth; where after an open confeſſion made of his wickedneſs, he was abſolved by *Colman*, and ſhortly after yielded up the ghoſt.

Colman returneth into *Scotland.* *Buchan. l.* 5.

The memory of this, which was yet freſh in the minds of people, together with the report of his conſtancy, (for ſo it was interpreted) did purchaſe unto him great love and reputation; but he, making ſhort ſtay at home, went ſoon after into *Ireland* where he built a Monaſtery for the *Engliſh* and *Scots* that followed him thither. They not well agreeing, he bought a piece of ground and founded a Religious houſe for the *Engliſh* apart. Biſhop *Leſly* in his Chronicle writeth, that after this he paſſed into *Germany*, and having travelled through *Boheme*, *Hungary*, and a great part of *Greece*, as he returned by *Auſtria*, he was killed by ſome Pagans in thoſe parts: for this he citeth *Johannes Stabius*, the Hiſtoriographer of *Maximilian* the firſt. But whatſoever became of him, he was certainly a man of great integrity, and therefore much reſpected of all men.

A declining in the Church by the Diſſentions that grew in the ſame.

After this time we find a continual declining in the Church: for the Deciſion taken in that conference of *Whitby*, touching the controverſy of Eaſter, increaſed the Diſſention, and put all out of frame; they that were in place urging the Rites more ſtrictly than was convenient, and others chuſing rather to quit their places than to give way unto them. *Theodorus*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, is blamed for exerciſing the authority of his place too peremptorily about theſe things, and forcing the *Britiſh* Biſhops to conform themſelves: *Wilfrid*, Archbiſhop of *York*, dealing in like ſort with the *Scotiſh* Preachers, that had planted the Goſpel among the *Engliſh*, thruſt them from all their places. *Nam optione data, maluerunt loco cedere, quam Paſcha Catholicum cæteroſque Ritus canonicos Romanæ Eccleſiæ recipere*; It being given to their option, whether they would ſtay and admit the obſervation of Eaſter and other Rites of the Church of *Rome*, they made choice to leave their places and depart. The Clergy at home became alſo divided: for *Adamannus* or *Adamnanus* a Biſhop, who had been Tutor to *Eugenius* the ſixth, being ſent in Ambaſſage to *Alfrid* King of *Nothumberland*, fell in ſuch a liking of the Rites he ſaw there uſed, as at his return he became an earneſt perſwader of his Countrymen to receive them, and prevailed with many. Yet the Monks of *Jona*, whoſe Governour he had ſometimes been, did ſtrongly oppoſe; others that loved not to be contentious retired themſelves, among whom *Diſybodius* and *Livinus* are ſaid to have been two. *Diſybodius* going into *Germany* lived a Monk in the Abbey of *Fulden* many years.

Godwin de Præſulibus Angliæ.

Buchan. l. 5.

Adamannus a Biſhop.

Adamannus, whom even now I named, is much commended for the care he took to keep the *Picts* and *Scots* in peace; which albeit he did not effect according to his deſire, (for they were ever making Incurſions one againſt another) yet ſo far he prevailed, as during his life no publick War aroſe amongſt them. To bind the two people in friendſhip, he was a means to make *Eugenius* the ſeventh take to wife *Spondana* daughter to *Granard* King of *Picts*; but ſhe not long after being killed as ſhe lay in bed by two *Athol* men, that had conſpired to kill the King, and were miſtaken in the execution, the friendſhip contracted had almoſt turned into deadly enmity, becauſe of a rumour that went that ſhe was made away by the King's knowledge. The *Picts* complaining of the injury done to their blood, and many

of

of the ſubjects apprehending it to be the King's own fact, he was forced, with ſome indignity to his perſon, to plead his innocency in a Parliament called to that purpoſe. It happened that in the mean time the murtherers were diſcovered and taken, and by the puniſhment they ſuffered the King's innocency was ſufficiently cleared; wherewith he not contented, would needs be avenged of his ſubjects that had called his name in queſtion. This raiſed a great ſtir, and had doubtleſs burſt forth in a civil War, if *Adamannus* by his wiſdom had not mitigated the King, and wrought the ſubjects reconcilement. *Beda* ſpeaking of this *Adamannus* ſaith, that he was *Vir unitatis & pacis ſtudioſiſſimus*, a man moſt careful to preſerve unity and peace. And indeed he ſhewed as much; for having the favour of the King, although he ſtood divided in opinion from his brethren, he never moved him to uſe his Authority in theſe matters, as eaſily he might have done, judging as he did rightly, Uniformity to be a work of time, and that conſtraint and violence are not the means to bring it to paſs. *An.* 689.

Chilianus, or *Kilianus*, a man of great learning, taking a contrary courſe, fell into the diſlike of many for his too great forwardneſs in advancing the *Romiſh* Ceremonies; and out of indignation conceived againſt thoſe that maligned him left his place, betaking himſelf to travel with *Colonatus*, or *Columbanus*, a Presbyter, and *Theotrianus* a Deacon. After a view taken of *England* and *France*, he took journey into *Germany*, and coming to *Herbipolis*, now called *Wirtzburg*, where one *Gosbertus* governed as Deputy to *Theodorick* King of *France*, he was informed that the Governor had lately taken *Geilana* his brother's widow to wife; which he eſteeming a great wickedneſs, and not to be endured where Chriſtianity was profeſſed, he went to *Rome*, and meaned the matter to Pope *Conon*; who, liking well the zeal of the man, did conſecrate him Biſhop of *Wirtzburg*, and ſent him back thither. At his return ſhewing the Governour what an unlawful match he had made, be laboured earneſtly to have him dimit *Geilana*, and was in likelihod to prevail: whereupon the malicious woman having conduced ſome murtherers to make him away, both he and his two companions were ſtrangled in their Chambers; and, leſt the fact ſhould be diſcloſed, their bodies, books and veſtments, were all hidden under the ground. But God, who never ſuffereth murther to be long concealed, brought the ſame ſhortly after to light by the means of one of her maids. Whereupon *Burcardus* his ſucceſſor made the corpſes to be raiſed, and laid in the great Church of the City, with theſe verſes appended nigh unto their Sepulcher. *Chilianus.* *Baron. in anno* 689.

Hi ſunt, Herbipolis, *qui te docuere Magiſtri,*
Qua verum coleres religione Deum.
Impia quos tandem juſſit Geilana *necari,*
Celavitque ſub hunc corpora cæſa locum.
Ne turpi, ſine laude, ſitu deſoſſa jacerent
Corpora, Burcardus *ſub monumenta locat.*

But to proceed; as it falleth out commonly at ſuch times, there were not a few that, upon hope to raiſe their fortunes and gain preferment, were after this ſtill gadding to *Rome*. *Baronius* telleth us in his Annals of two of our Countrymen, *Wiro* and *Plechelmus*, that came to *Rome* to viſit, as he ſpeaketh, *Limina Apoſtolorum*. *Wiro*, he ſaith, had been earneſtly intreated to accept the charge of a Biſhop; but it being a cuſtom in the *Scotiſh* firſt Church to elect their Biſhops, then to ſend them to *Rome* for ſeeking confirmation, he took this occaſion to viſit the holy City. But, by the Cardinals leave, our Church had no ſuch cuſtom before that time; nor will it be ſhewed that before theſe two any did go to *Rome*, either to be conſecrated, or confirmed. They indeed obtained what they ſought, and were conſecrated by Pope *Honorius*, who uſed them with much reſpect; that upon the report they ſhould make, others ſhould be allured to keep the ſame courſe. *Wiro* returning, made an ample diſcourſe of their entertainment, and incited many to try the ſame way, yet made no long ſtay at home; for we find him ſhortly after turn Confeſſor to King *Pipin*, with whom he found ſuch favour as he did build a Monaſtery *Baron. in ann.* 632. *Wiro* and *Plechelmus* conſecrated Biſhops by Pope *Honorius.*

An. 697. Monaſtery in *Franconia*, to the memory of St. *Peter*, and, retiring thither in his age, did there end his days. What became of *Pelchelmus* I read not; only I find both him and *Wiro* preſent at a Synod in *Utrecht*, called by Pope *Sergius* in the year 697. and in the Records *Pelchelmus* ſtyled *Epiſcopus Candidæ caſæ*.

A Synod at *Utrecht*.

An. 697. *Bonifacius* an *Italian* came into *Scotland*.

There came about the ſame time into *Scotland* an *Italian* named *Bonifacius*, a grave and venerable perſon, as he is deſcribed, and was judged by the vulgar ſort to be the Pope. Some have written that he was elected ſucceſſour to *Gregory* the Great, but declined the charge out of a deſire to promote Religion in theſe Northern parts. I rather think he came hither to confirm our acquaintance with the *Roman* Church. As ever that was, for the pains he took in preaching the Goſpel, and the Churches he erected in this Kingdom, he deſerveth of us an honourable remembrance. For landing in the River of *Tay*, at the mouth of a little Water that divided the Countries of *Angus* and *Mernis*, he there built a Church to the memory of St. *Peter* the Apoſtle; another not far from thence he built at *Telin*, and a third at *Reſtennoth*: and having finiſhed theſe works, he did viſit the Countries of *Marre*, *Bughan*, *Murray* and *Bogieland*, preaching the Goſpel whitherſoever he came; neither did he reſt till he came to the Country of *Roſs*, and chuſing *Roſmarkie* for the place of his reſidence erected there a Church, where after his death he was buried. *Molochus*, a learned Biſhop of his Countrey, taking delight in his company, followed him in all theſe ways; and that he ſhould not be ſeparate from him in death, gave order that he ſhould be interred in the ſame Church, and near unto *Boniface*; for he outlived him many years, and died in the 94 of his age. His bones were afterwards tranſlated to *Liſmore* in *Argile*, becauſe of his labours employed in reforming that Church.

Bonifacius made Archbiſhop of *Mentz*.

Whether or not I ſhould mention among theſe that *Boniface* who was by *Gregory* the ſecond preferred to be Biſhop of *Mentz*, I know not, ſo many Writers affirming him to have born in *England*: but of what Country ſoever he was, none did ever adventure more for the Pope than he did; for he is ſaid to have brought the *Bavarians*, *Thuringians*, *Heſſians*, and a great part of *Germany* more, to ſubmit themſelves in all matters Eccleſiaſtick to the See of *Rome*; yet was he therein greatly oppoſed (beſides ſome *Germans*) by two of the *Scottiſh* Nation, *Clemens* and *Sampſon*, who at the time remained in thoſe parts. Theſe did openly in their Sermons inveigh againſt him as a Corrupter of Chriſtian doctrine, charging him, 'I. For that he ſtudied to win men to the ſubjection of the Pope, and not to the 'obedience of Chriſt; 2. That he laboured to eſtabliſh a ſovereign authority in 'the Pope his perſon, as if he were only the Succeſſour of the Apoſtles, whereas 'all Biſhops are their Succeſſours as well as he; 3. That he went about the aboli-'ſhing of Prieſts Marriage, and extolling a Single life beyond meaſure; and, 4. 'That he cauſed Maſſes to be ſaid for the dead, erected Images in Churches, and 'introduced divers Rites unknown to the ancient Church. For this *Clemens* in a Council holden at *Rome* was excommunicated and condemned for an Heretick. The ſentence is to be ſeen in the third Tome of the Councils wherein none of theſe particulars is mentioned, but other falſe aſperſions are caſt upon his fame, as hath been the Cuſtom of handling thoſe that oppoſe the Corruption of the *Roman* Church. *Bonifacius*, always going on in his courſe, and ſeeking to make the like Reformation amongſt the *Frizons*, was with 54 of his followers killed in the 60 year of his age, and hath therefore a chief place in the *Roman* Martyrology.

But this did ſo little terrify others, as about the ſame time certain *Scottiſh* Monks did adventure upon the *Saxons*, to bring them under the Pope's obedience. *Palto*, *Tanco*, *Korvila* and *Haruchus*, (ſo they name them) being conſecrated Biſhops of *Verden* in *Saxony* one after another, did all of them lay down their lives in that quarrel; *Quaſi exoptantes coronam Martyrii*, ſays *Balæus*, longing for the Crown of Martydom, and counting it their glory to ſuffer in the Biſhop of *Rome* his cauſe. Nor were they Monks only that were ſo given, but even of the Biſhops *Sedulus* and *Perguſtus* were vehemently ſet that way, and having aſſiſted in a Synod called at *Rome* by *Gregory* the ſecond in the year 721, (as their Subſcriptions extant in the Books of Councils do teſtify) after their return made great diſturbance in the Church

Church for the erecting of Images, and put divers Preachers from their Livings for reſiſting that courſe. *An.* 697.

In all this time, which is not a little to be admired, the Eremitical life was in ſuch eſteem, not with Clergy-men alone, but with the greateſt Nobles and Princes, that they, forſaking their Honors and Dignities, betook themſelves thereto, as the moſt contented and deſirable ſort of life. Of theſe laſt our Stories do name *Droſtanus*, the Uncle, or, as others ſay, the Nephew of King *Aidanus*, Prince *Fiacre*, the ſecond ſon of *Eugenius* the fourth, and *Florentius*, a Gentleman of honorable birth and eſtate, who did all, nigh at one time, ſequeſter themſelves from the world, not out of any grief or diſcontent, whereof they had no cauſe, but upon a mere apprehenſion of the vanity of worldly greatneſs. The ſtory of *Fiacre*, as *Boeth.* rehearſeth it, is eſpecially memorable. This Prince being committed to the education of *Conanus* Biſhop of *Man*, after he came to ſome years, did ſteal away privately to *France*; and his intention being diſcovered to *Pharo* Biſhop of *Meaux*, he had by his gift a little Cell in a ſolitary place appointed for him. There ſeparating himſelf from all company, he ſpent his time wholly in Prayer and divine Contemplation. It happened after a little time, his elder brother King *Ferqhard* to be depoſed for his Tyrannical government; whereupon Commiſſioners were ſent to recal him, as being the next Heir of the Kingdom. He getting intelligence of their coming, did betake him to his prayers, and with many tears beſought God to confirm his mind in the reſolution he had taken, and divert them by ſome means from diſturbing his reſt: ſo as when they came unto him he appeared unto them leprous, looked ſo deformed as they were amazed to behold him: but they (notwithſtanding this, did not judge him unfit for government) reſolved to deliver their Commiſſion, intreating him to return to his Country, where he would find the air more healthful, and in a ſhort time by the help of Phyſicians recover his health. *Fiacre* at firſt excuſing himſelf by his infirmity, when he perceived them inſiſt for his return, and relinquiſhing that ſort of life, did cut them off with this anſwer: *I have*, ſaid he, *made choice of this condition of life which you ſee, & am contented with this little Cell for my dwelling: theſe Garments* (pointing to his apparel) *ſerve me for clothing, and my food is a ſimple Pottage of herbs, which I dreſs to my ſelf; more I deſire not, nor would I change this ſtate of life with the moſt fortunate King in the world. I ſeem to you deformed, yet is my body ſound, and my blood uncorrupted; but it is the will of God I ſhould look ſo, that I may be kept humble, and learn to amend my life. Go you therefore home, and ſhew my Brother and the Noblemen that ſent you hither, that I live content in this private manner, and will not change it with any ſtate whatſoever; and from me deſire them to ſerve God purely, to live juſtly, and entertain peace among themſelves: which if they do, they ſhall be always victorious over their enemies.* This ſaid, he withdrew himſelf into his Cell; and they, finding that there was no means to prevail with him, departed. The Story of *Fiacre*.

The Commiſſioners at their return making report of that they had ſeen, and his reſolution, his only ſiſter *Syra* was ſo much moved with it, as, taking with her ſome Virgins in company, ſhe went to viſit him, and after ſome conference rendered her ſelf and thoſe that came with her Religious in the City of *Meaux*. This *Fiacre* is the ſame to whoſe memory divers Churches in *France* are dedicated, and is ſaid to have died in the year 665.

Florentius (whom I named) taking the like reſolution went into *Germany*, and in the Country of *Alſatia*, upon the River *Haſel*, built a little Chappel for his private uſe, where he lived retired from all company, and purchaſed to himſelf great reputation. It happened *Rathildis* the daughter of *Dagobert* King of *France* to fall ſick in the time of a diſeaſe that deprived her both of ſight & ſpeech, and being recommended to *Florentius* prayers, ſhe within a little while recovered. Whereupon King *Dagobert* did build a magnifick Abbey, called yet *The Abbey of Haſelah*, and committed the Government thereof to *Florentius*. There was difficulty enough to win him from his ſolitary life; yet ſo earneſt were the ſolicitations uſed unto him, that in end he yielded, and was after that made Biſhop of *Strasburg*, upon the death of *Rotharius*. Twelve years he governed that See moſt wiſely, giving proof of his vertue and worth as well in the active as contemplative life. Before his death *Bal. cent.* 14.

An. 697. death he founded a Monaſtery for *Scottiſh*-men at the river *Bruſcius* in *Alſatia*, and placed therein *Argobaſtus*, *Theodotus* and *Hidolphus*, who had accompanied him from *Scotland*. His Body, according as he directed, was there interred after his death.

Never did this Country abound more in Learned men than at this time. Our Writers ſpeak of *Mocharius*, *Glacianus* and *Gervadius*, Biſhops of great reputation: they name likewiſe *Divinicus*, *Conganus*, *Dunſtanus*, *Medanus*, and *Modanus*, as famous men all for their Piety and Learning. But they that King *Achaius* ſent to *Charles* the Great, upon his earneſt intreaty, did excel all the reſt; *Joannes Scotus*, *Claudius Clemens*, *Rabanus Maurus* and *Flaccus Albinus*, otherwiſe called *Alcuinus*, theſe four he ſent with Prince *Gulielme* his brother into *France*, at the time of the league made with that people, which to this day remaineth inviolate: and by them it was that the Univerſity of *Paris* was firſt founded. *Scotus* after he had ſtayed ſome years at *Paris* was imployed by the ſame *Charles*, for founding an Univerſity at *Pavia*, and was in great reſpect with all, the *Roman* Church excepted, who could not away with the liberty he uſed in his reproofs of the Errors then ſpringing up. His Treatiſe of the Euchariſt, a pious and learned Work, was by Pope *Leo* the ninth condemned in *Synodo Vercellenſi* in the year 1030, long after his death. *Claudius Clemens* was afterwards preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Auxene*, where he lived to his death in great eſteem.

The Univerſities of *Paris* and *Pavia* founded by *Scottiſh*-men. *Scotus.*

Alcuin. *Alcuin*, commonly held to be *Charles* the Great his Maſter, was made his Eleemoſynar, and lived in ſpecial credit with him. The Book that came forth under *Charles* his name againſt Images was thought to be penned by him; for he was a man of great Learning, as the many Books left by him to poſterity do ſhew. *Ubique pius, ubique doctus*, ſays *Balæus*, *ſuccinctus, gravis, & ante multos alios præcipue dignus qui in manibus hominum habeatur.* The *Engliſh* Writers will have him born in their Country, not far from the City of *York*. To which I only ſay, that the *Engliſh* at that time being adverſaries to the *French* and *Scots*, ſpeaking of them as common enemies to both people, it is not probable, if he had been of the *Engliſh* Nation, that he would be ſo inward with *Charles* the Great.

Rabanus Maurus. *Rabanus Maurus* was his Auditor many years, and under his hand grew to ſuch perfection of learning, that it is ſaid, *quod nec* Italia *ſimilem*, *nec* Germania *æqualem peperit*; that neither did *Italy* breed his like, nor *Germany* his equal. *Tantam viri eruditionem*, ſays *Bruſcius*, *omnes Bibliothecæ nobis commendant*; *& quantum ingenio valuerit, edita ab eo volumina demonſtrant. Bibliothecam enim* Fuldenſem *tanta librorum multitudine locupletavit, ut dinumerari vix queant.* All Bibliotheques do witneſs the rare erudition of that man, and what a fertile ingenie he had, the Volums publiſhed by him do ſhew. The Library of *Fulden* he enriched with ſuch multitudes of Books as can ſcarce be numbred. And certainly who ſhall but read the Catalogue of his Works, will wonder how any one man ſhould in his life have penned ſo much, and upon ſo divers ſubjects; for beſides that he did illuſtrate the whole Books of Scripture with his Expoſitions, he left a number of profitable Tractates in every Science to poſterity. After *Clemens* was gone from *Paris* he continued in the Univerſity ſome years; and being made Abbot of *Fulden*, upon a diſpleaſure he conceived againſt the Monks he went to the Court of *Ludovicus* the Emperor, where he had not long attended, when, upon the death of *Otgarius* Archbiſhop of *Mentz*, he was elected to the Government of that See. Ten years he ſate Biſhop, having no oppoſition made to him nor to his Doctrine, though he taught no other than what is with us in theſe times taught and profeſſed; as in his Works yet extant may be ſeen.

Maidulphus Scotus. *Camden's* Antiquities. In this reckoning we muſt not forget our country-men *Maidulphus Scotus*, who was of great fame in theſe days for his skill in training up the youth in Letters, and kept a publick School at *Caerbladon* in *Wiltſhire*, there being as yet no Univerſity in *England*: he alſo is ſaid to have been a ſtrong defender of the Biſhop of *Rome* his Authority, and placed in that part by *Eleutherius* Biſhop of the *Weſt-Saxons*, for withſtanding the *Britiſh* Doctors that oppoſed the *Roman* Rites. After ſome time beſtowed that way, embracing the Monaſtical life, he erected an Abbey at *Malmsbury*, which *Aldelin* his diſciple and ſucceſſor did much increaſe: and from him

him it is thought that *Malmsbury* took the name, being at first called *Maidulphs-bury*, or *Maidulphs City*. *An.* 800.

We are now at the 800. year, or thereabout, when as the Wars were renewed betwixt the *Scots* and the *Picts*, which brought in end the utter subversion of that people, I mean the *Picts*. Their kingdom had continued near 1200 years under the Reign of 65 Kings, and was fortunate enough till the daies of King *Feredeth*; who, I know not by what ill counsel, bare an heavy hand upon the Church, and made spoil of her Rents, especially of the Ornaments bestowed by his Predecessor King *Hungus* upon the Church of S. *Andrews*. The occasion of these Troubles I shall briefly set down, after I have remembred the Magnificence of Prince *Gulielme*, which ought never to be forgotten. After the League contracted with *France*, which he was sent to ratify, he followed *Charles* the Great in all his wars, performing notable services, especially in *Italy*, where he was made Lieutenant for the King. Upon the end of the Wars, being grown in age, he went to *Germany* resolving to bestow his means (which were very great) in founding Religious Houses, which he did at *Colen*, *Francford*, *Vienna*, *Herford*, *Luneburg*, *Wirtsburg*, *Muleren*, and *Ratisbone*: fifteen Abbeys and Hospitals they reckon founded by him, some in *Italy*, but the most part in *Germany*; all which he endowed with a reasonable proportion of lands and rents, but with this Proviso, that none should be admitted therein but *Scottish*-men born. This for many years according to his appointment was observed; and even at this time, notwithstanding the manifold alterations that have happened, there be some of these foundations that are no ways changed from their first Institution. They also may possibly decay, yet the magnificence of that Noble Prince shall ever be recorded to his everlasting honour.

Wars renued between the *Scots* and the *Picts*.

An. 800.

Religious Houses founded by Prince *Gulielm.*

Boeth. l. 10.

And now to the occasion of these Troubles I mentioned. There reigned in the time of King *Achaius* amongst the *Picts Hungus*, a Prince well inclined, and a great lover of Religion and Justice. *Athelstane* King of the *West Saxons*, having usurped upon divers of his neighbours, and inlarged his kingdom by subduing the *Northumbers*, did likewise invade the *Picts*, intending the conquest of that part of their kingdom which lay next unto his. *Hungus* hereupon did move King *Achaius*, who had married *Fergusiana* his Sister, for some supply; and he, no less offended with *Athelstan*'s oppressions than was *Hungus* himself, sent to his aid ten thousand men, under the leading of Prince *Alpin* his Son. *Hungus* supplied with this power entered into *Northumberland*, and, having made great depredations, returned home with a rich booty. *Athelstan* following upon his heels overtook him at a little Village not far from *Hadington*; which put *Hungus* in a sore fright, for a great part of his Army was dismissed and gone home: yet not seeing a way to eschew the Fight, he gave order for the Battel against the next day, and in the mean time betook himself to prayer, spending most part of the night in that exercise. A little before day falling into a slumber, it seemed to him that the Apostle S. *Andrew* stood by him, and assured him of the victory; which Vision being related to the Army did much encourage them. The History addeth, that in the joyning of the battel there appeared in the air a Cross, in form of the Letter X, which so terrified the enemies as presently they gave back. King *Athelstane* was himself there killed, whereupon the Village took the name which at this day it enjoyeth, of *Athelstan Foord*.

Hungus King of *Picts* supplied by *Achaius* King of *Scots*.

Hungus, to express his thankfulness for the Victory, gave to the Church of *Regulus*, now called S. *Andrews*, divers rich gifts, as Chalices, Basons, the Image of Christ in Gold, and of his twelve Apostles in Silver. He gave likewise a Case of beaten Gold for preserving the Reliques of S. *Andrew*, and restored to the Spirituality the Tithes of all Corns, Cattel, and Herbage within the Realm, exempting them from answering before any temporal Judge. Farther, he did appoint the Cross of S. *Andrew* to be the Badge and Cognisance of the *Picts*, both in their Wars and otherwise; which as long as that kingdom stood was observed, and is by the *Scots* as yet retained. But all this was spoiled, as we said, by *Feredeth* the third in succession from *Hungus*, after which time nothing prospered either with him or with that people.

Hungus his thankfulness for his Victory.

For

An. 800. For the Line maſculine of their Kings failing, *Alpin* the ſon of *Achaius* did claim the Crown as next in blood, by virtue of an old Covenant betwixt the *Scots* and *Picts*. The *Picts* refuſing to accept him being a Stranger, made choice of this *Feredeth* whom we named; and thereupon War was denounced. The firſt Encounter was at *Reſtennoth* in *Angus*; where in a cruel Fight, which continued from the morning until night, *Feredeth* was killed. His Son *Brudeus*, who ſucceeded, was made away by the *Picts* themſelves in the firſt year of his reign, and *Kenneth* his Brother that ſucceeded to him came to the like unfortunate end. After *Kenneth*, another called *Brudeus* was elected King; and he, in a Battel fought not far from *Dundee*, took King *Alpin* and many of his Nobles priſoners: which Victory he uſed moſt foully, putting all the Nobles to death, killing the King, and cauſing his head to be ſet upon a pole in *Abernethy*, or, as others write, in the City of *Camelon*.

The *Scots* claim the Kingdom of the *Picts*.

Kenneth utterly overthroweth the *Picts*.

The *Picts* upon this Victory ſuppoſing that they had utterly broken the courage of the *Scots*, did purpoſe nothing leſs than their extermination, which after the death of *Brudeus*, his Brother *Dusken* that ſucceeded went earneſtly about. But *Kenneth* the ſecond, the ſon of *Alpin*, a Prince of a brave and heroick ſpirit, purſued ſo hotly the revenge of his Fathers death, as having defeated the *Picts* in divers Battels, he drave them all in the end forth of the kingdom, and united that Crown to his own of *Scotland*. This *Kenneth* was a moſt wiſe and valiant King, and ſo circumſpect in his buſineſs, that from that time forth none of the *Picts* were ever heard to reſume the title of a King. The Countrys which they inhabited he divided amongſt the Nobles, and others whoſe labour in theſe Wars had merited a recompence. He eſtabliſhed good and wholſome Laws. To the Church he gave another face, and a greater outward ſplendour than the former Ages had ſeen, tranſlating the Epiſcopal See (which whileſt the *Pictiſh* Kingdom ſtood was ſetled in *Abernethy*) to the Church of S. *Reul*, and ordained it from thenceforth to be called *The Church of* S. *Andrews*, and the Biſhop thereof *Maximus Scotorum Epiſcopus*, the principal Biſhop of *Scotland*. Churches, Chapels and Oratories, with their Prieſts and all ſorts of Religious men he cauſed to be held in great reverence; and, in a word, did ſo nobly perform all actions both of War and Peace, as he may rightly be placed amongſt the beſt Kings, and reckoned the third Founder of the *Scottiſh* Monarchy.

Boeth. l. 10.

Leſl. l. 5.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Second BOOK.

The Contents.

The Succeſſion of Biſhops in the ſeveral Sees of this Kingdom, eſpecially in the See of Saint ANDREWS, *with other principal things that happened in their times.*

The Succeſſion of Biſhops in this Church after the ſubverſion of the *Picts.*

HAving made a Collection of ſuch things as I found diſperſed in Stories, and warranted in any ſort, for the firſt ſix hundred years of our Church, and being now come to the time wherein this Church by enlarging of the Kingdom received a farther extention in bounds, and therewith an addition of more wealth and ſtate; I will, as beginning with a new account, follow the Story thereof by the Succeſſion of Biſhops, eſpecially in the See of Saint *Andrews*, upon which the reſt did depend.

Adrian the firſt in this accompt killed by the *Danes. An.* 872.

1. The firſt Biſhop who ſat in this See was *Adrian*, killed by the *Danes* in the Iſle of *May*, in the year 872, with *Stolbrandus* a Biſhop, *Monanus* an Archdeacon, *Glodianus* a Presbyter, and a number of other Churchmen, who fled thither for their ſafety. Whileſt this Biſhop lived, *Conſtantine* the ſecond the ſon of *Kenneth* did keep a Convention in *Scone*, for reforming the diſorders which the looſe and diſſolute Government of his Predeceſſor *Donald* the firſt had cauſed. In that Convention beginning was made at the Clergy, and concerning them it was ordained, 'That they ſhould reſide upon their Charges, and have no medling with ſecular 'buſineſs: That they ſhould inſtruct the people diligently, and be good enſam-'ples in their converſation: That they ſhould not keep Hawks, Hounds, or Hor-'ſes for pleaſure: That they ſhould carry no weapons, nor be pleaders of Civil 'cauſes, but live contented with their own proviſions. And if they were tried 'to tranſgreſs in any of theſe points, that for the firſt fault they ſhould be fined in 'a pecuniary mulct, and for the ſecond deprived from their office and living. Thus was it not held in that time a diminution of Eccleſiaſtical authority for Princes to give Laws to the Clergy, and to puniſh them if they were found guilty of any offence or crime.

A convention at *Scone* for reformation of the State. *An.* 860.

Statutes for redreſſing Abuſes.

Divers other ſtatutes for redreſſing Abuſes crept into the Realm were then alſo concluded: as, 'That Drunkenneſs ſhould be puniſhed with death; that none 'ſhould eat above one meal a day, nor accuſtom themſelves to lie ſoftly, or uſe 'any Recreation but ſuch as might inure them to ſufferance and labour. Whereby that good King did baniſh all Riot and Luxury, and in a ſhort time brought the Kingdom again to a flouriſhing eſtate. But the *Danes* (as we ſaid) invaded the Country, and practiſing many cruelties, whileſt he did purſue them, who had entrenched themſelves not far from the Town of *Carrail*, he was unfortunately

An. 904. with all his Army overthrown, and, being taken priſoner the day following, beheaded at the mouth of a little Cave, which in deteſtation of that fact is to this day called, *The Devils Cave.*

2. Unto Biſhop *Adrian* ſucceeded *Kellach*: how long he lived, I find not.

Scon. l. 2. in Catalogo Epiſc. S. Andreæ. King *Gregory* his Favors to the Church.

3. After him *Maliſius* governed the See by the ſpace of eight years. This Biſhop had the happineſs to live under *Gregory* called the Great, a King indued with all the Virtues that can be wiſhed for or deſired in a King. The Priviledges and Immunities granted by him to the Church do witneſs his Piety; for in a Convention held at *Forfare*, by an unanime conſent of his Eſtates, he ordained, 'That all Prieſts 'ſhould from thenceforth be exempted from paying Tribute, keeping Watch, and *Botth. l.* 10. 'going in Warfare. That they ſhould not be drawn before Temporal Judges for 'any Civil cauſe, but that all matters concerning them ſhould be decided by their 'Biſhops. The judgment of Matrimonial cauſes, right of Tithes, Teſtaments, Le'giſlatory actions, and all things depending upon ſimple faith and promiſe, ſhould 'be committed to the Biſhops, with power to them to make Canons and Conſti'tutions Eccleſiaſtical, to try Heretioks, Blaſphemers, Perjured perſons and Ma'gicians, and cenſure ſuch as they did find delinquent in that kind. And that all 'Kings ſucceeding ſhould at the time of their Coronation take oath for maintain'ing the Church in their Liberties. Theſe Favors had the Clergy in the following Ages uſed with that moderation and equity which they ought, we ſhould not have ſeen nor felt the interruptions that have been made upon Church-Liberties, with the Incroachments which in our time have been juſtly complained of.

Jo. Scotus called *Ærigena.* In this time lived that famous Scholar *Joannes Scotus*, called *Ærigena*, from the place of his birth, which was the town of *Aire* in the Weſt parts of *Scotland.* This *Botth. l.* 10. man being very young went to *Athens*, and following his ſtudies there ſome years, attained to great perfection in the *Greek*, *Chaldick* and *Arabick* languages. Returning afterward to *France*, at the requeſt of *Carolus Calvus*, he tranſlated in *Latine* *Liſl. l.* 5. the Work of *Dionyſius De cæleſti Hierarchia*; at which Pope *Nicolaus* took exception, and wrote to King *Charles* on this manner. *Relatum eſt Apoſtolatui noſtro quod Opus Dionyſii Areopagitæ, quod de Divinis Nominibus, vel cæleſtibus Ordinibus, Græco deſcripſit eloquio, quidam vir*, Johannes *genere* Scotus, *in Latinum tranſtulit: quod juxta morem nobis mitti, & noſtro debuit judicio approbari; præſertim cum idem* Johannes, *licet multæ ſcientiæ eſſe prædicetur, olim non ſanus in quibuſdam frequenti rumore dicatur.* We have been informed that one called *John*, of the *Scottiſh* nation, hath tranſlated the Work which *Dionyſius* the *Areopagite* did write of the Names of God, or of the heavenly Orders, into the *Latine* tongue: which Book ought, according to the cuſtom, have been ſent to us, & approved by our judgment; eſpecially ſince the ſaid *John*, albeit he be eſteemed of good learning, hath been of long time held to be unſound in certain Points of doctrine. Now the Point which the Pope did chiefly quarrel was his Opinion of the Sacrament; for he had publiſhed a Treatiſe *De Corpore & Sanguine Domini*, wherein he maintained *Bertram* his Doctrine of that Point. *Scotus* having knowledge of this, and thinking he could not be ſafe in thoſe parts becauſe of the Pope's diſlike came into *Britain*, & was welcomed by K. *Alfrid*, a great favorer of Learned men, by whom he was employed to teach the Languages at *Malmsbury* Abbey, and by ſome Scholars, who could not endure the ſeverity of Diſcipline, was ſtabbed to death in the year 884, and buried in the ſame Abbey.

An. 904. 4. Biſhop *Maliſius* dying, *Kellach* the ſecond, the ſon of one *Ferlegus*, ſucceeded in his place. He was the firſt Biſhop of this Kingdom that went to *Rome* to ſeek Confirmation, and lived to a great age, for he ſate Biſhop 35 years. In his time *Conſtantine* the third King of that name, wearied with the troubles of a Publick life, renounced his temporal Dignity, and betook himſelf to Solitude among the *Culdees* in S. *Andrews*, with whom he ſpent his laſt five years, and there died.

King *Conſtantine* the Third forſaketh the publick life.

Paſſit. l. 6. *c.* 27.

After this *Killach* theſe ſucceſſively were Biſhops.

5. *Malmore.*
6. *Maliſius* the ſecond.
7. *Alwinus*, who ſate three years only.
8. *Maldwin* the Son of *Gillander*, and
9. *Tuthaldus.*

In

In this time the Cœlibate of the Clergy was violently urged, and Married Prieſts thruſt from their Livings; which raiſed great Stirs in the Church, but the particulars are not recorded, nor the Broils which thereupon inſued. I read in the Antiquities of the *Britannick* Church, that in the year 977 a Council was gathered at *Calne* in *Wiltſhire* for that buſineſs, to which *Beornellus* a Biſhop of *Scotland* was called by *Alfrithe* the widow of King *Edgar*, who favored the cauſe of married Prieſts. This Biſhop, a man of great learning and eloquence, is ſaid to have defended the Conjugal life of Prieſts by ſolid Reaſons taken out of Scripture, and to have put all the oppoſites to ſilence. But *Dunſtane* the Archbiſhop, who preſided in that Council, when he ſaw that Reaſon could not bear out the errand, fell a threatning, and ſaid that notwithſtanding all their Arguments they ſhould not carry away the victory: which he had no ſooner ſpoken, than the beams of the Houſe wherein they ſate at Council burſting aſunder, all were overturned, and fell headlong to the ground; many were bruiſed, and ſome killed with the fall; *Dunſtan* himſelf only eſcaped without harm, the beam whereon he ſtood remaining whole and intire. Such as favoured the cauſe of Monks did interpret this accident to be a ſentence given by God on their ſide: others ſaid that *Dunſtan* had wrought this miſchief by Sorcery, (for many ſuppoſed him to be a Magician.) However it was, the married Prieſts (though repining) were forced indeed to yield and ſubmit themſelves. What became of *Beornellus*, I read not, nor whether he returned to his Country. *An.* 977. *Camd. ant.*

The names of ſome other Biſhops we have who were in good accompt at that time; ſuch as *Blaanus*, *Englatius*, *Colmocus*, aud *Moveanus* Confeſſor to King *Kenneth* the Third, a wiſe and valiant King, and one who might have been reckoned amongſt the beſt Princes, if about his latter end he had not ſtained his fame with the murther of *Malcolm* his Nephew, whom he made away by poyſon: but the ambitious deſire he had to ſettle the ſucceſſion in his own poſterity ſet him to work this villany; which he carried in ſo covert a maner, as no man did once ſuſpect him thereof, (the opinion of his integrity being univerſally great.) But as wicked facts can never be aſſured, though poſſible they may be concealed; his mind was never after that time quiet, the conſcience of the crime vexing him day and night with continual fears. In end, (whether it was ſo in effect, or if his perplexed mind did form the ſelf ſuch an imagination) whileſt he lay aſleep, he heard a voice ſpeaking to him in this ſort. 'Doſt thou think that the death of *Malcolm*, 'that innocent Prince treacherouſly murthered by thee, is hidden from me, or 'that thou ſhalt paſs any longer unpuniſhed? No, there is a plot laid for thy life, 'which thou ſhalt not eſcape: and whereas thou didſt think to tranſmit the 'Crown firm and ſtable to thy poſterity, thou ſhalt leave the Kingdom broken, 'diſtracted and full of trouble. *Boeth. l.* 11.

The King awaked with the voice was ſtricken with great terror. In the morning early calling *Moveanus*, he laid open to him the grief and vexation of his mind: who giving the King his beſt counſel for the pacifying of his Conſcience, did adviſe him to beſtow alms upon the poor, viſit the graves of holy men, have the Clergy in greater regard than he was accuſtomed, and perform ſuch other external ſatisfactions as were uſed in thoſe times. The King following his directions did carry himſelf moſt piouſly, not thinking by theſe outward deeds of Penance to make expiation for his ſin; for they were not become as yet ſo groſly ignorant, as to believe that by ſuch external works the juſtice of God is ſatisfied: albeit ſome idle toyes, ſuch as the viſiting the graves of the Saints, kiſſing of Reliques, hearing of Maſſes, and others of that kinde, which Avarice and Superſtition had invented, were then crept into the Church; yet people were ſtill taught, that Chriſt is the only propitiation for ſin, and by his blood the guilt thereof is only waſhed away. This being ſtill the Doctrine of the Church, to think that *Kenneth* was any other, is ſcarce charitable. Always, as he was viſiting the grave of *Palladius*, being invited to lodge in the Caſtle of *Fettercarne*, he was there treacherouſly murthered. But to return to our Biſhops. *Buchan. l.* 6. King *Kenneth* murthered in the Caſtle of *Fettercarne.*

10. *Fothadus* ſucceeded next after *Tuthaldus*, a man greatly reſpected for the

An. 1004. opinion conceived of his Holineſs. In the competition which *Grimus* had with *Malcolm* the Second for the ſucceſſion of the Crown, by his wiſdom and the truſt they repoſed in him they were brought to an agreement, and a moſt perillous commotion ſtayed. How long he ſate Biſhop is not recorded; in his time lived *Vigiamus* a Monk, an eloquent Preacher, *Coganus* an Abbot, and *Onanus* a Deacon, men of eſpecial accompt.

Buchan. l. 6.

Scon. l. in Catalog. Epiſc. S. Andrews.

Buchan. l. 6.

Boeth. l. 11.

11. After the death of *Fothadus*, *Gregorius* was elected and conſecrated Biſhop. He lived in a troubleſome time; for ſoon after his election, the *Danes* did of new invade the Country, and landing in *Murray*, had ſuch ſucceſs at firſt as they did think to make conqueſt of the Realm. But *Malcolm* the Second having repulſed them at a battel fought at *Pambride* in *Angus*, did purſue them unto *Biohan*, where at a Village called *Murthlack* he gave them an utter overthrow, and forced thoſe that eſcaped to ſwear, that during the reign of *Malcolm*, and the life of *Swane* their King, they ſhould never return into *Sotland*.

The *Danes* defeat at *Murthlack* in *Angus* by *Malcolm*.

An Epiſcopal See at *Murthlack*.

To memorize this victory, the King did found an Epiſcopal See at *Murthlack*, endowing the ſame with Rents forth of the adjacent lands; and calling the Clergy to an aſſembly in the Town of *Bertha*, (now *Perth*) he enacted by the advice of Biſhop *Gregorius* divers Canons for their better government. At the ſame time in a Convention kept at *Scone*, to reward thoſe that had done well in the late *An.* 1004. Wars, he gave away all the Crown lands, reſerving little or nothing to himſelf. The Barons, to requite his liberality, did grant to him and his ſucceſſors Kings of *Scotland* the Ward of all their lands, with the benefit that might accrue by the marriage of the Heir. But this, being caſual and uncertain, proved unſufficient for maintaining his Royal eſtate, ſo that neceſſity (the ſure companion of immoderate largition) did force him to make unlawful ſhifts: whereby he came to be as much hated in end as he was loved at firſt; and by ſome villains, that thought themſelves wronged by him, was murthered in the Caſtle of *Glammes*, after he had reigned 30 years. Before his time the titles of *Thane* and *Abthane* were the only Titles of honour and dignity in the Realm: whereas he, to give a greater ſplendor to the State, did introduce all thoſe Offices which are now in uſe, and are commonly called *Offices of Eſtate*.

Boeth. l. 11.

Paſſ. l. 4. c. 44.

Buchan. l. 6.

An. 1034. *Duncan* the Firſt, his Nephew by *Beatrix* his daughter, ſucceeded to the Crown, whoſe weakneſs and ſimplicity made way to *Mackbeth* his Couſin-german's uſurpation; for he, conſpiring with *Bancho* a man of great place, deprived the King both of his Crown and life, in the ſeventh year of his reign. The Kings two ſons, *Malcolm*, ſurnamed *Canmore*, and *Donald Bane*, fearing the cruelty of the Tyrant, withdrew themſelves and fled, *Malcolm* into *Wales*, and *Donald* into the *Weſt Iſles*. Thus none being to oppoſe, *Mackbeth* did aſſume to himſelf the Crown, and for the firſt ten years governed the Kingdom better with juſtice than he got it. Afterward growing ſuſpicious, and ſeeking to rid himſelf of thoſe that might prove his enemies, he began his cruelty at *Bancho*, who had a hand with him in the Kings murther: and inviting him on a night to ſupper with his ſon *Fleanche*, as they were returning to their lodgings, made ſome lie in the way to murther them. *Bancho* doubting no harm was killed; but his ſon *Fleanche* through the darkneſs of the night eſcaped. The Nobles deteſting this treachery, and fearing it might turn to be their own caſe, retired home to their dwellings. *Mackbeth* finding himſelf to be forſaken of his Nobles, and knowing that he was hated by the people, fell then to practiſe open Tyranny, and forging quarrels againſt the better ſort, did upon light cauſes put divers to death.

Buchan. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 12.

The *Thane* of *Fife*, called *Mackduffe*, a man of great power, out of a ſuſpicion he conceived, fled into *England*; where meeting with *Malcolm* the lawful Heir of the Crown, after he had exponed the miſery whereunto the Country was brought by the Cruelties of *Mackbeth*, and the reaſons of his own flight, he perſuaded him to return and repeat his Fathers Kingdom. *Malcolm*, who often before had been ſolicited to return by ſuch as *Mackbeth* did ſuborn, made anſwer, *That he underſtood all theſe things to be true which were related; but if*, ſaid he, *ye knew how unfit I am for Government, you would not be ſo earneſt as you ſeem to call me home: for,*

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nōt to diſſemble with you whom I eſteem my friend, the Vices which have overthrown many Kings, Luſt and Avarice, do reign in me: whileſt I live obſcure in a private ſort, theſe faults are not eſpied; but if I were in place of Rule, the ſame would ſoon appear and break forth. *Mackduffe* replying, 'That theſe were no reaſons to 'keep him back, for that Marriage and time would quench Luſt; and for Ava- 'rice, when he ſhould have abundance, and be out of fear of want it would ceaſe. *That*, ſaid he, *poſſible may be, but I have an imperfection greater than theſe; for I can truſt no man, and have found ſuch falſhood in the world, as I am jealous of every one, and upon the ſmalleſt ſuſpicions (for I meaſure every man by my ſelf) I break and alter all my courſes.* 'Away then, ſaid *Mackduffe*, I am unfortunate, and thou 'unworthy to Reign: and with this word he made to depart. Then *Malcolm* taking him by the hand, ſaid; *I do now know thou art a man worthy of truſt, and will not refuſe to undergo any hazard with you; for as to theſe Vices we have been talking of, I thank God none of them do reign in me, only I ſpake this to diſcover your mind and diſpoſition.* Thus both agreeing upon the enterpriſe, they gave private notice to their friends of their coming; and obtaining a ſupply of ten thouſand men from King *Edward*, under the leading of *Sibard* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Malcolm*'s Grand-father by the Mother, they entered into *Scotland*. The rumour of this Army did caſt *Mackbeth* into a great terror, and not knowing what to do (for he was deſerted of all) he ſhut up himſelf at firſt in the Caſtle of *Dunſinnan* a Fort that he had lately built. The Army marching thither, how ſoon they came in ſight, *Mackbeth* out of a new fear forſook the Fort, and made to fly by horſe; but being purſued by ſome of *Malcolm* his friends, he was overtaken and killed.

An. 1057. A diſcourſe between *Mackduffe* and *Malcolm*. *Boeth. l.* 12. *Leſl. l.* 5. *c.* 3, 4. *Scotichron. l.* 7.

Upon this victory *Malcolm* was declared King, and crowned in *Scone* the 25 of *April*, 1057. Soon after his Coronation, calling the Eſtates together at *Forfar*, he reſtored the children of thoſe that *Mackbeth* had forfeited: and to correct the intemperances of the people, and to recal them to the ancient frugality, made divers good Statutes, repealing that beaſtly Act of *Eugenius* the Third, which appointed the firſt night of the new-married woman to appertain to the Lord of the ground, and granting the husband liberty to redeem the ſame by payment of an half Mark of ſilver, which portion they call *Marchetus mulierum*, and is as yet diſponed by ſuperiors in the Charters they give to their vaſſals.

An. 1057. *Buch. l.* 7.

In this Convention likewiſe the Biſhops, who, as we ſhewed before, did indifferently adminiſtrate their Functions in all places to which they came, had limits appointed to them for the exerciſe of their juriſdiction. To S. *Andrews* was committed the overſight of *Fife*, *Louthian*, *Merce*, *Strivelin-ſhire*, *Angus* and *Mernis*. *Glaſgow* had the charge given him of the Weſt parts and Borders; *Galloway* this country which yet beareth the name; and *Murthlack* all that is now of the Diocy of *Aberdene*. Beſides theſe, the King did erect *Murray* and *Cathnes* into two Biſhopricks, appointing able men for the diſcharge of the ſervice, and providing them with maintenance ſufficient, he gave the Lordſhip of *Momemusk*, the ſuperiority whereof belongs as yet to that See. The Church of *Dunfermling* he built from the ground, and laid the foundation of the Cathedral in *Durham*, advancing great ſums to the perfection thereof. In all which he was much furthered by that bleſſed Lady Queen *Margaret* his wife.

Diocies appointed to the Biſhops.

Cathnes and *Murray* erected by King *Malcolm* the Third.

That we may better know this Lady, and how ſhe came to be married unto *Malcolm*, I muſt relate a few things belonging to that purpoſe. *Edmond* King of *England*, ſurnamed *Ironſide*, being treacherouſly killed at *Oxford*, *Canutus* a *Dane*, who reigned in a part of that Kingdom, attained the abſolute dominion of the whole. This *Edmond* left two ſons, *Edwin* and *Edward*, whom *Canutus* in the beginning entertained very kindly, but afterwards ſeeking to eſtabliſh the Crown in his own poſterity, he ſent them to *Volgarus* the Governor of *Swain*, to be murthered. The Governor pitying the eſtate of theſe innocent youths conveyed them ſecretly unto *Solomon* King of *Hungary*, giving out to *Canutus* that they were made away. *Edward* (ſurviving *Edwin* his brother) married *Agatha* ſiſter to the Queen of *Hungary*, and daughter to the Emperor *Henry* the Second, by whom he had a ſon called *Edgar*, and two daughters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*. After *Canutus* his death

The Hiſtory of Queen *Margaret*, and her Marriage with King *Malcom*.

An. 1057. ſucceeded *Harold* his eldeſt ſon, whoſe reign was cruel and ſhort, and four years only. And after him *Hardicanutus*, who died ſuddenly in the ſecond year of his reign, and was the laſt of the *Danes* that ruled in *England*.

Upon his death *Edward* brother to *Edmond Ironſide*, living then in *Normandy*, was recalled and crowned King of *England* at *Wincheſter*, in the year 1042. This is he that is called *Edward the Confeſſor*, a moſt pious King; who having no iſſue, ſent to *Hungary* for his Couſin *Edward*, and for his children. *Edward* ſoon after his coming died, ſo *Edgar* ſurnamed *Atheling* remained, to whom King *Edward* would willingly have reſigned the Crown; but ſuch was the modeſty of that young Prince, as he did abſolutely refuſe to reign during the King his life. That loſt him the Crown, for upon the death of the King, *Harold* ſon to Earl *Godwin* was preferred, Prince *Edgar* his right utterly misknown. But *Harold* his reign continued not long. *William* Duke of *Normandy*, commonly called *the Conqueror*, having killed him in a Battel fought in *Suſſex* the next year, uſurped the Kingdom to himſelf. *Edgar*, fearing the Conquerors cruelty, took Sea with his Mother *Agatha*, and his two ſiſters, *Margaret* and *Chriſtian*, intending to return into *Hungary*, but were by Tempeſt driven upon the coaſt of *Scotland*, where King *Malcolm*, that had learned by his own ſufferances to compaſſionate the diſtreſſes of others, did moſt courteouſly receive them, and ſhortly after their coming took *Margaret* the eldeſt ſiſter of *Edgar* to wife; a Lady of rare Vertue, who, though ſhe brought him little or no Portion, made both him and his Kingdom happy.

King *Malcolm* and the Conqueror at War.

How ſoon the *Norman* had ſetled his dominion in *England*, he ſent to King *Malcolm* to require *Edgar* his Competitor and Fugitive (as he termed him) to be rendered. *Malcolm* refuſed, holding it an unſeemly deed in a King, to deliver any perſon that took their refuge to him, much more to betray a Prince allied to himſelf unto his mortal enemy. Hereupon War was proclaimed, and one *Roger* a Noble man of *Normandy* ſent to invade *Northumberland*, which was then in the poſſeſſion of the *Scots*. *Richard* Earl of *Glouceſter* did ſecond him with a great power; but both theſe were put to the worſe. *Odo* the *Norman*'s brother, who of a Biſhop of *Bayeux* was made Earl of *Kent*, as likewiſe his own Son *Robert*, whom he employed with ſeveral Armies, did proſper no better; ſo as wearied of the Wars, he began to think of Peace: neither was *Malcolm* unwilling unto it. And after ſome Treaty it was accorded, That King *Malcolm* ſhould retain *Cumberland* with the ſame right that his predeceſſors did enjoy it: and that the ſubjects of each Kingdom might know their limits, and how far they were to paſs, a ſtone-Croſs was erected in *Stanmore*, which was called the *Ree Croſs*, that is, the Croſs of Kings; for on the North ſide thereof the Arms of the King of *Scotland* were graven, and upon the South the Arms of the King of *England*.

Peace concluded amongſt them.

The contrary diſpoſition of King *Malcolm* and *William Rufus*.

This Peace held firm all the Conquerors time; but *William* called *Rufus* his Son ſucceeding, it quickly diſſolved: neither could it be otherwiſe, conſidering the contrary diſpoſition of the two Kings. For as *Malcolm* was religiouſly given, and a great Benefactor to the Church, ſo *Rufus* in all his carriage manifeſted no affection that way: for, to inlarge his Foreſt at *Wincheſter*, he demoliſhed thirty Churches, and forced *Anſelm* that good Biſhop of *Canterbury* to quit the Kingdom, for the liberty he uſed in his reprehenſions. It was alſo thought that the interview of the two Kings at *Glouceſter* did farther their diſlike (as hath been often obſerved to fall out in the meetings of Princes.) For *Malcolm* departed from him in diſpleaſure, *Rufus* by ſome ſecret practice got the Caſtle of *Alnwick*, whereupon aroſe the War in which King *Malcolm* and Prince *Edward* his Son did both periſh.

Biſhop *Gregorius* dieth.

A little before the beginning of this War, Biſhop *Gregorius* died, and in his place one called *Edmundus* was elected, who deceaſed before his Conſecration.

Turgot elected in his place. *Buchan. l.* 7.

12. After him *Turgot* Prior of *Dureſme* was choſen Biſhop. He wrote the Hiſtory of King *Malcolm* and Queen *Magaret*, who ſome few days after the death of the King her husband departed this life in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the Church of *Dunfermlin*; whither alſo the bodies of *Malcolm* and *Edward* his Son were afterwards tranſlated, for at firſt they were buried in *Tinmouth* Abbey.

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Never was more lamentation made for the death of two Princes, than was for this Queen and her Husband *Malcolm*. To ſpeak of his Piety, Juſtice and Magnanimity, he outwent in all theſe the Princes of his time: and for Courage, he gave a noble proof of it in the firſt entry of his Reign, when upon a Conſpiracy detected againſt his life, riding one day in the fields, he called the chief Conſpirator, and taking him aſide from the reſt of the company unto a ſecret place, he did challenge him as a Traitor, willing him, if he had any valour, to ſhew the ſame, and rather take his life in an honeſt manner than treacherouſly. The man confounded with the boldneſs of the King, fell upon his knees and entreated pardon; which the King granted, retaining him ſtill in his ſervice as before. The magnificence of his Court whileſt he lived was great; and in the State to diſtinguiſh the degrees of Honor, he introduced the Titles of *Earl*, *Baron* and *Knight*, in the place of *Thane* and *Abthane*, which were the Titles before in uſe. *An.* 1117. The vertues of King *Malcolm* the third.

His Queen *Margaret* was in her place no leſs famous in all the Vertues that became women, devout towards God, charitable to the poor, and exceeding liberal in the advancing of publick works. The Church of *Carlile* ſhe built upon her own charges, and was eſteemed not to be the leaſt cauſe of all that the King her husband beſtowed that way. By her the King had a fair iſſue, ſix Sons, and two Daughters. The firſt, called *Edward*, died with his Father at *Alnwick*: the ſecond, called *Edmond*, did render himſelf Religious: *Etheldred*, the third, deceaſed young: the other three, *Edgar*, *Alexander* and *David*, reigned ſucceſſively one after another, continuing all of them in the ſame courſe of goodneſs. The names of the two Daughters were *Maud* and *Mary*. *Maud* entring into the Cloiſter wherein *Agatha* her Grandmother and *Chriſtian* her Aunt lived retired, was with much difficulty won to deſcend into the world, and to be joyned in marriage with *Henry* the Firſt King of *England*; a Lady of incomparable Vertues, and of ſo good a diſpoſition, as ſhe was commonly termed MAUD *the good Queen*. Having lived 17 years with her husband in great love, ſhe deceaſed at *Weſtminſter* the firſt of *May*, 1118. and was buried on the right hand of *Edward the Confeſſor* his Tomb, with this Epitaph affixed The praiſe of Queen *Margaret*. Her iſſue by King *Malcolm*. *Buchan. l.* 7. *Sa. Daniel in* his Collection.

Proſpera non lætam fecere, nec aſpera triſtem:
Aſpera riſus ei, proſpera terror erant.
Non decor effecit fragilem, non ſceptra ſuperbam:
Sola potens humilis, ſola pudica decens.
Maii *prima dies noſtrorum nocte dierum*
Raptam perpetuum fecit inire diem.

The other ſiſter *Mary* was married to *Euſtathe* Earl of *Boloign*, who went to the recovery of the Holy Land with that noble Prince *Godfrey* his Brother. She bare to him one only Daughter, named *Maud*, who was afterward matched to *Stephen* King of *England*, and departed this life at *London* three years before her Siſter, having her Corps interred at *Bermundſey* Abbey in *Southwark*, with this Inſcription.

Nobilis hic tumulata jacet Comitiſſa Maria:
Artibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
Regum ſanguis erat, morum probitate vigebat;
Compatiens inibi, vivat in arce poli.

Thus much we owed to the memory of thoſe good and glorious Princes, and now return. *Turgot*, after he had governed the See of S. *Andrews* with good commendation ſome 25 or 26 years, died in the year of our Lord 1117. His Corps according to his appointment, was honorably conveyed to *Dureſme*, and there interred. *An.* 1117. *Scon. lib. in Catalog. Epiſc. S. Andrews.*

In his time lived *Veremudus* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, a *Spaniard* by Nation, and well learned according to thoſe times. He wrote the Hiſtory of *Scotland*, from the

An. 1098. the beginning of the Kingdom unto the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, and is greatly commended for his diligence and fidelity in that work; but by the injury of Time the ſame is loſt.

In *Germany* much about the ſame time lived *Marianus*, *Paternus*, *Ammichadus*, *Sigebertus* and *Helias*, all of them *Scotch*-men, and well reſpected. This laſt had the government of two Monaſteries in *Colen*, called S. *Pantaleon* and S. *Martin*. The ſeverity and rigor that he uſed toward his Monks brought him in diſlike with *Piligrinus* Archbiſhop of the City, who upon ſome falſe informations determined to expulſe him and all the *Scottiſh* Monks that were in the City, after his return from the Emperours Court, where he was for the time. This being reported to *Helias*, he is ſaid to have uttered theſe words, *Si Chriſtus in nobis peregrinus eſt, nunquam vivus Coloniam veniet Piligrinus:* which falling out according to his prediction purchaſed to him the reputation of a Prophet. After that he lived many years in peace, and died at *Colen* in the year 1042.

Sigebertus having governed the Monaſtery of *Fulden* ſome years, was preferred to the Archbiſhoprick of *Mentz*, and being urged by *Gregory* the ſeventh called *Hildebrand*, to depoſe the Married Prieſts that would not ſeparate from their wives, was in danger to be detruded by his Clergy, and had much ado to cauſe that law of Single life to be embraced by them.

Ammichadus, a man nobly born, and greatly affected to the ſolitary life, lived a Recluſe in the Abbey of *Fulden*, ſpending his time in the meditations of mortality, and died in the year 1043.

Paternus was a Monk in the City of *Potelbrum*, which in the year 1058 was conſumed with fire. *Ambiens Martyrium*, ſaith *Marianus*, in a fooliſh affection of Martyrdom, refuſing to come forth of the Monaſtery, he was therein burnt alive.

Marianus. *Marianus*, he was firſt a Monk in the Monaſtery of S. *Martin* at *Colen*, founded by *Ebergerus* the Archbiſhop of that City for a Seminary of *Scottiſh* Students, in the year 676; and having continued there two years, went to the Abbey of *Fulden*, where he lived ten years. After that he went to *Mentz* upon the Archbiſhops viſitation, and ſtayed there ſome 15 years. All this time he imployed in the ſtudy of Letters, eſpecially of Story and Chronology, wherein he attained to ſuch a perfection, as he was accompted the only Chronologiſt in his days: The Chronicle he wrote from the beginning of the world unto the year of *Chriſt* 1183, yet extant, doth teſtifie no leſs. He died at *Mentz* in the year 1186, and was buried in the Church of S. *Martin* within the City. And thus much for the learned men of our Country that lived in the time of *Turgot*.

An. 1098. 13. Next after *Turgot* *Godricus* ſucceeded in the See of Saint *Andrews*. This Biſhop did anoint King *Edgar* the Son of *Malcolm*, in the year 1098. after the mannner of other Chriſtian Princes; which Rite had not been formerly uſed in the Coronation of our Kings, and (as they write) was obtained from Pope *Urban* the ſecond, at the requeſt of Queen *Margaret*: for the Popes of *Rome* having as then advanced themſelves above Kings, did take on them the conferring of theſe Enſigns of Majeſty to whom and where they pleaſed. This *Edgar* was a good King, and greatly beloved of all his ſubjects. The Abbey of *Cauldingham*, which in former times had been a ſanctuary of Virgins, he gave to the Church of *Dureſme*; but upon the ungrate behaviour of *Ranulph* Biſhop of that See, a man noted of much corruption, he recalled his gift, and erected the ſame into a Priory.

King *Edgar* erected the Abbey of *Cauldingham* in to a Priory.

King *Alexander* the *Fierce* ſeeketh advice of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

Upon the death of *Godricus*, King *Alexander* ſurnamed *the Fierce* ſent to *Radolph* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, to have his advice for the promoving of ſome worthy perſon unto the place; and in his Letters directed to that effect, complained of the Archbiſhop of *York* his encroaching upon the Church of *Scotland*, through the overſight of *Lanfrank* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that had given way to the conſecration of ſome of the Biſhops of Saint *Andrews* at *York*, whereas in old times they were not wont to receive Conſecration but either from the Biſhop himſelf, or from the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*: therefore deſired his aſſiſtance in redreſſing that abuſe, which he ſaid he could not any longer tolerate. Now this *Radolph* was

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at the ſame time in queſtion with *Thurſtan* the elect of *York* for his Conſecration, to which by no means he would aſſent, unleſs *Thurſtan* would make profeſſion of obedience to the See of *Canterbury*. And about that was ſo much buſineſs made, that *Radolph* though he was then both aged and ſickly, did undertake a journey to *Rome* to debate his right. At his return, which was ſome four years after, (ſo long did the See of Saint *Andrews* remain void) the King ſent to him *Peter* Prior of *Dunfermlin* and one of his own Gentlemen to congratulate his ſafe return, and requeſt that *Eadmerus*, a Monk of *Canterbury*, a man well reported of might be ſent hither, for filling the place. *Radulph* knowing that *Eadmerus* had neither by himſelf, nor by any other indirect means moved the buſineſs, and ſo taking it to come of God, howſoever it grieved him that the Church of *Canterbury* ſhould lack the benefit of his ſervice, gave his conſent, and having obtained King *Henry*'s licence, (without whoſe knowledge he would not have him go into a ſtrange Country) ſent him to *Alexander* with an ample recommendation, in ſubſtance this:

An. 1098.

The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and *York* at difference.

'We give unto God (ſaid he) everlaſting thanks, for that it hath pleaſed him to 'open the eyes of your mind, and make you know and ſeek that which you ſhould; 'and to your Highneſs ſelf we eſteem our ſelves greatly bound, becauſe of your 'friendly and familiar uſage: for albeit your deſires tend to our hurt, and are not 'leſs grievous to us than if you ſhould pull out our eyes or cut off our right hand, 'we cannot but commend your deſire, and ſo far as we may in God obey the ſame. 'Therefore unwilling, and yet willing, we yield unto all your will: willing in ſo 'far as we perceive it is Gods will, which we dare not withſtand, nor will we in 'any thing willingly diſpleaſe; yet unwilling, for that we are left alone, and de-'prived of his fellowſhip, who as a Father miniſtred unto us conſolation in time 'of grief, giving us ſound advice in many perplexed caſes, and was to us a moſt 'helpful Brother in this our infirm and old age. If any other ſhould have re-'quired him of us, we would no more have parted with him than with our own 'heart; but there is nothing which in God we can deny you. Thus we ſend un-'to you the perſon that you deſired, and ſo free, as you may lay on him what 'charge you will, ſo as it be to the honor of God, and to the credit of the Mother-'Church of *Canterbury*. Do therefore what you purpoſe wiſely, and remit him 'unto us with diligence to be Conſecrated, becauſe delay in that errand may 'breed impediments that we deſire to eſchew, *&c.*

Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* his Letter to King *Alexander*.

Eadmerus bringing with him this Commendatory Letter, was the third day after his coming elected Biſhop by the Kings Licence, and with conſent both of the Clergy and Laity; but the next morning, whileſt the King conferred with him apart touching his Conſecration, he began to magnifie the Church of *Canterbury*, and the authority it had over all the Churches of *Britain*; declaring that, by his leave, he would ſeek the Epiſcopal benediction from the Biſhop, and not receive it at the hands of any other. Which offended the King greatly; for by no means could he endure to hear of this Churches ſubjection to the *Engliſh*. Thereupon the Monks who had been truſted in the years preceeding with the intromiſſion of the rents, were charged to uplift the ſame, and to impede the Elect his poſſeſſion. Yet within a few days the King going in an Expedition againſt ſome Rebels in the Country of *Roſs*, by the interceſſion of Noblemen it was agreed that *Eadmerus* ſhould receive the Ring out of the Kings hand, and the Croſier being laid upon the Altar, he ſhould take up the ſame, and that way be inveſted into the Biſhoprick. In this ſort was he entered to his charge, the Clergy and people accepting him for their Biſhop.

Eadmerus hiſt. l. 5. & 6.

King *Alexander* offended that *Eadmerus* would not be Conſecrated in *Scotland*. He is inveſted in the Biſhoprick by the interceſſion of the Noblemen.

Mean while *Thurſtan* the Archbiſhop of *York*, who was then beyond the Sea, ceaſed not to ſolicit King *Henry* of *England* by his Letters to impede the Conſecration; for which effect 3 ſeveral meſſages were ſent to King *Alexander*. *Eadmerus*, upon the diſtaſt the King had taken of him, was not much reſpected: which he perceiving and withal conſidering that the King being his unfriend, his ſervice could not be very profitable to the Church and Kingdom, reſolved to go unto *Canterbury*, and ſeek the advice of his brethren and friends in thoſe parts. This ſignified to the King, he ſaid that the Biſhop had nothing to do with *Canterbury*, nor ſo long as he lived ſhould

Thurſtan the Archbiſhop of *York* oppoſes the Conſecration of *Eadmerus*.

An. 1124. should any Biſhop of *Scotland* profeſs ſubjection to that See. Which being reported to the Biſhop, he replied in paſſion, *That not for the Biſhoprick, nay not for all* Scotland *would he deny himſelf to be a Monk of* Canterbury.

Eadmerus departeth into *England* upon the Kings diſlike.

Falling thus more and more in the diſlike of the King, and jars daily encreaſing, he employed the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* to try the King his mind towards him: who told him that he found the King greatly diſpleaſed with his courſes, and if he continued in the ſame mind, he was not to expect his favour. Hereupon *Eadmerus* reſolving to depart, delivered back the Ring which he had received from the King, and laid down his Croſier upon the Altar, with a proteſtation that he was forced thereunto, and ſo went away. The King did by his Letter purge himſelf to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, declaring that it was not his fault, but wilfulneſs on *Eadmerus* his part, which made him relinquiſh his charge. But the Archbiſhop, a man of courteous nature, not willing farther to enquire of the reaſons of *Eadmerus* his departure, paſſed over the buſineſs with a gentle anſwer to the King for that time. I find upon better advice, that *Eadmerus* made offer to return, and give the King ſatisfaction in all he required; but herein he was prevented by a new Election which the King had cauſed to be made.

He purgeth himſelf to the Archbiſhop. *An.* 1124.

15. For how ſoon it was advertiſed that *Eadmerus* had a purpoſe to return, the King for his own peace did think it moſt ſure to have one of his Subjects preferred to the place; and ſo recommending to the Chapter *Robert* Prior of *Scone*, he with an uniform conſent was choſen Biſhop, and ſtood elect two years (for before King *Alexander* his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1114, he was not conſecrated:) then he received the benediction at the hands of *Thurſtan* Biſhop of *York*, with reſervation of the priviledges of both Churches; which if the King had lived, would not have been permitted; for he was a Prince that ſtood much upon his Royalty, and would not endure at any hand the leaſt encroachment either upon his Kingdom, or upon the Church. The Abbeys of *Scone* and S. *Columbe* were founded by this King. To the See of S. *Andrews* he was a great Benefactor, and gave the lands called *Curſus apri*, The Bores chace; and was reſolved to do more in that kind, if he had not been taken away by death.

Robert Prior of *Scone* elected Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, and conſecrated at *York*.

The Abbey of *Scone* and S. *Columbe* founded.

Curſus Apri given to S. *Andrews*.

King *David* ſucceeded to *Alexander*, and his beneficence to the Church.

But what may be thought lacking in him was abundantly ſupplied by his brother and ſucceſſor King *David*, whoſe beneficence that way exceeded all others; for beſides the repairing of theſe Monaſteries which were either by age become ruinous or were defaced by injuries of War, he erected the Biſhopricks of *Roſſe*, *Brichen*, *Dunkeld* & *Dumblane*, with the Abbeys of *Jedburgh*, *Kelſoe*, *Melroſe*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhouſe*, *Kinloſſe*, *Combuskenneth*, *Dundrennan* & *Holmeculiram* in *Cumberland*; he founded likewiſe two religious Houſes at *Newcaſtle*, one for the *Benedictins*, another for the *white Monks*; and for profeſſed Virgins two Monaſteries, one at *Berwick*, and another at *Carlile*: all which he provided with competent Revenues.

King *David* taxed of Profuſion.

Some of our Writers have taxed this moſt worthy King for his immoderate Profuſion, as they call it, on theſe Monaſteries; and *Holinſhed* ſaith that his unmeaſurable Liberality towards the Church made his Succeſſors oppreſs their Nobles at home, lay Impoſitions upon the people, and do many other things prejudicial to the Commonweatlh, that they might have wherewith to maintain their Royal eſtates. But herein he erreth greatly; for let an examination be taken of the behaviour of our Kings in the Ages ſucceeding, it will appear that their proceedings either with their own Subjects at home or with their Enemies abroad have been more juſtifiable than the doings of any of their Neighbours: neither can it be ſhewed, that any one of them did ever take thoſe indirect courſes which he mentioneth for penury or want. But it is eaſie to ſpeak ill, and deprave the actions of the beſt Princes.

His Magnificence vindicated from theſe aſperſions.

It is true, that Profuſeneſs in any perſon, eſpecially in a King, is not to be allowed, for that it bringeth a great miſchief both to the King and Subjects; but the beſtowing of ſixſcore thouſand Franks (that is the higheſt eſtimate they make of his Donations) cannot be called an immoderate Profuſion. He was certainly a moſt wiſe King, and knew well his own work, and could proportion his Gifts to his Revenues. Neither was his Liberality an hindrance to his Succeſſors in the do-

ing

ing of the like pious works. For *Malcolm* who ſucceeded did erect the Abbey of *Couper* in *Angus*, *Sautrey* in *Lothian*, and a religious Houſe at *Manwell* for profeſſed Virgins. King *William* erected the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, and his Queen *Emergarda* the Abbey of *Balmerinoch*. The like did the following Kings in their own times, which ſhewed that he did not leave his Succeſſors deſtitute of means to ſupport their Royal eſtate. This farther will I boldly affirm, that if there be any Profuſion excuſable in Princes, it is this: for beſides that theſe Foundations are the moſt laſting Monuments to glorify their memories, they are the readieſt helps which they ſhall find to ſupply their neceſſities at all occaſions. *An.* 1159.

Now whereas ſome have diſapproved theſe Donations becauſe of the fruits that enſued, meaning the abuſes that crept in by the corruption of the perſons who did afterwards enjoy them; if this reaſon ſhould hold, the beſt of Gods Creatures, and the moſt pious Inſtitutions which ever were in the world, ſhould be all condemned: for what is it that was ever put in the hands of men to uſe, that hath not been corrupted? and to caſt the faults of men upon the things themſelves is a great iniquity. *Buch. l.* 7.

The faults of perſons ought not to be caſt on things abuſed.

But this ſuperfluous enriching of Monaſteries whereof they ſpeak came not by this mean. The Foundations at firſt were moderate, and no way exceſſive; but in after times the Prelates growing ſluggiſh, and ſhaking off the care of Preaching, as a work not beſeeming their dignity, they, to flatter the Predicants, who had then all the way among the popular, and to be recommended of them for charitable and devout Prelates, gave away almoſt all their own Churches, and impropriated them to Abbeys, leaving a poor Prieſt to do ſervice in the Pariſh: and of this did ſpring a world of evils, which ſince that time could never be remedied, This I thought needful to be ſaid vindicating the fame of that good King, who in all his actions, both private and publick, lived beyond all cenſure; ſo as it is truly ſaid of him, 'That the moſt learned wits who have gone about to frame 'the character of a good King, could never deviſe nor imagine ſuch a one as he 'did expreſs himſelf in the whole courſe of his life.

Whence the ſuperfluous enriching of Abbeys proceed. *Buch. l.* 7.

But to follow our purpoſe; Biſhop *Robert* living under this King, and ſome ſix years after, did carry himſelf in all the parts of his charge commendably; he founded the Priory of S. *Andrews* and obtained to the City the liberties of a Burg Royal, placing therein one *Mainard* a *Fleming* to be Provoſt, and departing this life in the year 1159, after he had ſate Biſhop 35 years, was buried in the Church of S. *Rowle*, the Cathedral not being as yet built. *An.* 1159.

Biſhop *Robert* dieth.

There flouriſhed in this time two of our Countrymen, *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, a Canon regular of the order of S. *Auguſtine*, and *David* a Presbyter. This *David* lived in *Germany*, and was choſen by the Emperour *Henry* the Fifth to accompany him in that expedition which he made to *Italy* againſt Pope *Paſchal*; the Story whereof he wrote, as likewiſe a Treatiſe *de Regno Scotorum*, both which are periſhed.

Richardus de Sancto Victore with *David* a Presbyter.

Richardus was a profeſſor of Divinity at *Paris* in the Abbey of S. *Victor*, a great Philoſopher, and left many Books that witneſs his learning, the Titles whereof you may read in *Baleus*. He died in the ſame Abbey, and was buried with this Epitaph.

Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Pulvereo hic tegeris, docte Richarde, *ſitu.*
Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica *partu,*
Te fovet in gremio Gallica *terra ſuo.*
Nil tibi Parca ferox nocuit, quæ ſtamina parco
Tempore tracta gravi rupit acerba manu.
Plurima namque tui ſuperant monumenta laboris,
Quæ tibi perpetuum ſunt paritura decus.
Segnior ut lento ſceleratas mors petit ædes;
Sic propero nimis it ſub pia tecta gradu.

16. Biſhop *Robert* deceaſing, *Walthemius* Abbot of *Melroſſe* was earneſtly entreated to accept the Charge, but would not forſake the Monaſtery, ſaying, *That he had*

An. 1159. *had waſhed his feet, and could not contaminate them again with the duſt of earthly cares.* Whereupon *Arnold* Abbot of *Kelſo* was elected, and in preſence of King *Malcolm* the Fourth conſecrated by *William* Biſhop of *Murray*. This Biſhop had been the year preceding directed to *Rome* with one *Nicolaus* the Kings Secretary, to complain of the Archbiſhop of *York* his uſurpation upon the Church of *Scotland*, and being then returned, carried himſelf as Legate to the Pope; which power he reſigned to *Arnold* after his Conſecration, as he was enjoyned by *Eugenius* the Third, who then held the Chair.

In a Convention of the Eſtates kept the ſame year, *Arnold* did earneſtly inſiſt with the King to make choice of a wife for aſſuring the Royal Succeſſion, and to that effect made a long ſpeech in the hearing of the Eſtates; but the King had taken a reſolution to live ſingle, and would not be diverted. *Edward* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* was much blamed for confirming him in that courſe, and for that cauſe hated of many. The Cathedral of S. *Andrews*, a fair and ſtately Church whileſt it ſtood, was founded by this *Arnold*; but before the work was raiſed to any height he died, having ſate Biſhop one year, ten months, and ſeventeen days only.

17. Upon *Arnold* his death the King did recommend his Chaplain *Richard* to the place; who was immediately elected by the Convent, but not conſecrated for the ſpace of two years after, becauſe of the Archbiſhop of *York* his pretenſions. One *Roger* held at that time the See of *York*, a man ambitious beyond all meaſure, who from being Archdeacon of *Canterbury* was by the means of the Arehbiſhop *Thomas Becket* preferred to that place: no ſooner was he advanced, but he procured of Pope *Anaſtaſius* the Fourth a Bull, whereby he was deſigned Metropolitane of *Scotland*; but the King and the Clergy (notwithſtanding the Popes authority was in thoſe days greatly reſpected) refuſed to acknowledge him. *Anaſtaſius* dying, by whom the Archbiſhop was *Roger* maintained, the Prelates of *Scotland* did convene, and by themſelves performed the Conſecration. *Roger* incenſed herewith ſent to *Rome*, and complaining of this contempt, found the favour to be made Legate of *Sotland*: by vertue whereof he cauſed cite all the *Scottiſh* Clergy to appear before him at *Norham* in *England*, whither he came in great pomp.

He citeth the *Scotiſh* Clergy to *Norham*.

Angelramus Archdeacon of *Glaſgow* (accompanied with *Walter* Prior of *Kelſo*, *Solomon* Dean of *Glaſgow*, and ſome others of the Clergy) went and kept the Diet, and in the name of the Church of *Scotland* appealing to the Pope, took journey to *Rome*. Where the buſineſs being debated before Pope *Alexander* the Third, ſentence was given againſt *Roger* his pretended Legation, and the Church of *Scotland* declared to be exempted from all ſpiritual Juriſdiction, the Apoſtolick See only excepted. This exemption *Angelramus*, who in the mean time was promoted to the See of *Glaſgow* by the death of Biſhop *Herbert*, and conſecrated at *Rome*, brought back and preſented to the King. The Bull is yet extant, and begins thus:

The Clergy by ſome Delegates appeal to *Rome* to the Pope.

Pope *Alexander* the Third giveth ſentence for *Scotland*.

Angelramus elected Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.

Alexander P. ſervus ſervorum Dei Malcolmo Regi, &c.

King *Malcolm* the Fourth his death.

A few days after the Biſhop's return King *Malcolm* died at *Jedburgh*, in the 25 year of his age, and 12 of his reign: a ſweet and meek Prince, uncourteouſly uſed by King *Henry* the Second King of *England*, but more rudely by his own Subjects. This *Henry*, by nature ambitious, and one that could not keep himſelf within bounds, took many ways to wrong this good King, and make him deſpiſed of his own people: yet for that he had ſworn to King *David Malcolm*'s Grandfather, that he ſhould never moleſt him nor any of his poſterity in the poſſeſſion of the lands they held in *England*, and could not for ſhame go againſt his Oath; he ſtirred up the Biſhop of *York* to place a Biſhop at *Carlile*, thinking the King of *Scots* would not endure that wrong. *John* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, under whoſe charge the Country of *Cumberland* then was, did exceedingly offend with this; and finding that the King would not break with *Henry* for ſo little a cauſe, not ſeeing a way to repair himſelf, abandoned his charge, and went unto the Monaſtery of *Tours* in *France*, where he abode till he was forced by the Pope's authority to return.

A Biſhop placed at *Carlile* by the Archbiſhop of *York*.

Buch. l. 7. King *Henry* finding this injury diſſembled, went afterwards more plainly to work;

work; for having desired *Malcolm* to come to *London* to do homage for the lands he held in *England*, he compelled him to follow him into the War he made upon *France*, thinking thereby to alienate the mind of the *French* King from the *Scots*. Again, when he had returned home, inviting him of new to a Parliament kept at *York*, upon a forged quarrel, as if he had crossed King *Henry* his affairs in *France*, he was declared to have lost all his lands in *England*. And not content to have wronged him in this sort, to stir up his own Subjects against him, made the report go, that King *Malcolm* had voluntarily resigned all those lands. Which did so irritate the Nobles, as presently after his return putting themselves in Arms, they did besiege the Town of *Bertha*, where the King remained, and had not failed to use violence, but that by the intercession of some wise Prelates matters were composed. The Nobility being grieved to see the King so abused, did urge him to denounce War; but he loving rather to have matters peaceably agreed, was content to accept *Cumberland* and *Huntington*, and suffer *Northumberland* to go to King *Henry*. This displeased the Subjects, and diminished much of the regard that was formerly carried to him; which he took greatly to heart, and shortly after died, as was thought, of displeasure. *An.* 1165. *Boeth. l.* 13.

The good King being thus taken away, his brother *William* succeeded in the year 1165. The first thing he undertook, was the repetition of *Northumberland*; for which Embassadors were sent to King *Henry*. His answer was, That he should have right done him at his coming to *London*, after he had performed his homage for the Counties he held in *England*. King *William* taking journey thither with *David* his younger brother, found the King at his Easter in *Windsore*: where insisting for the restitution of *Northumberland*, he had many good words given him, and promise made, that at the meeting of the Parliament a course should be taken to his content. In this hope he followed King *Henry*, going then in expedition to *France*, and stayed there with him some moneths; but when he perceived the King was not shortly to return unto *England*, and that he was fed only with fair promises, he took his leave and came home. Presently after his return, he sent an Herald to denounce War, unless *Northumberland* were restored. King *Henry* being then ingaged in the *French* Wars, and not willing to make himself more business, was content to quit that part of *Northumberland* which King *William* his great Grandfather had possessed. Yet suddenly forethinking what he had done, he stirred up underhand those that lived in the Borders to make Incursions upon the *Scots*. This being complained, and no redress made, King *William* raised an Army, and went into *England*, and at *Alnwick*, as he was taking the air, suspecting no enemy to be at hand, he was surprised by some *English*, and sent Prisoner to King *Henry* in *France*, who put him in the Castle of *Calice* in *Picardie*, where he was some months detained. A great disaster this was, and how grievous to the whole State, may appear by the Articles condescended upon, for obtaining his liberty, which were: *Buch. l.* 7. King *William* seeketh to have *Northumberland* restored. King *William* surprised at *Alnwick*. *Boeth. l.* 13.

1. *That for his redemption there should be paid one hundred thousand pounds sterling money, the one half in hand, the other half in a short time; and for assurance thereof, the Counties of* Cumberland, Huntington *and* Northumberland *be morgaged to King* Henry.

2. *That the* Scots *should move no war against* England *for retention of these Counties.*

3. *And for the more security the Castles of* Roxburg, Berwick, Edinburgh *and* Sterling *should be delivered to the King of* England, *or unto such as he should appoint to receive the same.*

Hollinshed setteth down other Conditions besides these: as, *That the King of* Scots *should acknowledge the King of* England *for his supreme Lord; That the Prelates of* Scotland *and their successors should be subject to the Church of* England; *And that the Lords and Barons of* Scotland *should swear fealty to the King of* England *and his successors*: which are meer Forgeries, it being certain that the *Scots*, howsoever they loved their King, and for his Liberty would not refuse to undergo very hard conditions, yet would never have renounced their Liberties, maintained so long and *Hollinshed* History of *Scotland*.

An. 1175. with ſo much bloud, and yielded themſelves in any caſe to ſuch a ſlaviſh ſubjection. Always the agreement concluded in *Normandy* the 8th of *December* 1175, by *Richard* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* and divers Noblemen ſent thither to treat in that buſineſs, was at *Auguſt* thereafter confirmed in *York* by both Kings, all the Biſhops, Abbots, and Nobility almoſt of *Scotland* being preſent.

Buchan. l. 16. 7. In *January* thereafter at a meeting in *Norham*, where King *William* was alſo in perſon, the King of *England* dealt earneſtly to have the Clergy of *Scotland* accept the Archbiſhop of *York* for their Metropolitane; but they pretending the abſence of many of their number, and the want of the inferiour Clergies conſent, deferred to give any anſwer at that time. The next year the ſame matter was renewed, and followed earneſtly by a Legate ſent from the Pope, with Commiſſion to reform the abuſes he ſhould find in the Churches both in *England* and *Scotland*. This Legate called *Hugo*, and ſtyled *Cardinal De ſancto Angelo*, having ſent his Apparitors with a citation to the Biſhops of *Scotland*, for their appearing before him at a certain day in *Northampton*, they went thither with a great number of their Clergy. The Aſſembly being met, and all ranked in their places, the Cardinal (who had his ſeat ſomewhat higher than the reſt) made a long ſpeech in commendation of Humility and Obedience, ſhewing what excellent Vertues theſe were, and how much to be deſired of men of Spiritual profeſſion; whereof when he talked a while, he came in end to perſwade *the Clergy of* Scotland *to ſubmit themſelves to the Primate of* York: which he ſaid *was a thing very convenient for them, and would turn greatly to their eaſe and commodity; for having no Superior amongſt themſelves, nor Metropolitane to decide Controverſies that poſſibly might happen, there could none be fitter than their neighbour the Archbiſhop of* York, *a Prelate of great reſpect, and one whoſe credit in the Court of* Rome *might ſerve them to good uſe; therefore beſought them to lay aſide all grudges and emulations, and diſpoſe themſelves to live in all times after as members of one and the ſame Church.*

Sa. Daniel.

A meeting of the *Scotiſh* Clergy at *Northampton.*

Gilbertus Canonicus his Reply to the Legate.

The Biſhops who feared to offend the Legate made no anſwer, and after a long ſilence, a young Canon named *Gilbert* roſe up, and ſpake to this effect. 'The 'Church of *Scotland*, ever ſince the Faith of Chriſt was embraced in that King-'dom, hath been a free and independent Church, ſubject to none but the Biſhop 'of *Rome*, whoſe authority we refuſe not to acknowledge. To admit any other 'for our Metropolitane, eſpecially the Archbiſhop of *York*, we neither can nor 'will: for notwithſtanding the preſent Peace, which we wiſh may long con-'tinue, Wars may break up betwixt the two Kingdoms; and if it ſhall fall 'out ſo, neither ſhall he be able to diſcharge any duty amongſt us, nor can we 'ſafely and without ſuſpicion reſort to him. For the Controverſies which you, 'my Lord Cardinal, ſay may ariſe amongſt our ſelves, we have learned and wiſe 'Prelates who can determine the ſame; and if they ſhould be deficient in their 'duties, we have a good and religious King, who is able to keep all things in 'frame and order, ſo as we have no neceſſity of any ſtranger to be ſet over us. 'And I cannot think that either his Holineſs hath forgotten, or you, my Lord, 'that are his Legate, can be ignorant of the late Exemption granted unto *Mal-'colm* our laſt King; ſince the grant whereof, we have done nothing which may 'make us ſeem unworthy of that favour. Wherefore in the name of all the '*Scotiſh* Church we do humbly intreat the preſervation of our ancient Liber-'ties, and that we be not brought under ſubjection to our enemies. Theſe ſpeeches he delivered with an extraordinary grace, and in ſo paſſionate a manner, that all the hearers were exceedingly moved, the *Engliſh* themſelves commending his courage and the affection he ſhewed to his Country. But the Archbiſhop of *York*, who looked not for ſuch oppoſition, called the young Canon to come unto him, and laying his hand upon his head, ſaid, *Ex tua pharetra nunquam venit iſta ſagitta*, meaning that he was ſet on to ſpeak by ſome others of greater note. So the Legate perceiving that the buſineſs would not work, and that the oppoſition was like to grow greater, he brake up the Aſſembly. After which the Prelates returning home, were univerſally welcomed; but above the reſt the Canon *Gilbert* was in the mouths of all men, and judged worthy of a good Preferment; and

Boeth. ibidem.

Scon. l. 8. *c.* 16.

Boeth. l. 13.

ſoon

ſoon after was promoved to the Biſhoprick of *Cathnes*, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom. *An.* 1178.

The year following one *Vibianus* a Cardinal (*titulo ſancti Stephani in monte Cœlio*) came into *Scotland*, in ſhew to reform abuſes, and do ſome good to the Church, but in effect to extort monys from Church-men. For at this time it was grown to be an ordinary trick of the Popes, when they ſtood in need of monys, to ſend forth their Legates unto all Countrys, ſometimes under a colour of reforming abuſes, ſometimes for the recovering of the Holy land, and ſometimes upon other pretexts. This Cardinal, having ſtayed a while in *Scotland*, took his journey into *Ireland*, and in his return would needs make a new viſit of this Church; for which effect, he convened the Clergy at *Edinburgh* in the month of *Auguſt*, and eſtabliſhed divers Canons; which the Clergy eſteeming prejudicial to their liberties, did incontinent after he was gone revoke and diſannul: but what theſe Canons were, our Writers do not remember. *Scon. l.* 8.

18. It was a fatal year this to many of our Church-men, both Biſhops and Abbots; amongſt others *Richard* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* deceaſing, King *William* recommended *Hugo*, one of his Chaplains, (whom he much favoured) to the Convent. But they taking another courſe made choice of the Archdeacon *John Scot*, who was an *Engliſh* born. The King diſpleaſed therewith, did ſwear by the Arm of S. *James* (this was his ordinary oath) that ſo long as he lived *Scot* ſhould never enjoy that place. So he ſent a Command unto the *Canons* to make a new Election, appointed *Joceline* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* their Aſſiſtant; and thus was *Hugo* his Chaplain elected. *An.* 1178. The Archdeacon of S. *Andrews* elected Biſhop. The King diſpleaſed maketh his Chaplain to be chuſed of new.

The Archdeacon appealed to *Rome*, and going thither complained of the wrong doſe to the Church, intreating the Pope for redreſs. Hereupon *Alexius* Sub-Dean of the *Roman* See was diſpatched to try and examine the cauſe. At firſt the King made difficulty to admit him, but afterwards yielding, the two Elections being tried by the Legate, ſentence was given for the firſt; and *Jocelin* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, with the reſt of the Clergy that aſſiſted the ſecond, excommunicated. This done the Legate called an aſſembly of the Biſhops, Abbots and whole Clergy at *Halirudhouſe*, and made *Matthew* Biſhop of *Aberdeen* publickly to conſecrate the Archdeacon upon *Trinity*-Sunday 1178. The Archdeacon appealeth to *Rome*.

He not the leſs fearing the Kings diſpleaſure, left the Realm and went to *Rome*, where he was honourably entertained by Pope *Lucius* the Third, who ſent Letters to the King, and admoniſhed him not to uſurp upon the Church, and to remit the Biſhop, who was lawfully elected and conſecrated, to enjoy his place with quietneſs. This Letter the Story ſaith was conceived in milde terms, for the Pope feared to incenſe the King, leſt he ſhould follow the enſample of his Couſin *Henry* King of *England*, that ſome 8 years before had made away *Thomas Becket* Biſhop of *Canterbury* for his obſtinate and wilful oppoſition in ſome matters not unlike: yet the King nothing moved with the Letter, to make his diſpleaſure the better known, did confiſcate all the Revenues pertaining to the See of S. *Andrews*; and baniſhed thoſe whom he underſtood to favour the Biſhops cauſe. His journey thither. Pope *Lucius* his Letter to the King.

The Pope advertiſed hereof, reſolved to put the Realm under Interdiction. But the Biſhop proſtrating himſelf at his feet, beſought him not to uſe any ſuch rigor, ſaying, *That he would much rather renounce his dignity, than have ſo many Chriſtian Souls for ought that concerned him, defrauded of ſpiritual beneſits.* The Pope highly commending the goodneſs and patience of the Biſhop, held him from that time forth in more regard, and at his requeſt forbare the Interdiction. Mean while it happened that *Walter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* departed this life; whereupon the King taking occaſion, ſent to recal the Biſhop with offers of great kindneſs, proteſting that if it had not been for the oath he raſhly made, he would willingly have conſented to his enjoying of the See of S. *Andrews*: But ſeeing it did touch him in Honor and Conſcience (as he eſteemed) to be yielding thereto, he requeſted the Biſhop to accept the Benefice of *Dunkeld*, which was then fallen void, and was in value not much inferior to the other. The Pope purpoſeth to interdict the Realm, is ſtayed by the intreaty of the Archdeacon. The Biſhop of *Dunkeld* dieth; and the Biſhoprick offered by the King to the Archdeacon.

This the Biſhop communicated to the Pope, who deſired to have the matter qui-

An. 1188. eted, adviſed him to return, and accept the offer. Thus was the Archdeacon by the Popes conſent preferred to *Dunkeld*, having the Rents of the Archdeaconry reſerved to him during his life, in recompence of his loſſes. *Hugo* this way coming to be poſſeſſed of S. *Andrews*, took journey to *Rome* that he might be reconciled to the Pope, and being abſolved for his intruſion, in his return died ſome ſix miles from the City of *Rome*, the 6 of *Auguſt*, 1188, ten years and ten moneths after his Election.

The Archbiſhop accepted *Dunkeld*.

Biſhop *Hugo* dieth.

An. 1188. At this time news was brought from the Eaſt, of the prevailing of Sultan *Saladine* of *Egypt* againſt the Chriſtians in the Holy Land, which moved *Philip* the ſecond of *France* and *Henry* King of *England* to undertake the recovery of the Holy land, and to employ all their credit and means, as well in their own countreys, as with other Chriſtian Princes their neighbours, for the furtherance of that enterpriſe. To defray the charges of the voyage, both Kings by conſent of their Clergy and Nobles ordained, that all their ſubjects both Clergy and Laiety, (ſuch excepted as went in the voyage) ſhould pay the tenth of all their movables either in gold or ſilver. King *Henry* having laid this Impoſition upon his ſubjects at home, ſent *Hugh Puſar* then Biſhop of *Dureſme* with other Commiſſioners to collect the tenths of the Clergy and Laiety in this kingdom: which the King and States interpreting to be an encroachment upon their Liberties would not permit; yet for advancing that holy action, they did offer a ſupply of 5000 Marks ſterling, which King *Henry* refuſed. But the enterpriſe, upon a quarrel that aroſe betwixt the Kings of *France* and *Engl.* was at that time daſhed, & ſo the Collection was no farther urged.

The Kings of *England* and *France* prepare to recover the Holy land.

Sa. Daniel.

King *Henry* a little after this ended his life, and *Richard* his ſon, who ſucceeded, reſolving to purſue the action of the Holy War, to aſſure the King of *Scotland*, who he feared would take ſome advantage in his abſence, reſtored all the Caſtles which were delivered to King *Henry* his father, and releaſed him and his poſterity of all Covenants made and confirmed by Charter unto King *Henry*, as extorted from him being then his Priſoner, reſerving only ſuch Rights to himſelf as had been and were to be performed by *Malcolm* his brother to his Anceſtors Kings of *England*. King *William*, to requite his kindneſs, gave unto *Richard* ten thouſand Marks ſterling, and cauſed his brother *David* (to whom he reſigned the Earldom of *Huntington*) go in company with him. There went under his charge 500 Gentlemen, who were all in their return caſt away by a tempeſt at ſea; only the Earl himſelf, having his ſhip driven upon the coaſt of *Egypt*, was taken priſoner, and led to *Alexandria*; where being redeemed by ſome *Venetians*, he was brought to *Conſtantinople*, and freed by an *Engliſh* Merchant in the City, that had known him in former times. From thence he returned ſafe unto his country, the fourth year after his ſetting forth, to the great joy and contentment of the King his brother, who took him to be loſt. The part where he arrived being, as *Boethius* writeth, before that time called *Alectum*, had the name changed, and upon that occaſion was called *Dei donum*. But the opinion of *Buchanan* is more probable, that the Town now called *Dundy* is a compound word of *Down* and *Tay*. As ever this was, the Town there ſituated received many priviledges of King *William* at that time for his brothers happy arrival, which to this day they enjoy. Likewiſe in memory thereof was the Abbey of *Lundors* founded for the *Benedictine* Monks, and divers lands gifted thereto by the King and the Earl his brother.

Buchan. l. 7.

Sa. Daniel.

Lesl. l. 6.

King of *Scots* his kindneſs to the King of *England*.

Boeth. l. 13.

The Abbey of *Lundors* founded.

The King of *England* after many diſtreſſes being returned home, King *William* to congratulate his ſafety went into *England*, where he contracted a great ſickneſs; the rumor whereof being diſperſed, and his death much ſuſpected, gave occaſion of divers Inſolencies at home. Amongſt others *Herald* Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes*, upon a malice conceived againſt the Biſhop of that country, (who, as he alledged, had impeded the grant of ſome thing he demanded of the King) took him priſoner, put out his eyes, and cut forth his tongue. This inhumanity the King at his return puniſhed moſt ſeverely; for the Earl being apprehended and brought to his trial, had his eyes in like ſort pulled out, and was thereafter publickly ſtrangled by the hands of the hangman; all his male children being gelded, to extinguiſh his ſucceſſion. His kinſmen and others, accounted acceſſors to the fact for not reſcuing the

King *William* goeth to *England* to congratulate King *Richard* his return.

The Biſhop of *Cathnes* cruelly uſed by the Earl of the Country.

The King puniſheth it ſeverely.

the Biſhop, were fined in great ſums of money. This exemplary juſtice reported to Pope *Innocent* the Third, he ſent unto the King by his Legate *Joannes Cardinalis de monte Celio* a ſword richly ſet with precious ſtones, a purple Hat in form of a diadem, and a large Bull of Priviledges, whereby the Church of *Scotland* was exempted from all Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, the Pope himſelf and his Legate *à latere* only excepted. It was alſo declared, 'That it ſhould not be lawful to any to excommunicate the King and his ſucceſſors, or yet to interdict the Kingdom, but the Pope or his Legate: and that no ſtranger ſhould exerciſe any Legation within the Realm, except a Cardinal, or ſuch a one as the Conclave did appoint. This Bull is yet extant, and beginneth thus; *Innocentius Epiſcopus, ſervus ſervorum Dei, chariſſimo filio Gulielmo illuſtri Scotorum Regi ejuſque ſucceſſoribus.*

An. 1189. *Buchan. l.* 7.

Pope *Innocent* the Third his thanks to the King for the juſtice of execution.

This Cardinal before his departing forth of the Realm kept a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*, in which all the Prieſts were depoſed who were found to have taken orders upon Sunday. The Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, called *Robert*, was removed from his place (the cauſe whereof is not mentioned) and one *Patrick* Superiour of *Dureſme* appointed Abbot in his ſtead. In this Convention alſo it was decreed, 'That every Saturday from twelve of the clock ſhould be kept as holyday, and that all people at the ſound of the Bell ſhould addreſs themſelves to hear Service, and abſtain from all handy-work untill Munday morning. After this meeting he took journey into *Ireland*, taking with him *Radolph* Abbot of *Melroſſe*, a man of good reſpect, whom he preferred to the Biſhoprick of *Down*, which at his coming thither happened to fall void.

A Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth*. *Boeth. l.* 13. *Leſl. li.* 8.

Saturday from 12 of the clock to be kept as holy.

16. Biſhop *Hugo* dying, *Roger* ſon to the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſucceeded. He had been Chancellor to the King, and at his election to the Biſhoprick reſigned the office to one of the King his Chaplains. For in thoſe days the office of a Chancellour was not in that reputation to which afterwards it grew. In ſome old records I find at one time two Officers in that kind, the one called *Cancellarius Regis*; the other *Cancellarius Regni*; but which of the two was in greateſt dignity I know not, nor in what their charge did differ; only my conjecture is, that he who is now the writer of the Great Seal, and is called, *The Director to the Chancellary*, was then ſtyled *Cancellarius Regis*.

An. 1189. Biſhop *Roger* ſucceeded to *Hugo* after his death.

But remitting this to others of greater skill, ten years this *Roger* ſtood elect, and was not conſecrated before the year of God 1198. at which time *Richard* Biſhop of *Murray* performed the ceremony: the reaſon of the delay is not mentioned by Writers. Four years only he lived after his conſecration, and died at *Combuskenneth* the ninth of *July*, 1202. His corps with great ſolemnity conveyed to S. *Andrews*, was interred in the old Church of S. *Rewle*.

Roger conſecrated in the year 1189. dieth in *July* 1202.

20. *William Malvoiſin* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, a *French-man* born, was after the death of *Roger*, by the Kings recommendation, tranſlated to St. *Andrews*, a man of ſingular wiſdom and courage. He lived a long time, (for he ſate Biſhop after his tranſlation 35 years) and governed the Church moſt happily. The Rents alienated by his predeceſſors, or loſt by their negligence, he recovered to his See, advanced the fabrick of the Church (which was then a building) more than any that went before him, and ſuffered no man, of what quality ſoever he was, to uſurp upon the Church or poſſeſſions of it.

William Malvoiſin tranſlated from *Glaſgow* to *S. Andrews*. *Scon. l.* 8.

Some years after his tranſlation, King *William* died at *Striveling*, to the great regret of all men, eſpecially thoſe of the Clergy, to whom he had been very beneficial. For beſides the Abbey of *Aberbrothock*, which he founded to the memory of *Thomas Becket*, then generally held to be a Martyr and Saint, he gave divers lands to the See of *Argile*, which had been in his time erected; and to the Monaſteries of *Newbottle*, *Halyrudhouſe* and *Dunfermlin*, many rich gifts; as likewiſe for the *Trinity* Monks of *Aberdene*, an Order lately invented, and then confirmed by *Innocentius* the Third, he made a competent proviſion. Never were the Funerals of any of our Kings performed with greater ſolemnity. All the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom attending the Corps from *Striveling* to *Aberbrothock*, where he had appointed his body to be buried. There they continued 14 days, ſpending that time in the devotions accuſtomed; and before their parting, by a common conſent

Paſt. l. 6. *c.* 17. King *William* dieth. His pious devotion. *Boeth. l.* 13. *Buchan. l.* 7.

An. 1214. ordained, that for a year thereafter no publick plays nor feasts should be made in any part of the Kingdom: such a sorrow they shewed, notwithstanding he had reigned long, and died being of a great age, for it was the 74 of his age, and the 49 of his reign, when he departed this life.

King *Alexander* the Second crowned at *Scone.*

The Funerals ended, his son *Alexander* the Second, accompanied with all the Prelates and Nobles of the Kingdom, went to *Scone*, and received the Crown by the hands of the Bishop of S. *Andrews.* This King did no waies degenerate from the Vertues of his Predecessors, and was a great protector of the Church against the fines and extortions of *Rome. Gualo*, others call him *Waldo*, a Cardinal, sent Legate into *England* by Pope *Innocentius* the Third to assist King *John*, who was then become his vassal, did put the Kingdom of *Scotland* under interdiction, because the King had supplyed the *French* in his invasion of *England*, and, as he pretended, robbed some Churches and Religious places in his return from that War. The Church-men ceasing by this occasion from their ordinary services, no religious exercise was performed by any through the whole Realm, but the *white Monks*, whose priviledge did warrant them to celebrate at such times; which the Legate hearing, did suspend, inhibiting them by one *Westbeck* Archdeacon of *York* to do any service, under pain of the highest spiritual Censures, till the rest of the Clergy were absolved.

Boeth. li. 7. *Buchan. l.* 13.

The Kingdom interdicted by the Popes Legate.

Scon. l. c. 33. The priviledge of the *white Monks* suspended.

But King *John* dying, and *Henry* his son Crowned, by mediation of certain Prelates Peace was made betwixt King *Alexander* and him upon the conditions following. That *Joan* the sister of *Henry* should be given in marriage to *Alexander* King of *Scots*, and *Margaret* his sister to *Hubert de Burgh* Justiciar of *England* (the man who then ruled all affairs.) That *Berwick* should be rendred to the *Scots*, and *Carlile* to the *English*; The King of *Scots* absolved from the Legates Censures, and his Kingdom released from the Interdiction. For performing the last Article, the Bishops of *York* and *Salisbury* (by whose means especially the Peace was concluded) had Commission given them by the Legate, which presently they discharged. But *Gualo* being displeased that the Interdict had passed so easily (for he was a man extremely avaritious, and one who made his profit of every business) since he could not retreat what was done, took him to the Clergy, saying, That the absolution granted did not comprehend them; and thereupon did summon them to appear before him at *Alnwick.* The Diet was kept, and thither went all the Bishops, Abbots, Priors, and beneficed men in great numbers; Absolution was offered, but not without the payment of large sums; which were at first denied, but after some menacings, that he should make them answer it at *Rome*, the most out of fear did transact. A few Prelates only standing out, went afterwards to *Rome* to justifie their Cause.

Peace concluded betwixt the King and *Henry* the Third of *England.*

The Kingdom of *Scotland* absolved from the Interdiction.

Boeth. l. 13. *Buchan. l.* 7.

With the inferior Church-men he took a course, in shew beneficial, and for their ease; that some one or two should go with Commission and absolve them in their own Provinces at home: but it turned to their great molestation; for the Prior of *Duresme* and *Westbeck* the Archdeacon, who were imployed in that business, beginning at *Berwick*, went through all the Realm, and making the Priests and Canons convene at the principal City of the bounds, caused them to take oath, that they should confess themselves, and answer truly unto every particular inquired of them; which done, and their several depositions taken, what by terrifying some with deprivation from their places for faults confessed by themselves, what by wearying others with the protractions they made from day to day, great sums were extorted from them, and the poor Priests forced, notwithstanding all this oppression, to go barefooted to the door of the principal Church, where they were convened, and asked their Absolution in a most base and abject form.

The course taken with the inferiour Church-men.

Scon. l. 9. *c.* 36.

The Clergy, offended herewith, sent *Walter* Bishop of *Glasgow*, *Brice* Bishop of *Murray*, and *Adam* Bishop of *Cathnes* to complain at *Rome*; where finding Pope *Innocent* dead, and *Honorius* the Third preferred in his room, they exhibited in name of the Church of *Scotland* a grievous complaint against *Gualo*, charging him to have been the especial cause of these miserable combustions which both the Kingdoms had endured, to have abused his Legation unto his private commodity, and to have extorted

The *Scots* Clergy complain of the Legates extortions.

extorted moneys from Churchmen and others under colour of Abſolution. *Guallo* brought to his anſwer, becauſe he did not clear himſelf ſufficiently in divers points, was declared not to have carried himſelf as became his Holineſs Legate, and fined in a pecuniary mulct: ſo as he eſcaped by dividing the ſpoil (which he had made in thoſe parts) betwixt his Maſter and himſelf. The Biſhops who preferred the complaint were, upon confeſſion of their fault, abſolved, one of the Cardinals who ſtood by ſcornfully commending their humility, and ſaying, *Quod piarum mentium eſſet crimen agnoſcere, ubi nec culpa reperitur*, That it was the part of devout men to acknowledge an offence, even where no fault was committed: and for ſome recompence of their pains, a confirmation was given them of the old priviledges granted to the Church of *Scotland* by four Popes. This Priviledge is dated at *Rome* in the year of Chriſt 1218, and in the ſecond of Pope *Honorius* his Pontificat. *An.* 1219. *Buchan. l.* 7. *Scon. ibidem.*

Yet the next year *Egidius* a Spaniard by nation, and by place a Cardinal, was ſent to gather contribution for the holy War; wherein both the Clergy and Laiety ſhewed themſelves ſo forward, as in a ſhort ſpace great ſums were collected: all which he ſpent moſt prodigally in his return to *Rome*, giving out for an excuſe that he was robbed by certain Brigants in the way. And no ſooner was this Cardinal gone, than another followed, having the like Commiſſion. But the King conſidering how prejudicial theſe contributions might prove to the Kingdom, and that through the eaſie yieldings of the State, the See of *Rome* was grown impudent in their Exactions, would not permit him to enter into the Realm, till he had propounded the matter in Council: at which time one of the Biſhops (his name is not expreſſed in the ſtory) made a long ſpeech againſt the rapine of theſe Legates; where, in recounting the inſolent oppreſſions of *Guallo* and the riotous profuſion of *Egidius*, he diſſwaded by many good reaſons his admiſſion, or the receiving of any other who ſhould afterwards happen to come about the like buſineſs. This Speech ſeconded with the applauſe of all that were preſent, an Act was made prohibiting the reception of the Legate, or any others without licence from the King. *An.* 1219. The King offended with the Contributions of *Rome*. The Popes Legate diſcharged from entering into *Scotland*.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* being all this while in *France*, did now return bringing with him ſome of the order of S. *Dominick*, ſome *Franciſcans*, *Jacobins*, and of the Monks called *Vallis umbroſæ*. Theſe Orders not being known before in this Church, by their crafty inſinuations with people, and the profeſſion they made in leading an auſtere life, did ſupplant the credit of the Prieſts, drawing to themſelves all the force and credit of the ſpiritual Miniſtery, and were upheld by the Popes, whoſe deſigns they ſtudied eſpecially to advance. The King, who looked no farther than the devout profeſſion they made, gave them all a kind reception, and to the Monks *Vallis umbroſæ* he erected a Monaſtery in *Pluſcardy* within the country of *Murray*. In the country of *Roſſe*, the Lord *Biſſet* founded *Beawly* for Monks of the ſame Order; and one *Maccolloch*, a man of great wealth, did found the Priory of *Archatton* in *Lorne*. About the ſame time did *Ada* or *Adhama*, Grandmother to the King, found the Abbey of *Haddington* for conſecrated Virgins. The like was erected at *Northberwick* by *Malcolm* Earl of *Fife*, who alſo founded the Abbey of *Culroſſe* for the *Ciſtercian* Monks. *Dornagilla*, the daughter of *Allan* Lord of *Galloway*, erected for the ſame order a Monaſtery at *New-Abbey*; and by a rare example, *Gilbert* Earl of *Strathern*, having divided his Inheritance in three parts, gave one third thereof to the See of *Dumblane*, and another to the Abbey of *Inchaffray*, reſerving to himſelf and his heirs a third only of the whole. Shortly after in the year 1237 died *William Malvoiſin* at *Inchmurtach*, and, as he himſelf had directed, was buried in the new Church of S. *Andrews*. Orders of St. *Dominick* and *Francis* brought into *Scotland*. *Scon. l.* 10. *c.* 8. Foundation of Religious houſes. *Gilbert* Earl of *Stratherne* his Donations to the Church. *Scon. l.* 8. *c.* 73.

21. *Galfrid* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* being earneſtly deſired both of the Clergy and Laiety, the King would not permit his Tranſlation: ſo *David Benham*, Chamberlain to the King, was elected, and on S. *Vincent*'s day in the year 1238 conſecrated by *William* Biſhop of *Gaſgow*, *Gilbert* Biſhop of *Cathnes*, and *Clement* Biſhop of *Dumblane*. This Biſhop kept a ſevere hand over the Clergy, eſpecially the Monks and others that lived in religious Orders; and calling an Aſſembly by the Kings conſent at *Perth* in the year 1242, (where the King himſelf with divers of the Nobility did aſſiſt) *An.* 1238. *David* the Kings Chamberlain elected Biſhop upon *Malvoiſin* his death.

A. 1233. assiſt) made many good conſtitutions as well for reformation of abuſes, as for ſecuring of Clergy-men in their poſſeſſions and rights. In his time fell out great Troubles betwixt the Emperour *Frederick* the Second and Pope *Gregory* the Ninth; for which a general Council was called by the ſaid *Gregory* at *Rome*, and thither were ſummoned all the Biſhops of Chriſtendom. The pretext was, the relief of the Holy-land, which at that time was in great diſtreſs; but *Frederick* apprehending the intention to be againſt himſelf, reſolved to hinder the meeting of the Council, and having belayed the ways, made the Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow* priſoners, as they travelled through *Germany*. Upon their promiſe to return home, they were afterwards ſet at liberty: not the leſs they ſent their Procurations thither by ſome Religious perſons, who took another way. But the Council held not, becauſe of the Popes death that intervened.

King *Alexander* the Second buried at *Melroſſe*.

Some few years after this King *Alexander* deceaſed at *Carnire* in the Weſt Iſles; and, as he had appointed, was interred in the Abbey-Church of *Melroſſe*, with an Inſcription according to the rudeneſs of the time, yet ſuch as ſhewed how greatly he was beloved of his Subjects.

His Epitaph.

Eccleſiæ clypeus, pax plebis; dux miſerorum,
Rex rectus, vigidus, ſapiens, conſultus, honeſtus,
Rex pius, Rex fortis, Rex optimus, Rex opulentus,
Nominis iſtius ipſe ſecundus erat.
Annis ter denis & quinis Rex fuit ipſe.
Inſula quæ Carnire dicitur hunc rapuit.
Spiritus alta petit Celeſtibus aſſociatus,
Sed Melroſſenſis *oſſa ſepulta tenet.*

King *Alexander* the Third crowned.

His ſon *Alexander* the third by *Maria* the daughter of Sir *Ingram de Conſey* (for his firſt wife died without children) ſucceeded, and was Crowned of eight years old; at the age of ten years he was married to *Margaret* the daughter of *Henry* the Third of *England*. The marriage being ſolemnized at *York*, and the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* ſent thither with others of the Nobility to ſee all things duly performed, he fell there in a Feaver, and departed this life on the firſt of *May* 1251. His Corps brought from thence was buried in the Abbey-Church of *Kelſoe*, ſome thirteen years and three moneths after his conſecration.

Sa. Daniel in the life of *Henry* the Third. *Scon. l.* 10. *c.* 8.

Abel Archdeacon of *S. Andrews* elected Biſhop after *David*.

22. The Prior and Canons convening to elect a new Biſhop, did all give their voices to *Robert Sutevile* Dean of *Dunkeld*, a man of great virtue and learning: But this Election took no elect; *Abel* Archdeacon of St. *Andrews*, by the favour of ſome that ruled the Court, having procured an inhibition to the Biſhop to proceed in the Conſecration, with a Mandate to the Canons to make a new Election. The Chapter refuſing made their appeal to *Rome*; and *Abel* poſting thither, by the bribes he beſtowed in that Court, got himſelf preferred, and was conſecrated by Pope *Innocentius* the Fourth.

Abel his rigor exerciſed upon the Canons.

At his return, to be revenged of the Prior and Canons, he behaved himſelf well inſolently, calling them in queſtion for every light occaſion, and cenſuring them with great rigor; whereupon he became extremely hated. They write of him that, in a vain-glorious humour, as he was walking in his Church one day, he did with a little Chalk draw this line upon the gate of the Church,

Hæc mihi ſunt tria, Lex, Canon, Philoſophia;

bragging of his knowledge and skill in thoſe Profeſſions: and that going to Church the next day, he found another line drawn beneath the former, which ſaid,

Te levant abſque tria, Fraus, Favor, Vanaſophia.

This did ſo gall him as taking bed he died within a few days, having ſate Biſhop ten months and two days only.

23. After

23. After *Abels* death *Gamelinus* was elected to govern the See, and by a warrant from *Rome* was consecrated on S. *Stephens* day, in the year 1255. Two years he stood elect, his Consecration being stayed by the Rulers of the Court, who had sent also to *Rome* for casting his Election. A time this was (such as usually falleth out in the minority of Princes) full of choppings and changes. Under the last King the *Cummings* had ruled all publick business, for they were of great power, the Earls of *Monteth*, *Bughan*, *Athol* and *Marre* being all of that name, besides thirty two Barons and Knights. *Robert* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Chancellor of the Kingdom for the time, inclining to their course, had legitimated a base sister of the Kings, who was married to one *Allan Dooroward*, and for the same was put from his place, *Gamelinus* being preferred thereto; but he enjoyed the same a short space, for upon some discontents he was likewise thrust out, and *Richard* Bishop of *Dunkeld* made Chancellor. This made the Court to oppose *Gamelinus* his Election; not the less he prevailed by his gifts at *Rome*, and procured a Warrant to *William* Bishop of *Glasgow* to proceed to his consecration.

An. 1255. *Gamelinus* elected Bishop upon *Abels* death.

Pasl. l. 6.

Boeth. l. 13.

Buch. l. 7.

The Court highly displeased at this, there fell out another occasion which did greatly incense them against him. A Knight called Sir *John Dinmure* for some oppressions committed upon the Prior of S. *Andrews* was excommunicated: he complaining to the King obtained by *Moyen* a command to *Gamelinus* to absolve him; who simply refused, unless satisfaction was made for the offence: and because no redress was offered, a new intimation was made of his cursing through the whole Province. This the King and the Court took so ill, as forthwith a messenger was sent to charge the Bishop to depart forth of the Realm; which as he was preparing to obey, the news of a Legate sent from *Rome* into *England* made the Court take a more moderate course, fearing the consequence of so rigorous a proceeding.

The Court displeased with the Bishop.

A Legate sent from *Rome*.

Scon. l. 2. *c.* 24.

This Legate called *Ottobon* being employed for pacifying the Troubles raised betwixt the King of *England* and his Barons, did summon the Clergy of *Scotland* to appear before him by their Commissioners, and to bring with them a Collection of four Marks for every Parish within the Realm, and six Marks for every Cathedral Church. The Clergy meaning themselves to the King, he did prohibit any such Contribution, and sent his Chancellor to the Bishop of *Dunkeld*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Dumblane*, partly to declare the reasons of his prohibition, and partly to observe the proceedings of the Legate with these of *England*. At their return some Acts were shewed which the Legate had set down to be observed by the Clergy: all which they rejected, saying, *That they would acknowledge no Statutes but such as proceeded either from the Pope, or from a General Council.*

Boeth. l. 13.

Ottobon was not well gone, when another Legate named *Rustanens* was sent to demand a Tenth of all the Church-rents within the Kingdom, for advancing the journey of King *Henry*'s Son, who had undertaken the Holy War at the solicitation of *Ottobon*. But this seeming to cross the Liberties granted by former Popes unto the Church, and it being notorious that the Pope was to employ the monys to other ends, (for he was then warring against *Manfred* King of *Naples* and *Sicily*) therefore the same was denied, and *Rustane* prohibited to enter into the Realm. The King not the less in token of his affection sent to the Pope 1000 Marks sterling; and for the furtherance of the holy War did levy 100 men, which he sent to *Lewes* the *French* King, who had determined to adventure himself of new against the Infidels, under the charge of the Earls of *Athol* and *Carrick*. All these died in that War, partly of the Plague, as did *Lewes* himself, and partly by the Sword of the Enemy.

Buch. l. 7.

Boeth. l. 13.

In this Bishops time the *Carmelite* Friers came into *Scotland*, and had a dwelling assigned them at *Perth* by *Richard* Bishop of *Dunkeld*. The Cross-Church at *Peblis* was at that same time built, and endowed by the King with large Revenues. The reason why this Church was erected was a cross, as they write, found in that place inclosed in a little Shrine, on which the name of *Nicolaus* a Bishop was written. The Church was dedicated with many pompous Ceremonies, divers Prelates being present, amongst whom was *Gamelinus*, who at his return home was taken with a Palsie, and died in *Inchmurtach*, having sate Bishop 16 years. His Corps

The *Carmilits* Friers received in *Scotland*.

Cross-Church at *Peblis* erected.

Boeth. l. 13.

Scon. l. 10.

An. 1274. Corps was laid in the new Church of S. *Andrews* nigh to the high Altar.

William Wiſhart elected Biſhop upon *Gamelinus* his death.

24. *William Wiſhart* elect of *Glaſgow* was upon the death of *Gamelinus* preferred to S. *Andrews*. Pope *Urban* the Fourth had not long before ordained, *That every Biſhop and Abbot elect ſhould travel to* Rome *for Conſecration*: but the Papacy then vacant by reaſon of a Schiſm, that continued two years and nine months after the death of *Clement* the Fourth, he was unwilling to go thither; four other Prelates being kept there depending at the ſame time, *William* elect of *Brichen*, *Matthew* elect of *Roſſe*, *Nicol* elect of *Cathnes*, and *Hugh Benham* elect of *Aberdene*.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 30. *Paſt. l.* 6.

Biſhops attending at *Rome* for Conſecration.

The elect of *Brichen* died at *Rome*; *Aberdene* and *Roſſe* were conſecrated by *Gregory* the Tenth upon the ending of the Schiſm at *Viterbium*; *Nicol* was rejected, and the Chapter of *Cathnes* appointed to make a new Election. The Agents that *Wiſhart* ſent for licence to be conſecrated were detained a long time, and had returned without effectuating their errand, if *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, who coming from the Holy land was then at *Rome*, had not by his interceſſion prevailed with the Pope, and obtained licence for the Conſecration; which was performed at *Scone* in the year 1274, in the preſence of the King and divers of his Nobles. At the ſame time *William Fraſer* Dean of *Glaſgow* was preferred to be Chancellor.

A Council at *Lions*.

The Pope ſhortly after this having convocated a Council at *Lions*, cauſed cite all the Prelates thereto. To this effect a meeting of the Clergy was kept at *Perth*, where it was concluded, that the Biſhops (*Dunkeld* and *Murray* only excepted) ſhould addreſs themſelves to the Journey, and be at *Lions* before the firſt of *May*. Hopes were given of great reformation to be made in that Council, eſpecially of the Orders of *Mendicants*, who were mightily increaſed and grown to the higheſt of depravation. The Council was frequent, there being preſent (as my Author ſaith) two Patriarchs, fifteen Cardinals, five hundred Biſhops, and a thouſand other mitred Prelates, beſides the King of *France* and the Emperor of *Greece*, and many other Princes.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 34.

A ſupply for the Holy War.

The firſt propoſition was for the Holy War; and concerning it the Council decreed, *That a Tenth of all the Benefices in Chriſtendom (the priviledged Churches not excepted) ſhould be paid for ſix years; That all Penitentiaries and Confeſſors ſhould urge offenders to aſſiſt that holy buſineſs with their wealth and riches; and That every Chriſtian, without exception of ſex or quality, ſhould pay a yearly penny during that ſpace, under pain of excommunication.*

The Acts of the Council.

For remedying abuſes in the Church, the Council ordained, 1. *That no Procurations ſhould be paid to Biſhops or Archdeacons, unleſs they did viſit the Churches in their own perſons.* 2. *That no Churchman ſhould poſſeſs more Benefices than one, and ſhould make his reſidence at the Church he retained.* 3. *That without the Popes licence no Clergy ſhould anſwer the Impoſitions which might happen to be laid upon them by Princes or States.* 4. *That the* Mendicants *ſhould be reduced to four Orders, the* Minorites, *the* Predicants, Carmelites *and* Heremites *of S.* Auſtine, *who ſhould continue in their preſent ſtate, untill the Pope ſhould otherwiſe think good. And,* 5. *A general prohibition was made to adviſe or admit any new Orders, beſides thoſe which the Council had allowed.*

All the Acts overturned by Diſpenſations.

Some other Acts of leſs moment were paſſed, whereof the extract under the hands of the publick Notaries of the Council was ſent to this Church: but all theſe Statutes turned in a ſhort time to ſmoke, Pluralities being of new diſpenſed with, with the clauſe of *Non obſtante*, which then firſt came in uſe. The Orders of the Friers and Monks reſtored one by one: as firſt the *Ciſtertian* Monks, who redeemed their Order by the payment of 500000 Marks; then the *Bernardines* with the ſum of 600000 Crowns: the other Orders made in little ſort their Compoſitions. Whereby it appeared, that the Statutes there enacted were only deviſed to raiſe ſums of money, and not out of any purpoſe thoſe Fathers had to redreſs abuſes. The ſame year was one *Bagimund* a Legate directed hither, who calling before him all the Beneficed perſons within the Kingdom, cauſed them upon their oath give up the worth and value of their Benefices; according to which they were taxed. The Table (commonly called *Bagiments Rolls*) ſerved for the preſent collection, and was a rule in after-times for the prices taken of thoſe that came to ſue for Benefices in the Court of *Rome*.

Scon. l. 10. *c.* 35.

Wiſhart

Wiſhart, not long after his return from this Council, being employed by the King and State in a Commiſſion of the Borders, ſickned at *Marbotle* in *Teviotdale*, and there died. He is commended to have been a man careful in his Charge, and a great lover of Peace, than which there is no vertue more required in a Churchman. He continued Biſhop 5 years and 8 moneths only. His Corps was honourably conveyed from *Marbotle*, and interred in his own Church nigh to the high Altar in the year 1279. *An.* 1279. Biſhop *Wiſhart* dieth. *Scon. l.* 10. *c.* 31. *An.* 1279.

There lived in the Kingdom at this time *Michael Scot* and *Thomas Lermonth*, men greatly admired, the firſt for his rareſt skil in the Secrets of Nature, the other for his Predictions and foretelling of things to come. *Picus Mirandula* and *Cornelius Agrippa* do make honourable mention of *Michael Scot* in their Writings, and accompt him to have been a ſubtile Philoſopher, and moſt expert in the Mathematick ſciences. The Prophecies yet extant in the *Scotiſh* Rymes of the other, whereupon he was commonly called *Thomas the Rymer*, may juſtly be admired, having foretold ſo many Ages before the Union of the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* in the ninth degree of the *Bruces* bloud, with the Succeſſion of *Bruce* himſelf to the Crown being yet a childe, and other divers particulars, which the event hath ratified and made good. *Boeth.* in his Story relateth his Prediction of King *Alexander's* death, and that he did foretell the ſame to the Earl of *March* the day before it fell out, ſaying, *That before the next day at noon ſuch a tempeſt ſhould blow as* Scotland *had not felt many years before.* The next morning the day being clear, and no change appearing in the air, the Nobleman did challenge *Thomas* of his ſaying, calling him an Impoſtor. He replied, *that noon was not yet paſſed.* About which time a Poſt came to advertiſe the Earl of the King his ſudden death. Then ſaid *Thomas*, *This is the tempeſt I foretold, and ſo it ſhall prove to* Scotland. Whence or how he had this knowledge can hardly be affirmed; but ſure it is that he did divine and anſwer truly of many things to come. *Michael Scot* and *Thomas Lermonth.* *Buchan. l.* 13. *Leſl. l.* 6. *Boeth. l.* 13.

25. *William Fraſer* Chancellor of the kingdom, was after *Wiſhart* elected Biſhop, and going to *Rome* was conſecrated by Pope *Nicolaus* the Third in the year 1280. The office of Chancery upon his reſignation was given by the King to Mr. *John Pebles* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*. At his return from *Rome* a peſtilential Fever (never before known in this kingdom) brake up to the deſtruction of an infinite number of people. This viſitation was ſcarce ceaſed, when all the Kings children were taken away one after another: Firſt *David* his yongeſt ſon died; then *Alexander* the Prince, who had married a daughter of the Earl of *Flanders*; after him *Margaret* Queen of *Norway*, who left behind her one only daughter; and laſt the King himſelf, who had taken to wife (after the death of his Queen) *Iolet* a daughter to the Count of *Dreux*, in hope to reſtore his iſſue, was moſt unfortunately killed by the fall of his Horſe a little ſpace from the town of *Kingorne*. *William Fraſer* elected Biſhop after *Wiſhart.* *Buch. l.* 7. The death of King *Alexander* the Third and his children.

So many deaths falling out together in the Royal Family did preſage great Calamities to enſue. The only hope that remained was in the *Norvegian* maid, for whom Sir *David Wemis* and Sir *Michael Scot*, two Knights of *Fife*, were directed by the Eſtates. The adminiſtration of affairs was in the mean time committed to *William Fraſer* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*, and *John Coming* Earl of *Bughan*, for the Countrys on the North ſide of *Forth*; and to *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, *John* Lord *Comin*, and *John* Lord *Stewart*, for the South parts. But it was not long before that theſe Gentlemen that were ſent to *Norway* returned, bringing word that the maid of *Norway* was likewiſe departed this life. At which news it cannot be told whether the fears or ſorrows of the ſubjects were greater: for as their Sorrow for the loſs of ſo worthy a King was great, ſo their Fear was no leſs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the Succeſſion; for ſo many Competitors (ſix they were in number) claiming the inheritance of the Crown, and all of them men of power and friendſhip, they could not but divide the Realm, and ſo beget a civil War; yet they who were truſted during the Interreign did by their mediation work them to a compromiſe, and to remit the deciſion of the controverſion to King *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, a Prince of long experience, and much reſpected in that time. To this purpoſe the Biſhop of *Brichen* with the Abbot of *Jedburgh* and *Galfred* Two Knights of *Fife* directed to the maid of *Norway*, whom they found dead. *Boeth. l.* 14. *Buchan. l.* 8. Competitors for the Crown.

An. 1179. *Scon. l.* 11. *c.* 2. *Galfred Mowbray* a Gentleman were ſent to King *Edward*, who finding him at *Xantoign* in *France*, did expone to him the inconveniences that were feared to fall out in the Kingdom, and the courſe they had taken to prevent the ſame, intreating his help for quieting the State.

King *Edward* his ſpeech at the meeting in *Norham*.

King *Edward* glad to have an hand in the making of a King in *Scotland*, dimitted them with many loving words, aſſigning a Diet to the Competitors at *Norham* upon *Tweed*, which he promiſed to keep. The day come, and the Competitors all preſent, with the Prelates and other Nobles, the King by a long and premeditated ſpeech declared, 'That albeit he might juſtly claim the Superiority 'of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, as belonging to him by right, yet as a friend and 'arbiter elected by themſelves, he would labour to compoſe the preſent contro- 'verſie in the beſt ſort he could. For the right, ſaid he, howſoever there be di- 'vers pretenders, belongeth to one only; and for my ſelf, I determine to wrong 'no man, but to do that which is juſt, aſſuring my ſelf you will all acquieſce and 'take him for King who ſhall be pronounced ſo to be.

Robert Biſhop of *Glaſgow* his reply. *Scon. l.* 11. *c.* 10.

This ſaid, *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* aroſe, and gave the King moſt hearty thanks, in name of the reſt, *for the good affection he bare to their country, and the pains he had taken to come and remove their debates; ſhewing that out of a perſuaſion they all had of his wiſdom and equity, they were well pleaſed to ſubmit to him as ſole Arbiter the judgment and deciſion of that weighty affair. But where it had pleaſed him to ſpeak of a right of Superiority over the Kingdom; it was ſufficiently known that* Scotland *from the firſt foundation of the State had been a free and independent Kingdom, & not ſubject to any other power whatſoever. That their anceſtors had valiantly defended themſelves and their Liberties againſt the* Romans, Picts, Britains, Danes, Noriſhes, *and all others who ſought to uſurp upon them. And howbeit,* ſaid he, *the preſent occaſion hath bred ſome diſtraction of minds, all true-hearted* Scotch-men *will ſtand for the Liberty of their Country to the death: for they eſteem their Liberty more precious than their lives, and in that quarrel will neither ſeparate nor divide. Wherefore as he had profeſſed in way of Friendſhip, and as an Arbiter elected by themſelves, to cognoſce and decide the preſent controverſie, they were all in moſt humble manner to intreat him that he would proceed to determine the queſtion, which they and their poſterities ſhould remember with their beſt affection and ſervices.* King *Edward*, although he was not well pleaſed with the Biſhops free ſpeech, made no ſpeech thereof at the time, but continuing his purpoſe, deſired the Competitors to be called. They all being ſeverally heard, the right was found to lie chiefly betwixt *John Baliol* and *Robert Bruce*, and the reſt ordained to ceaſe from their claim. Of *Baliol* and *Bruce* an oath was taken, that they ſhould abide by the Sentence which King *Edward* ſhould pronounce. The like oath was taken by the Prelates, Nobles, and other Commiſſioners of the State, who ſware all to accept him for their King that would be tried to have the beſt right; and for the greater aſſurance, all their ſeals were appended to the Compromiſe. Then *Edward* proceeding, made twelve of either kingdom, men learned in the Law, to be elected for examination of the right, declaring that he would take the opinions alſo of the beſt Civilians in the Univerſities of *France*. In this ſort was the buſineſs carried in publick; but privately, and amongſt ſome few, the conſultation was how to bring *Scotland* under his ſubjection.

The right of the Crown found to lie betwixt *Baliol* and *Bruce*. *Buchan. l.* 8.

A meeting at *Berwick* for determinating the right. *Sa. Daniel. Boeth. l.* 14.

Five years and ſome more were ſpent before the controverſie was brought to an end. At laſt every one longing to have it concluded, the King returned to *Berwick*, and calling the 24 who had been named at the firſt meeting, he did encloſe them within the Church, commanding them to debate the matter, and permitting none to have acceſs unto them, he himſelf went in now and then to feel their minds; and perceiving the moſt part inclining to *Bruce* his right, he dealt firſt with him, promiſing to inveſt him in the Kingdom, ſo as he would hold the ſame of the Crown of *England*. *Bruce* anſwered that he was not ſo deſirous of Rule, as he would therefore prejudice the Liberties of the Country. The like offer he made to *Baliol*, who, being more greedy of a kingdom than careful of his honour, did yield thereunto, and ſo was crowned King at *Scone*; all the Nobility, *Bruce* excepted, doing him homage. Some days after his Coronation he went to *Newcaſtle*, to do the Homage

Bruce refuſeth the offer, which *Baliol* embraceth.

(as

as he had promiſed) to King *Edward* as unto his Soveraign Lord. The Nobles that accompanied him thither, fearing to withſtand the two Kings ſo far from home, did likewiſe ſwear ſubjection to King *Edward*. Which as ſoon as the reſt of the Nobility and others of the State (who were tender of their Countries Liberty) underſtood, they grew highly diſpleaſed. They that were in *Baliol's* company were excuſed, as not daring oppoſe the fact in that place; but he himſelf having done it upon a ſecret paction, which then began firſt to break out, he became ſo univerſally hated, as after that time could he never purchaſe their love; nor was it long before he felt the ſmart of his own error. For being cited to anſwer before the Parliament of *England* upon a complaint exhibited againſt him, he appeared; and having deſired to anſwer by Procurator, the ſame was denied him, and he forced to deſcend to the ordinary place of pleading, and ſtand as a ſubject. This affront did ſo vex his mind, that from thenceforth he did meditate upon nothing but revenge, whereof a good opportunity was offered him by the War which then burſt forth between *France* and *England*.

An. 1279.

Baliol hated for ſwearing ſubjection to the King of *England*. *Buchan. l.* 8.

Baliol breaketh with *England*.

The Ambaſſadors of both theſe Kings coming at one time into *Scotland*, (the *French* to ſeek the renewing of the ancient League, and the *Engliſh* to crave a ſupply of men to be ſent unto King *Edward* by virtue of the late Allegiance ſworn by *Baliol*) the deſire of *England* was utterly rejected as unjuſt; *Becauſe the Allegiance ſworn by their King was*, as they ſaid, *forced*; *and granting he had done it willingly, it was not in his power, without conſent of the State, to do any ſuch act. Therefore whatſoever was done by him that way, both he and they did recal, renouncing* Edwards *friendſhip both for that and other wrongs committed by him*. Thereupon it was concluded, that two Ambaſſadours ſhould be ſent, one to *France* for renewing the League, and confirming it by new alliance of *Edward Baliol* the Kings Son with the Daughter of *France*; another to *England*, for defying King *Edward*, and renouncing his Allegiance. Towards *France*, *William* Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Matthew* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Sir *John Sowlis*, and Sir *Ingram Umphraville* Knights, were imployed. The Ambaſſage to *England* being declined by many, *Henry Abbot* of *Aberbrothock*, a man of great ſtomach, undertook and performed.

Ambaſſadors from *France* and *England*.

Boeth. l. 14. *Scon. l.* 11. *c.* 18.

Upon this defection of *Baliol*, King *Edward* ſummoned him to appear at *Newcaſtle*; and upon his refuſe entered into *Scotland*, with a mighty Army, took *Berwick* with the ſlaughter of 7000 *Scots*, and had delivered into his hands the Caſtles of *Dumbar*, *Roxburgh*, *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*. *Baliol* thus overthrown, was again by the perſwaſion of *John Cumin* of *Strathbogy* brought to ſubmit himſelf, and ſwear Fealty of new to King *Edward*. After which the Parliament of *Scotland* was called to meet at *Berwick*; there did all the Nobility that were preſent perform Homage to the King of *England*. *William Douglas*, a man nobly born, and of great courage, only refuſed, and was therefore caſt in priſon, where he died. This done, King *Edward* turned home, leaving *John Warren* Earl of *Surrey* and *Suſſex* Governor of the Kingdom, *Hugh Creſſingham* Treaſurer, and *Ormſley* chief Juſtice.

Baliol cited to *Newcaſtle*. *Scotland* invaded by King *Edward*.

Buchan. l. 8. *Boeth. l.* 14.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, who was lately come from *France*, not enduring to ſee the Country ſo thralled, returned thither, appointing Mr. *William Kingorne* and *Peter de Campaigne* his Chaplains to ſupply his abſence in all ſpiritual affairs: *Robert* Biſhop of *Glaſgow* and *Maurice* Biſhop of *Iſles* were taken and ſent priſoners to *London*. The reſt of the Churchmen, though permitted to attend their Cures, were held under miſerable bondage: whereupon they ſecretly diſpatched a meſſage to the Pope with *William* Archdeacon of *Lothian*, *Baldred Biſſet* and *William Egiſhame*, willing them *to lament the oppreſſions of the Church, and the uſurpation made upon the Country, and ſo intreated him, as the univerſal Father of Chriſtendom, to uſe his authority with the King of* England, *over whom he had power, and take the matter to his own hearing, unto whoſe judgment they would ſimply ſubmit themſelves*. Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, who then ruled that See, moved with their prayers, ſent immediately to *Edward*, and deſired him to *forbear any further proceeding againſt the Scots*, alledging with a ſtrange impudence *the Sovereignty of* Scotland *to belong unto the Church*. The Commiſſioners nothing pleaſed with the Popes claim, did notwithſtanding forbear to take notice of it, leſt they ſhould make him alſo their

The Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Iſles* ſent priſoners to *London*.

A meſſage ſent to the Pope from the Clergy.

Scon. l. 11. *c.* 36.

The Popes Letters to King *Edward* and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*.

An. 1300. enemy. To the ſame purpoſe did the Pope write Letters to *Robert Winchelſey*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, willing him to deal with the King for ſetling the Biſhops of *Glaſgow* and *Iſles* at liberty, and the ſubmitting of all controverſies between him and the *Scots* to the judgement of the Apoſtolick See.

King *Edward* his anſwer.

King *Edwards* Anſwer to the Popes Letter was, *That from all antiquity the direct and ſuperiour dominion of* Scotland *did appertain to the Kingdom of* England, *even from* Brutus *unto his own time. That it was never yet heard that the Kingdom of* Scotland *belonged to the Church, nor did he think the* Scots *would confeſs ſo much. And if he ſhould yield to his deſire, he would unquiet his own Kingdom, and draw upon himſelf the hatred of his ſubjects; which he knew his Holineſs would not wiſh. Therefore prayed him to hold him excuſed, and to be perſwaded of his affection to the See Apoſtolick.* He moved likewiſe his Nobility, who were then met in Parliament at *Lincoln*, to write to the Pope to the ſame effect. Albeit ſomewhat more roundly they told him, *That the King their Lord ought not to undergo his judgment in matters of that kind, neither ſend his Procurators about that buſineſs as he had been required, ſeeing that was to call in doubt their Kings Title, to the prejudice of his Crown, the Royal Dignity, the Liberties, Cuſtoms and Laws of* England, *which by their Oath they were bound to obſerve, & would defend with their lives. Nor would they permit the King, although he would, in any way to attempt the ſame. Wherefore they beſought his Holineſs to meddle no more in that matter.* The Pope, having his hands full otherwiſe at the time, did upon this dimit the *Scottiſh* Commiſſioners, who had made a long ſtay at *Rome*, with great promiſes of favour when he ſhould ſee it to be convenient. The Supplication directed to the Pope is by ſome of our Writers ſaid to be ſent after King *Edwards* ſecond Expedition into *Scotland*; but I rather think it was at the firſt.

An. 1300. *William Wallace.*

Whileſt theſe things were a-doing, *William Wallace* a Gentleman well deſcended, but of no great eſtate, began to ſhew himſelf, and gathering (out of a deſire to free his Country from the ſubjection of *England*) a company of ſuch as would adventure with him, effected things beyond all expectation; for he ſlew Sir *Hugh Creſſingham*, who was left Governor of the Realm, recovered moſt of the ſtrengths and Caſtles, won again the Town of *Barwick*, expulſed the *Engliſh* Clergy that had planted themſelves in the Kingdom, and, if he had not been hindered by his own Country-men, had made his victory abſolute. King *Edward* being all that time in *Flanders*, and informed at his return to *England* of the diſtractions among the *Scots* themſelves, fell of new upon them; and after a ſore defeat given them at *Falkirk*, called a Parliament at S. *Andrews*, where all the Earls and Barons did again ſwear obedience unto him, not one of any note (*Wallace* excepted) ſtanding out in the whole Kingdom.

S. *Daniel.*

Boeth. l. 14. *Buch. l.* 8.

A Parliament at S. *Andrews.*

King *Edward* his courſe for extirpating the *Scots.*

And now did the State ſeem to be wholly ruined, for *Edward* intending to make ſure his Conqueſt, led away captive all that had the leaſt ability to ſtir; and to extinguiſh (if it had been poſſible) the very memory of the Nation, he aboliſhed all the ancient Laws of *Scotland*, traduced the Eccleſiaſtical Rites to the form of *England*, deſtroyed the antique Monuments erected either by the *Romans* or by their own progenitors, burnt all the Regiſters, with that famous Library of *Reſtennoth* (wherein, beſides many other volumes, were reſerved the Books which King *Fergus* the Second brought with him from *Rome*) removed the Marble Chair in which (as the vulgar believed) the Fate of the Kingdom did conſiſt; and to be ſhort, left nothing which might incite generous ſpirits to remember their former fortunes, or encourage them in any ſort to vertue and worthineſs.

Scon. Catal. Epiſc. S. Andrea. Paſt. l. 6.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* (who then remained at *Artevile* in *France*) upon the report of this pitiful vaſtation, did contract ſuch a Melancholy, as within a few days he died. His body was interred at the Predicants Church at *Paris*, and his heart brought into *Scotland*, and entombed by *Lamberton* his ſucceſſor in the wall of the Church of S. *Andrews*, nigh to the Sepulcher of *Gamelinus*. He was a man careful of the Church, and ſought by all means to better the eſtate thereof. At his firſt admiſſion to the See he purchaſed the Priory of *May* from the Abbot of *Reading* in *England*, which he gave afterwards to the Prior and Canons; and had he fallen in peaceable times, would have performed many good works.

26. *William Lamberton*, Parſon of *Champſey*, and Chancellour of the Church of *Glaſgow* was then preferred to the place. This man, after the Biſhop of *Glaſgow* was ſent priſoner to *London*, made his own peace with King *Edward*, and ſware fealty unto him, which was the thing that wrought his advancement; yet the *Culdees*, who claimed a chief voice in the election of the Biſhop, withſtood him mightily at the firſt. Before the Abbey was founded, the *Culdees* were the only Electors of the Biſhop: afterwards being excluded by a Bull of Pope *Innocent* the Second, the election was committed to the Prior and Canons; whereupon aroſe a great controverſie amongſt them, which by the authority of good King *David* was agreed in theſe terms, that ſo many of the *Culdees* as would become Canons, and enter in the Monaſtery, ſhould have voices with them. But to elude this appointment, a Mandate was procured from the Pope to admit none in the Convent without the advice of the Prior and moſt part of the Canons: by which means the *Culdees* were kept out, and deprived quite of all voices in the Election. *William Comin* their Provoſt, ſuppoſing to get ſome advantage of the Prior in theſe troubleſome times, did ſtrongly oppoſe *Lamberton's* Election, and the matter by an appeal drawn to the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, they both went thither to debate their rights: in end *Lamberton* prevailed, and was conſecrated by Pope *Boniface* in *June* 1298. This turned ſo to the diſgrace of the *Culdees*, as after this time we hear no more of them, the name and Order being by little and little quite extinguiſhed.

An. 1300.

William Lamberton preferred to *S. Andrews* upon the death of *Fraſer*.

Paſt. l. 6. c. 2.

The Culdees and Canons at ſtrife.

About the ſame time were the Templars, otherwiſe called the Red Friers, made away; an Order inſtituted by *Baldwin* King of *Jeruſalem* ſome 200 years before, for the defence of that City, and the ſafe conveying of all ſuch as travelled thither, by the pious liberality of Princes and others well affected: they were in a ſhort time greatly enriched, and for their wealth ſore envied. Some report, that degenerating from their firſt inſtitution they became execrably vicious. But *Bocatius*, *Villanus*, *Antonius*, *Nauclerus*, *Aventinus*, and other Authors do all purge them of the crimes laid to their charge. The rumour in that time went, that *Philip* King of *France*, to get one of his Sons made King of *Jeruſalem*, and poſſeſſed with their Revenues, did labour to have them and the Order condemned. But others ſay, that the Pope (this was *Clement* the Fifth) was mightily offended with them for inveighing againſt the corruptions of his Court and ſinfulneſs of the Clergy; which they maintained to be the only cauſe of all the miſeries of Chriſtendom, eſpecially of the Holy Land. But howſoever their deſtruction was wrought, all Authors teſtifie that notwithſtanding the cruel torments which divers of that profeſſion were put unto, none of the crimes laid to their charge could ever be made out againſt them.

The diſſolution of the Templars.

Paulus Æmilius in his Hiſtory writeth, that *James Burgond* the Principal of that Order being brought forth to die, and, whileſt the fire was kindled before him, having his life offered, if he would quickly declare that what he had deponed in the time of his impriſonment, both of himſelf and of his whole Order, was true, did utter theſe words; *In theſe my laſt actions it being unpardonable impiety to lie, I freely & frankly confeſs, that I committed a great offence both againſt my ſelf and my Order, and that therein I have deſerved a moſt tormenting puniſhment, becauſe in favour of them for whom I ſhould not, & allured with the ſweetneſs of life, I have in my tortures ſlanderouſly impoſed many impieties & detractions upon the Order, which hath ever deſerved well of the Chriſtian world. I have no need of life obtained by intreaty, much leſs retained by lying and defamation.* This ſaid, and he being ſet to the pile, and fire kindled about the nether parts of his feet to wring out from him a confeſſion, even when the flames began to waſte and fire his entrails, he never ſwarved from the conſtancy of his former ſpeech, or ſhewed the leaſt change and alteration of minde: with him two other of the ſame Order did ſuffer, (one of them being of a great family, and brother to the *Daulphin* of *Vienna*) who ſhewed the like conſtancy. There be other Authors of no ſmall eſteem, ſaith *Pleſſis*, who report, *That two Cardinals being preſent at their execution, the great Maſter did ſummon Pope* Clement *before the Tribunal of God, to anſwer for the wrongous judgement and ſentence given againſt them*; and that *the Pope died the ſame day to which he was cited*, being the

Paulus Æmilius.

Pleſſis.

An. 1307. 40 day after their execution. Partly by these testimonies, and partly by the clause insert in the condemnatory Bull of Pope *Clement*, in which it was said, *Quanquam de jure non possumus, tamen pro plenitudine potestatis dictum Ordinem reprobamus*, Albeit by way of right we cannot, yet out of the fulness of our power we reprobate and condemn the said Order, by this, I say, it would appear that they were rigorously used. But howsoever all the Kings of Christendom, as combining together, caused them at one instant to be apprehended within their dominions, and put from their estates, which afterwards were given to the Hospitalers and Knights of S. *John*.

B. *Lamberton* loseth K. *Edwards* favour *Buchan. l.* 8.

But to return to *Lamberton*; he stood not long in King *Edwards* favour, being suspected for the entertainment he gave to *James Douglas* the Son of *Willian Douglas*, who died in Prison at *Berwick*. This Gentleman at the time of his Fathers death was in *Paris* following his studies, and being advertised that his Father was dead, and his estate given away to strangers, returned home; where finding no means to maintain himself, he took his recourse to the Bishop, who pitying the Gentlemans estate, did accept him amongst his followers, and in the next Expedition which King *Edward* made into *Scotland*, taking the Gentleman with him to *Striveling*, did present him to the King, intreating that he might have his lands restored, and be admitted into his service. King *Edward* answered, *That he could not look for good service of him whose Father had proved such an enemy; and that the lands were disponed to others that had merited better.* So the Gentleman despairing to find any favour with the King, did wait still upon the Bishop.

Lesl. l. 7. *Boeth. l.* 14.

The Bishop committed to prison.

Afterwards hearing that *Robert Bruce* had taken the field, he stole away secretly, taking with him the Bishops Horses and Monyes, and went to assist *Bruce*. King *Edward* apprehending this to be done with the Bishops knowledge, did commit him to prison, where he remained till the death of King *Edward*, which happened in the year 1307.

Robert Bruce crowned King.

King *Robert Bruce* was in this time crowned King, and by the Troubles which *Edward* the Second found in the beginning of his Reign, got leisure to settle himself in the Kingdom: so as when King *Edward* returned (which was not till seven years after his Fathers death) to take possession of the Country, and came with a world of people (they are reckoned to be no fewer than two hundred thousand) they were encountred by King *Robert* at the River of *Bannockburn*, and wholly defeated. This victory did so much discourage the *English*, as after a long surcease of war, when some eight years after they attempted to repair themselves, they were forced with much dishonour to return, and become suiters to the Pope to intercede for peace.

Boeth. l. 14. *Buchan. l.* 8.

The Popes Legate sent to dissuade the King from troubling *England*.

To this effect a Legate was sent into *Scotland*, who had audience given him at *Aberbrothock*. His Proposition was, 'That the *Scots* should desist from troubling '*England*, till the Pope should hear the questions that were amongst them, and 'be enformed of the right which King *Edward* had to the Crown of *Scotland*. King *Robert* answered, 'That the Pope could not be ignorant of the estate of that 'business, the same having been often exponed by the Commissioners of *Scot*-'*land* to divers of his predecessors, in the hearing of many Cardinals then alive, 'who could relate, if they pleased, the insolent answers which Pope *Boniface* recei-'ved, when he desired the *English* to forbear their cruel oppression of the *Scots*. 'And now, saith he, when it hath pleased God to give us the better by some Victo-'ries, and that we have not only recovered our own, but are in a possibility to 'make them live as good neighbours, they have recourse to such Treaties, seek-'ing only to gain time, that when they have setled their affairs, they may fall 'again upon us with the greater force: but in this his Holiness must excuse 'me, for I will not be so unwise as to let the advantage I have slip out of my 'hands.

Boeth. l. 14. The King his answer to the Legate.

The Kingdom interdicted.

The Legate not satisfied with this Answer, and interpreting it as a disobedience to the Apostolick See, did put the Kingdom under Interdiction, and so departed. But the King, to shew how little he esteemed these proceedings, followed the Legate at the heels, and entering into *England*, wasted all the adjacent Countries

tries with fire and ſword. At his return from that Expedition an Ambaſſage was ſent to *Rome* for reconciling the Kingdom, and a Letter ſubſcribed by the Nobility and Barons to the Pope, the Copy whereof I have thought good to inſert. *An.* 1307. *Buch. l.* 8.

A Letter ſent by the Nobles and Barons of *Scotland* to the Pope.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & domino Joanni, &c. filii ſui humiles & devoti, Duncanus Comes de Fife, Thomas Ranulphus Comes Moraviæ, dominus Manviæ, & dominus Wallis Annandiæ, Patricius Dumbar Comes Marchiæ, Maliſius Comes Strathern, Malcolmus Comes de Lennox, Gulielmus Comes de Roſſe, Magnus Comes Cathannon & Orchaden, & Gulielmus Comes Sutherlandiæ, Walterus Seneſcallus Scotiæ, Gulielmus de Souls Buttelarius Scotiæ, Jacobus de Douglas, David de Brichen, David Grahame, Ingelramus Umphravile, Johannes Montieth Cuſtos Comitatus ejuſdem, Alexander Fraſer, Gilbertus de Haya Conſtabularius Scotiæ, Robertus Mareſcallus Scotiæ, Henricus de Santo Claro Panitarius Scotiæ, Johannes Grahame, David Lindſay, Patritius Grahame, Johannes de Fenton, Gulielmus de Abernethy, David de Weymis, Gulielmus de Monteſixo, Ferguſius de Androſſen, Euſtathius Maxwell, Gulielmus Ramſey, Alanus de Moravia, Donaldus Campbell, Johannes Cameron, Reginaldus Loquhoir, Alexander Seaton, Andreas Leſlie, & Alexander de Straton, cæterique Barones & libere tenentes & tota communitas Regni Scotiæ, &c. *Scon. l.* 13. *c.* 1.

Thereafter they ſaid, 'That *Scotland* being an ancient Kingdom governed by a 'continued ſucceſſion of 97 Kings, and amongſt the firſt that embraced the 'Faith of *Chriſt*, living under the patronage of S. *Andrew* the brother of S. *Peter*, 'and graced with many priviledges by the Popes his predeceſſors, had always 'been free from uſurpation of any ſtranger, before that *Edward* the father of him 'that now reigneth in *England*, did in the time of the interreign, when the que-'ſtion was of a ſucceſſor, labour by violence to eſtabliſh the Kingdom to him-'ſelf: ſince which time they have endured many injuries, having their Churches 'ſpoiled, their Monaſteries burnt, and their Country intolerably oppreſſed, till 'of late it hath pleaſed God to ſtir up King *Robert Bruce*, who as another *Joſhua* 'or *Judas Maccabeus* had redeemed them by his valour; with whom they reſolved 'in defence of their Country to ſpend their lives. And if he ſhould forſake 'them (which they knew he would not do) ſo long as they were any of them in 'life, *England* ſhould never bring them in ſubjection. Wherefore they beſought 'His Holineſs to make the *Engliſh* content themſelves with the ſpacious bounds 'they poſſeſſed, in which there reigned ſometimes ſeven Kings, and ſuffer the '*Scots* quietly to enjoy that little piece of ground which their progenitors had 'long defended, and left free unto them. In end they entreated, 'To be re-'ceived again into his grace and favour, promiſing all dutiful obedience to him 'and to the See Apoſtolick. This was the tenor of the Letter which the Pope favorably accepted, and thereupon gave order that the *Engliſh* and *Scots* ſhould both be warned to a certain Diet for debating their rights. The Diet come, and the *Engliſh* not appearing, the Pope, after he had examined the caſe, and peruſed the Reſcripts of divers his predeceſſors, releaſed the Interdiction which his Legate had publiſhed, and declared the *Scots* to be reconciled to the Church.

The Interdiction releaſed.

The great diſcontents which were then amongſt the *Engliſh* for the government of affairs under *Edward* the Third (who was then made King upon his Fathers Reſignation) brought them to ſue for peace: which after a ſhort Treaty was concluded, and the Peace confirmed by a Match betwixt *David* Prince of *Scotland*, and *Jane* ſiſter to King *Edward*. The Conditions of the Peace were theſe: 'That King *Edward* ſhould ſurrender by Charter his title of Sovereignty of the 'Kingdom of *Scotland*; Reſtore whatſoever Acts, Deeds, and Inſtruments he had 'of Homage and Fealty done by the Kings of *Scotland* or their Nobility to any of 'his anteceſſors, eſpecially thoſe which *Edward* the Firſt his Grandfather had 'by force extorted; and leave the Kingdom of *Scotland* as free as it was at the 'death of King *Alexander* the Third: That the *Scots* ſhould quit and renounce all 'the lands they held in *England*, and *Stanmore* be taken for the March both in '*Cumberland* and in *Northumberland*: That no *Engliſhman* ſhould enjoy lands in '*Scotland*, unleſs he dwelt in the Country; and that in ſatisfaction of the lands 'poſſeſſed by ſome of them who would not remain in *Scotland*, the King of *Scots*

The *Engliſh* ſue for peace.

The Conditions of the Peace.

An. 1328. King *Robert Bruce* dieth.

ſhould pay 30000 Marks. Peace thus made, and the Marriage with great ſolemnity performed (though the Prince was then but ſeven years old) King *Robert* waxing ſickly lived private (in a ſort) until his death, which happened ſome two years after. He was a King of incomparable wiſdom and valour, whoſe worth and vertue no pen can expreſs.

B. *Lamberton*, his death and vertues.

Whileſt this Peace was treating, *Lamberton* departed this life, having continued Biſhop thirty years: a Prelate wiſe, active and a great Benefactor to the Abbey, wherein for the moſt part he kept his reſidence. The Buildings, whereof now we only behold the ruines, were erected upon his charges. It is reported, that being asked by one of his ſervants on a night, *Why he did lay out ſo great ſums for the Monaſtery, and forget to build for himſelf*; he anſwered, *That ere he died he hoped to build more than his ſucceſſors ſhould well maintain.* Which he indeed performed; for beſides the repairing of his Palace in S. *Andrews*, he built at *Monymaill*, *Torrey*, *Derſey*, *Inchmortach*, *Muſchart*, *Ketins*, *Lincon*, *Monymusk*, and *Stow* in *Twaddale*, Houſes of good receipt for himſelf and his ſucceſſors. He finiſhed the Cathedral Church which had been many years a building, and dedicated the ſame with great ſolemnity in the year 1318. He adorned the Chapter-houſe with curious Seats and Cieling, furniſhed the Canons with precious Veſtments for the daily ſervice, ſtored their Library with Books, and at the Dedication of the Church procured of the King (who honoured the ſame with his preſence) a yearly rent of 100 Marks to be paid to the Abbey forth of the Exchequer; which annuity was afterward redeemed by the donation of the Church of *Forden* in *Mernis*. He himſelf the ſame very day gave unto the Prior and Convent the Churches of *Derſey* and *Abercromby*, as the donations yet extant do teſtifie; and dying at the laſt in the Priors Chamber within the Monaſtery, was buried in the new Church on the North-ſide of the high Altar in the year 1328.

Scon. in Catalogo epiſc. S. Andreæ.

Jo. Duns. Bal. cent. 14. *Leſl. l.* 14.

The famous Doctor *Joannes Duns*, *alias Scotus*, lived in his time. He was born in the Town of *Duns* in the Country of *Mers*, and being yet a childe, after ſome taſte he had got of the *Latine* Tongue, by the perſwaſion of two *Minorite* Friers, went to *Oxford*, ſtudying *Logick* in *Marton* College: then applying himſelf to Scholaſtick Divinity, grew to ſuch a perfection therein, as he was called, *The ſubtle Doctor*; and was followed of a number, who after his name are called to this day *Scotiſtæ*. After he had profeſſed a while at *Oxford*, he was called to read Divinity in the Univerſity of *Paris*, and from thence went to *Colen*, where he died of the Apoplexy. They write that after he was laid in grave, his ſpirits did return, and that ſtriving to get forth, he was there ſmothered; whereupon an *Italian* did write this Epigram:

Camd. Brit.

Quæcunque humani fuerant juriſque ſacrati,
In dubium veniunt cuncta vocante Scoto.
Quid? quod & dubium illius ſit vita vocata,
Morte illum ſimili ludificante ſtropha;
Quum non ante virum vita jugularit adempta,
Quam vivus tumulo conditus ille foret.

Duns proved to be a *Scottiſh* man born.

The *Engliſh* Writers contend that this *Scotus* was born in *England*, in *Dunſtane* Village within the Pariſh of *Emilden*, in the County of *Northumberland*; and confirm it by the Manuſcripts reſerved in the Library of *Merton* College, in one whereof are written theſe words, *Explicit Lectura ſubtilis Doctoris in Univerſitate* Oxonienſi, *(ſuper libros Sententiarum) Doctoris* Joannis Duns, *nati in Villa de* Emilden *vocata* Dunſtan, *contracta* Duns, *in Comitatu* Northumbriæ, *pertinens ad domum ſcholaſticorum de* Marton Hall *in* Oxonio, *& quondam dictæ domus ſocii.* Thus ends the Lecture of the ſubtile Doctor in the Univerſity of *Oxford* (upon the Book of Sentences) Doctor *John Duns*, born in a Village of *Emilden* called *Dunſtan*, or by abbreviation *Duns*, in the County of *Northumberland*, pertaining to the houſe of Scholars of *Marton Hall* in *Oxford*, and ſometime one of the Fellows of the ſaid Houſe. But this is no ſufficient proof; for it may be probably ſuppoſed that

that he living at *Oxford* in *England* when the Wars were ſo hot betwixt the two Kingdoms, did diſſemble his Country, and pretend himſelf to be an *Engliſh* born, to eſchew the hatred of the Students. In *Colen*, where he might without danger ſhew of what Country he was, he did profeſs himſelf a *Scot*, and the Minorites (of which Order he was) did therefore upon his Tomb erected in their Church, at the end of the Quire nigh unto the high Altar, ſet this Inſcription, which is there yet to be ſeen: *An.* 1341.

Scotia me genuit, Anglia ſuſcepit,
Gallia edocuit, Germania tenet.

What a fine ſubtle wit he had, the Monuments left by him to poſterity do witneſs. He died young in the year 1308.

27. The Chapter after *Lamberton*'s death meeting for the election of a new Biſhop, went into factions, the one half giving their voices to Sir *James Bane* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, the other half to Sir *Alexander Kinnimmouth* Archdeacon of *Lothian*: But *Bane* being then in the Court of *Rome*, and advertiſed of the Biſhops death, obtained the Biſhoprick of the Pope, who in thoſe times diſpoſed all Church-livings as he thought good, having no regard to Canonical Elections. Sir *James Bane* elected in *Lambertons* place. *Scon. l. in Catal. Epiſc. S. Andr.*

This Biſhop lived four years only after his Conſecration, and died at *Bruges* in *Flanders*: for upon breach of the Peace with *England*, and the Coronation of *Edward Baliol*, when *David* with his Queen went into *France*, he withdrew himſelf to the *Low Countries*. He was buried in the Monaſtery of the Regular Canons within *Bruges*. The Biſhop dieth at *Bruges* in *Flanders*.

28. How ſoon *Bane* his death was made known, the Convent meeting, elected *William Bell* Dean of *Dunkeld*. The Pope refuſing to confirm the Election, the See remained void for the ſpace of nine years and more. At laſt *William Landells*, Provoſt of *Kinkell*, upon the recommendation of the Kings of *France* and *Scotland*, was preferred and conſecrated by Pope *Benedict* the Tenth at *Avignon* in the year 1341. The See of S. *Andrews* void nine years. *William Landels* choſen Biſhop.

This Prelate was nobly born, and the heir of great poſſeſſions in *Scotland*, of a generous mind, and given to all goodneſs: he lived Biſhop 44 years, and in that time ſaw many Alterations: King *David Bruce* peaceably repoſſeſſed in the Kingdom; taken captive in the Battel of *Dureſme*, (where he himſelf was made Priſoner;) ſet again at liberty for the payment of one hundred thouſand Marks ſterling, to the help whereof he procured from the Church-men, with the conſent of Pope *Innocent* the Sixth, the Tenth of all Eccleſiaſtical Livings within the Kingdom for the ſpace of three years; and after King *David* his death, his ſon *Robert Stewart*, called *Robert* the Second, crowned King; to the fifteenth year of whoſe reign he attained, and then died in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*. His body was buried in the Cathedral Church at the Chancery door.

It was a cuſtome before theſe times, that when any Biſhop deceaſed, all his moveable goods were ſeiſed on by the Kings Officers, as belonging to the King: this he got diſcharged, and liberty granted to all the Prelates to diſpoſe their goods by Teſtament to whom they pleaſed; or if they ſhould happen to die inteſtate, it was made lawful to their neareſt kinſmen to call and purſue for the ſame. The benefit of this priviledge he himſelf firſt enjoyed. The Biſhops obtained liberty to diſpoſe of their goods by Teſtament.

29. In his place the Prior of S. *Andrews*, called *Stephen*, a man of great experience, and wiſdom, was choſen Biſhop; who going towards *Rome* for Confirmation, was taken priſoner at Sea by the *Engliſh*, and died at *Alnwick* of ſickneſs in the year 1385. *Stephen* choſen Biſhop of S. *Andrews*: he dieth at *Alnwick*.

30. *Walter Traill* was then attending Pope *Clement* at *Avignon*, a man ſingularly learned, and well expert both in the Civil and Canon Law. So great an opinion the Pope had of his worth, as at his preferment he did ſay to thoſe that ſtood by him, *This man deſerveth better to be Pope than Biſhop; the place is better provided than the perſon.* Which proved true in effect; for when he came to govern the See, he adminiſtred all affairs moſt wiſely. Nor had he the charge only of the Church, but the whole affairs of the Kingdom being caſt upon him, he governed *Walter Traill* elected in his ſtead. *Scon. l. in Catal. Epiſc. S. Andr.*

An. 1401. verned the ſame in ſuch ſort as the Realm was never remembred to have been better and more peaceably ruled. Writers deſcribe him to have been a man of courteous behaviour, affable, pitiful and compaſſionate of thoſe that were in any ſort diſtreſſed, a hater of vice, and of moſt ſincere converſation. He lived unto a great age, in much eſteem, and died in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* (built by himſelf) in the year 1401. His body was interred with great ſolemnity amongſt his predeceſſors, with this Inſcription ingraven upon his monument:

His Vertues and Qualities

An. 1401.

Hic fuit Eccleſiæ Columna, Feneſtra lucida,
Thuribulum aureum, Campana ſonora.

Thomas Stewart Son to *Robert* the ſecond elected Biſhop. *Scon. l. in Catalogo Epiſc.*

13. After him was *Thomas Stewart* Son to King *Robert* the Second (being then Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*) elected Biſhop; but he affecting the retired life, refuſed to accept the place, which thereupon remained void the ſpace of three years (for the Chapter would not in his life-time proceed to a new Election:) the Rents were in the mean time aſſigned by King *Robert* the Third (with the Convents permiſſion) to *Walter Danzelſton* in recompence of the Caſtle of *Dumbriton*, which he enjoyed by an hereditary title, and did at that time reſign unto the King.

S. Andreæ. Henry Wardlaw provided by Pope *Benedict* the 13 to the Biſhoprick. A Schiſm in the Church. *Martin* the 5 choſen Pope by the Council of *Conſtance.*

32. *Thomas Stewart* deceaſing, *Gilbert Grinlaw* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was poſtulated Biſhop; but *Henry Wardlaw* preſentor of *Glaſgow*, being then at *Avignon*, was provided thereto by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth. There was at this time a fearful Schiſm in the Church, of all that we do read the moſt ſcandalous, and of longeſt continuance; two, and ſometimes three Popes warring one againſt another and condemning each others Ordinances; which did ſo divide the Chriſtian world, and made ſuch partakings as were pitiful. This Schiſm laſting 29 years and more, was at laſt quenched in the Council of *Conſtance*, and *Martin* the Firſt choſen Pope.

The Abbot of *Pontiniac* directed to intimate the Election. *Harding* a Minorite perſwadeth the *Scots* to continue in the obedience of *Benedict.* *John Fogo a* Monk of *Melroſs*, refuteth *Hardings* Oration.

Scotland at that time lived in the obedience of *Benedict*, the Abbot of *Pontiniac* was directed to intimate the Election of the Council, and had audience given him in a Convocation of the Clergy at *Perth.* Thither came alſo one *Harding* a Minorite Frier, ſent by *Benedict* to ſolicite the Churches adherence to him againſt the Decree of the Council, who taking for his Theme theſe words, *My ſon, do nothing without adviſement, ſo ſhall it not repent thee after the deed*, held a long diſcourſe of the proceedings of the Council, and the informality thereof, affirming that none was bound to obey and acknowledge the ſame. Maſter *John Fogo*, a Monk of the Abbey of *Melroſſe*, replying to his Oration, began his ſpeech with that precept of the Apoſtle, *Withdraw your ſelves from every brother that walketh inordinately*, and refuting all the Minorites reaſons brought againſt the Council, concluded that whoſoever did procure for *Peter de Luna* (this was *Benedict's* name before he was elected Pope) was a very diſturber of the Churches peace, and not to be countenanced in any ſort. The Clergy in end, diſclaiming *Benedict*, promiſed obedience to Pope *Martin*, whom the Council had elected.

The Schiſm made way to the Reformation. *John Wickliffe, Hus*, & *Jerome* of *Prague.* *James Reſby* Martyr.

By occaſion of this Schiſm the mouths of many were opened againſt the corrupt doctrine and manners of *Rome. John Wickliffe* in *England*, *John Hus* and *Jerome* of *Prague* in *Bohemia*, did openly preach againſt the Tyranny of the Pope, and the abuſes introduced in the Church; and in this Country one called *Johannes Reſby*, an *Engliſh man*, *& de Shola Wickliffi*, as the Story ſpeaketh, was brought in queſtion for ſome points of Doctrine which he taught, and condemned to the fire. He was charged by Maſter *Laurence Lendors* with forty Heretical opinions, whereof we have two only mentioned; One, that *the Pope was not Chriſts Vicar*; the other, that *he was not to be eſteemed Pope, if he was a man of wicked life.* For maintaining theſe two points, he ſuffered in the year 1407. Some 24 years after *Paul Craw* a Bohemian came into *Scotland*, and for venting certain opinions touching the Sacrament of the Supper, the Adoration of Saints, and auricular Confeſſion, he was alſo condemned, and burnt at S. *Andrews* in the year 1432.

Paul Craw Martyr.

The Biſhop his qualities.

The death of theſe two Martyrs lieth heavy upon the memory of this Biſhop, who otherwiſe deſerved well of the Country and Church; for in his time he labou-

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red much to have the riotous forms crept in among all ſorts of men repreſſed, and was a man moſt hoſpitable. They report of him, that the Maſters of his houſe complaining of the great numbers that reſorted unto him for entertainment, and deſiring that for the eaſe of the ſervants he would condeſcend to make a Bill of Houſhould, that they might know who were to be ſerved, he condeſcended; and when his Secretary was called to ſet down the names of the Houſhold, being asked whom he would firſt name, he anſwered, *Fife* and *Angus* (theſe are two large Countries, containing millions of people:) his ſervants hearing this, gave over their purpoſe of retrenching his Family, for they ſaw he would have no man refuſed that came to his houſe. The bridge at the mouth of *Eden* was his work. And beſides, he was the firſt that opened the publick Schools at S. *Andrews*, making Divinity, Laws, Logick, and all other parts of Philoſophy to be there taught. *An.* 1412.

In the founding of this Univerſity he took his example from that of *Paris*, and obtained the Popes confirmation thereof, which in the year 1412 being brought from *Rome* by *Alexander Ogilvy* Maſter of Arts, was received with ſolemn proceſſions, fires of joy, ſounding of Bells, and all the tokens of gladneſs that could be expreſſed. Maſter *John Sheves* Official, Maſter *William Stephen*, afterwards Biſhop of *Dumblane*, and Sir *John Liſter*, a Canon of the Abby, were appointed to read Divinity; Maſter *Laurence Lendors* was ordained to read the Canon law, and Maſter *Richard Cornwall* the Civil; Maſter *John Gaw*, Maſter *William Fowlis*, and Maſter *William Croſier* were choſen for Philoſophy men, worthy to be remembred for being the firſt inſtruments that were imployed in that ſervice, and the attendance they gave upon it, having no allowance at all for their labours. The Univerſity of S. *Andrews* founded in the year 1412. *Boeth. l.* 16.

King *James* the firſt, at his return from *England*, 12 years after did greatly advance this work by the encouragement he gave to ſtudies: for not only did he countenance Profeſſors with his preſence at their Lectures, but alſo took order that none ſhould be preferred to any Benefice, unleſs it was teſtified by them that the perſon recommended had made a reaſonable progreſs in Learning: and for that effect kept a Roll of the moſt qualified perſons by him, for the filling of places that happened to fall void. This that good King eſteemed to be the moſt ſure and eaſie way for baniſhing Ignorance forth of the Church, and ceaſed not to admoniſh the Church-men that were in places to live as they profeſſed, and not to ſhame the bountifulneſs of Princes by abuſing their Donations unto Riot and Luxury. Farther, to allure them by good example, he brought home the *Carthuſian* Monks, who were at that time greatly reſpected for their preciſeneſs of living, and erected for them a beautiful Monaſtery at *Perth*, beſtowing large Revenues upon the ſame. The Biſhop ſurviving the King ſome ſeven years (for the King was treacherouſly murthered at *Perth* in the year 1437.) departed this life in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* the ſixth day of *April* 1444, having governed that See 35 years, and was buried in the wall betwixt the Chore and the Chappel called *Our Ladies Chappel.* King *James* the firſt a great favorer of the Univerſity. *Buchan. l.* 10. The King his Admonition to the Church-men. *Buchan. l.* 10. *Boeth. l.* 17. Biſhop *Wardlaw* dieth, *Anno* 1444.

33. *James Kennedy*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, and Nephew to King *James* the Firſt by his Siſter the Counteſs of *Angus*, was after *Wardlaw* his death elected Biſhop by the Prior and Canons: he himſelf was then at *Florence* with Pope *Eugenius* the Fourth, and had gone thither out of a deſire to have the Diſorders crept in among Church-men redreſſed, hoping to be ſtrengthned with greater authority from thence. But finding all things troubled in theſe parts, *Eugenius* keeping a Council at *Florence*, whileſt another was held at *Baſile*, and each of them condemning another as unlawful, he returned with a reſolution to do the beſt he could at home by his own credit. Upon his Tranſlation to S. *Andrews*, he did put all things in ſuch order, as no man then living did remember to have ſeen the Church in ſo good an eſtate; for partly by his own enſample, partly by the ſtrict obſervance of Diſcipline, he induced them all to live as became men of their profeſſion. And as he was to the Clergy a pattern of Vertue, ſo was he a great ſupporter of the King and Kingdom by his wiſe and prudent counſel: For in that Inſurrection of the Earls of *Douglas* and *Crawford* againſt King *James* the Second, when the King had determined to leave the Country and fly into *France*, he found the means to diſunite the Rebels, and break their Forces, reſtoring the King to his Eſtate, and the King-

dom

Biſhop *James Kennedy* tranſlated from *Dunkeld* to S. *Andrews*. *Buchan. l.* 12. *Kennedy* his juſt praiſes.

An. 1466. dom to Peace. And in the beginning of King *James* the Third his Reign, when matters were very troubled, he did so carry all things by his prudence, as whilest he lived the publick estate received no harm. Of what and how great worth he was, appeared soon after his death, all things turning to Confusion both in the Church and State. A monument of his Piety and magnificent mind towards the advancement of Letters is the College he erected in S. *Andrews*, (now called *Saint Salvator's College*) which he built from the ground, provided with large Revenues, and furnished with most costly Ornaments. Thus having lived a great Benefactor to the publick and in much glory, he died at S. *Andrews*, in the year 1466. 22 years he sate Bishop in this See, and was interred after his death in a sepulchre prepared by himself within the Chappel of the same College.

Bishop *Kennedy* his death; the year 1466.

Patrick Grahame chosen to succeed.

34. *Patrick Grahame* his Nephew, *Buchanan* calleth him his Brother, (saying that they were born of one and the same Mother) being Bishop of *Brichen* for the time, a man of singular Vertues, was chosen to succeed. The *Boyds*, who then ruled the Court, envying his preferment because of the variance betwixt the *Kennedies* and them, withstood his journey to *Rome*, where he was to get his Confirmation: but he not staying upon the Kings Licence, which he saw without their favour could not be obtained, took his way thither, and at his coming was well accepted of Pope *Paul* the Second.

The See of S. *Andrews* erected in an Archbishoprick.

Whilest he abode there (for he stayed a long time, fearing to return so long as the *Boyds* were in credit) the old controversie of the Archbishop of *Tork* his Superiority over the Church of *Scotland* was renewed by *George Nevill* Archbishop of that See for the time. The matter drawn in dispute before Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth (for *Paul* the Second was then dead) sentence was given for the Church of *Scotland*, whereby it was declared, 'A thing unfitting, that an *English* Prelate 'should be Primate of *Scotland*, by reason of the Wars that might break forth 'betwixt the two Kingdoms. And to the effect a Primate should not be lacking 'from thenceforth in *Scotland*, the See of S. *Andrews* by the Bull of *Sixtus* was 'erected in an Archbishoprick, and the rest of the Bishops of *Scotland*, twelve in 'number, ordained all to be subject unto that See. Farther, the Pope, for the Bishops more gracing, did appoint him his Legate for the space of three years, with commission to reform all abuses in the Church, and to correct the dissoluteness of the Clergy.

The Bulls of Legation and Primacy published. *Buchan. l.* 12.

How soon the Bishop was advertised of the alteration of Court, and that the King was begun to govern of himself, he made haste to return, sending before him the Bulls of Primacy and Legation to be published, thinking the same should have purchased to him a great respect. But he found himself deceived; for upon the publication (made at *Edinburgh* in *September* 1472.) the Bishops out of spite and emulation because of the Primacy, the inferiour Clergy fearing his rigor in executing the Legation, and the Courtiers, who made sale of all the Church-livings, apprehending that the same would be reformed, combined all against him, and went to the King, informing that he had accepted a Legation from the Pope without his licence, which was prohibited by the Laws of the Kingdom, and might prove hurtful to the King, and that in contempt of his Majesty he had gone to *Rome* without once asking him Licence.

The King inhibiteth the exercise of his Legation.

The King possessed with these informations did inhibit the Bishop how soon he landed to exerce any part of his Legation, till the King should try the complaints preferred against him, assigning the first of *November* for his compeirance. At the day he exhibited his Bulls, and shewed the power he had to reform abuses in the Ecclesiastical state, intreating the King not to impede him in execution of his Charge; but his adversaries having corrupted some of the Kings Officers, and given (as it was said) the sum of eleven thousand Marks in hand, his Petition was not regarded. His accusers, to colour their proceedings the better, made an appeal to the Pope, offering to qualifie before him the invalidity of the Bulls which he had purchased. So he was dimitted with expres charge not to use the title and dignity of an Archbishop, nor to attempt any thing but that which the Bishops his predecessors had been accustomed to do by virtue of their places, until the decision of the controversie.

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A while after a freſh and bitter enemy was raiſed againſt him. *William Shevez*, a young man of a quick and active ſpirit, having ſtudied ſome years at *Lovain* under *John Spernick* (who was famous in thoſe days for his knowledge in the ſtudies of Phyſick and Aſtrology) did inſinuate himſelf in the favour of the Court, which then was madly given to all ſorts of divination; and the Archdeaconry of S. *Andrews* falling void in the middle time, procured the Kings recommendation to the Biſhop for the ſame. *An.* 1472. *William Shevez* recommended to the Archdeaconry of S. *Andrews*.

The Biſhop took exception at his ſtudies, and in end gave him an abſolute denial, as being inſufficient for the charge, and otherwiſe not trained up in the knowledge of Divinity. *Shevez* taking to heart this diſgrace (for ſo he did accompt it) combined with one *Locky*, Rector at that time in the Univerſity, and a profeſſed enemy to the Biſhop: theſe two conſpired againſt him, and *Locky*, who pretended he was the Biſhops equal in juriſdiction, forging a quarrel, denounced him excommunicate: but the Biſhop contemning the ſentence of his inferiour, carried himſelf both at home and abroad as he was wont; whereupon his enemies (as the cuſtom is, when Church-Cenſures are deſpiſed) did implore the Kings aſſiſtance. Who being made to their effect, diſcharged the Biſhop from coming into any ſacred place, declared his goods confiſcate, and Sequeſtring all his Servants, did appoint to him other attendants. The Biſhop rejecteth him as inſufficient. *Shevez* conſpireth with the Rector. The Biſhop contemning the Cenſure, hath his goods confiſcated.

The reſt of the Biſhops, to witneſs their gratitude, did preſent the King with a ſum of mony, which they had collected (with grudge enough) amongſt the inferior Prieſts. Not the leſs, ſhortly after, by the interceſſion of friends, and the advancing of monys to the Rulers of the Court, the Biſhop was taken in favour, who then thinking all his Troubles to be overpaſt, withdrew himſelf to his houſe of *Monimaill*; where he was ſcarce well ſetled, when the Bankers of *Rome*, ſtirred up by his adverſaries, charged him with payment of the moneys, wherein he ſtood obliged for his Bull of Privileges. He not able to give ſatisfaction (for the moſt of his Rents had been taken up yearly by the Kings Factors; and what he could purchaſe from his friends was all beſtowed at his late reconcilement amongſt Courtiers) was of new accurſed, his perſon arreſted, his Rents lifted by the Kings Officers, and a guard appointed to attend him in his own Caſtle at S. *Andrews*. The Biſhop taken in favor. *Buchan. l.* 12. The Biſhop of new troubled by the bankers of *Rome*.

In this miſerable condition not knowing what to do, he fell in ſome trouble of mind, and was thereupon committed to the cuſtody of *Shevez* his mortal enemy, who was declared his Coadjutor, by reaſon of his diſtraction: yet the Malice of his adverſaries not ſatisfied herewith, at *Rome* they accuſed him of Hereſie, Schiſm, Simony, and a number of other ſcandalous Crimes; the trial whereof was commended to one *Huſman* the Popes Inquiſitor, and to *Shevez*. The Biſhop falling in ſome diſtraction is committed to *Shevez*.

Divers light and ridiculous Accuſations were brought againſt him, and amongſt other points, he was charged *to have ſaid three Maſſes in one day*; whereas in thoſe times it was difficile to find a Biſhop that in three moneths did ſay one Maſs: yet the Proceſs going on, Witneſſes were brought, who verified the Accuſations; and his enemy ſitting Judge, he was ſentenced as guilty of Schiſm, Simony, Hereſie, and other crimes, and thereupon decerned to have loſt his Dignity, and condemned to perpetual priſon. *Buchan. l.* 12. The Biſhop condemned to loſe his Dignity.

35. The ſentence pronounced, *Shevez* poſted to *Rome*, got the Sentence approved, and was himſelf provided to the Archbiſhoprick. All theſe Croſſes this innocent Biſhop ſuſtained moſt patiently: which his adverſaries perceiving, they procured him to be put in cloſe priſon within the Iſle of *Incholme*, where he had four keepers watching him that he ſhould not eſcape. War afterwards breaking up with *England*, out of a fear that the *Engliſh* Navy (which was then at Sea) might fall upon the Iſle, he was tranſported to *Dunfermlin*, and from thence to the Caſtle of *Lochleven*, where at laſt he died. This end had that worthy man, in Vertue and Learning inferiour to none of his time, oppreſſed by the malice and calumnies of his enemies, chiefly for that they feared reformation of their wicked abuſes by his means. The title rather than the Prelacy it ſelf he enjoyed 13 years, and was buried in S. *Servanus* Iſle, within the Chappel of *Lochleven*. *Shevez* provided to the Archbiſhoprick. *Patric Grahame* dieth at *Lochleven*.

All things went now in the Church daily from ill to worſe; for thoſe who did affect

An. 1478. affect a Reformation, and lived in ſome hope thereof, beholding the courſe of things, betook themſelves to a private life. At Court, Benefices were ſold or then beſtowed as rewards upon flatterers and the Miniſters of unlawful pleaſures; and in the Church Canonical Elections, eſpecially in the Monaſteries, were quite abrogated. The King preſenting Abbots and Priors unto the Pope, none were refuſed that came with his recommendation. Thus was *Alexander Thomiſon* Abbot of *Dunfermlin* (canonically elected by the Monks ſome years before) extruded from his place, and *Henry Chrichton*, then Abbot of *Paiſley*, ſurrogated in his ſtead by the Pope at the Kings interceſſion. Likewiſe *Robert Shaw* of *Minto* was in the ſame manner preferred into *Paiſley*, the conſent of the Convent not once required. So as the Monaſteries, which were founded for pious and charitable uſes, came by little and little in the hands of ſecular men, who having had their education in the Court, brought with them from thence the manners thereof, ſhaking off all care of Diſcipline, and neglecting the duties of Hoſpitality. This begat great offences, and made the Foundations themſelves abhorred; partly through the diſſoluteneſs of thoſe that lived in the places, and partly becauſe men ſaw them inverted to other and contrary uſes than the firſt Founders had appointed. Neither were the Monaſteries only corrupted, but the whole Eccleſiaſtick ſtate became alſo infected, Ignorance and Impiety every where prevailing; till in end the Laiety putting their hands to the work, made that violent and diſordered Reformation whereof in the next Book we ſhall hear.

The Church altogether in diſorder.

Shevez receiveth the Pall, and is inveſted *Ann.* 1478.

But to return to *Shevez*; he receiving the Pall from the Pope in ſign of Archiepiſcopal dignity, was publickly inveſted therewith in the Church of *Halirudhouſe*, in the year 1478. the King and divers of the Nobility being there preſent. How he governed the See, I find not, but his entry being ſuch as we have ſeen did not promiſe much good. I read in ſome Writers, that he was induced by the King and the Duke of *Albany*, to dimit his place in the favour of Maſter *Andrew Stewart* Provoſt of *Linclowden* (the Kings Uncle) and to content himſelf with the Biſhoprick of *Murray*, whereunto the ſaid Maſter *Andrew* was provided: but it ſeemeth this charge took not effect, for both the one and the other poſſeſſed their own Benefices until their deaths.

Leſl. l. 8.

Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow* at diſſenſion.

Some years before *Shevez* his death there aroſe a controverſie betwixt him and *Robert Blacater* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, concerning their Juriſdictions. For *Blacater* had obtained of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth the erection of the See of *Glaſgow* into an Archbiſhoprick, and thereunto were the Biſhops of *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Iſles*, ordained to be ſubject. *Shevez* refuſing to acknowledge him for an Archbiſhop, both the Clergy and Noblemen went into Factions, ſome taking part with the one, and ſome with the other. But this diſſenſion was ſoon appeaſed, howbeit with the grudge of both parties, and *Glaſgow* declared to be a Metropolitan Church, the honour of Precedency reſerved always to S. *Andrews*.

The Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*.

Now whileſt the Prelates were contending for preheminence, certain Articles were diſperſed in the Countries of *Kile* and *Cunningham* againſt the Doctrine taught in the Church, which ſtirred up divers to examine the truth of Religion then profeſſed.

The Articles were theſe.

1. The Images ought not to be made, nor worſhipped.
2. That the Reliques of Saints ought not to be adored.
3. That it is not lawful to fight for the Faith.
4. That Chriſt gave the power of binding and looſing to *Peter* only, and not to his Succeſſors.
5. That Chriſt ordained no Prieſts to conſecrate.
6. That after the Conſecration in the Maſs there remained Bread, and that the natural Body of Chriſt is not there.
7. That Tithes ought not to be paid to Eccleſiaſtical perſons.
8. That Chriſt at his coming did abrogate the power of ſecular Princes.
9. That every faithful man and woman is a Prieſt.
10. That the Unction of Kings ceaſed at the coming of Chriſt.

11. That

11. That the Pope is not the ſucceſſor of *Peter*, except in that which our Saviour ſpake to him, when he ſaid, *Go behind me, Satan.* *An.* 1513.
12. That the Pope deceiveth the people with his Bulls and Indulgences.
13. That the Maſs profiteth not the Souls that are in Purgatory.
14. That the Biſhop's Bleſſing is of no value.
15. That Indulgences ſhould not be granted to fight againſt the *Saracens.*
16. That the Pope exalts himſelf above God, and againſt God.
17. That the Pope cannot remit the pains of Purgatory.
18. That the Excommunication of the Church is not to be feared.
19. That in no caſe it is lawful to ſwear.
20. That Prieſts may have Wives according to the Ordinance of the old Law, and that true Chriſtians receive the Body of Chriſt every day.

The maintainers of theſe Articles were by an opprobrious title called *Lollards:* but whether or not they did hold all theſe Opinions may well be doubted, ſeeing we have them only from the report of adverſaries, whoſe chief ſtudy was to make them and their Doctrine odious: and granting that they held the ſame, we are not to wonder that in the firſt breaking up of the Light men ſaw not the Truth in every point, conſidering the darkneſs and groſs ignorance of preceding times.

The diſperſers of theſe Articles cited before the Council.

For diſperſing theſe Articles ſome thirty perſons were cited before the Council, of whom the principals were, *George Campbel* of *Seſnock*, *Adam Read* of *Barskining*, *John Campbel* of *Newmilus*, and *Andrew Shaw* of *Polkennet*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* laying theſe things to their charge, they anſwered all with ſuch confidence, as it was thought ſafeſt to dimit them, with admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and content themſelves with the Faith of the Church. Of *Shevez* I find nothing ſaid all this time, only that he departed this life at S. *Andrews* in the year 1496, and was buried in the Cathedral Church before the high Altar.

James Stewart Brother to King *James* the Fourth elected Biſhop *Anno* 1503.

36. *James Stewart*, Brother to King *James* the Fourth, was provided after *Shevez* to the See, being yet very young, and lived but a ſhort ſpace; for he died at S. *Andrews* in the year 1503. His body was interred in the Cathedral Church amongſt the Biſhops his predeceſſors. In an old Charter produced by one of the vaſſals, I have ſeen him thus ſtyled, *Jacobus Sancti Andreæ Archiepiſcopus, Dux Roſſiæ, Marchio de Ormond, Comes de Ardmannach, Dominus de Brichen & Never, Commendatorius perpetuus Monaſterii de Dunfermline, ac Regni Scotiæ Cancellarius.* The Charter is dated in this manner, *Apud Eccleſiam noſtram Metropolitanam Sancti Andreæ, 7° die Menſis Feb. An. Dom.* 1502, *& noſtrarum adminiſtrationum quinto.*

Alexander Stewart ſucceedeth.

37. To him ſucceeded *Alexander Stewart* baſe Son to King *James* the Fourth, a youth of great hopes. He died with his Father in the unfortunate Battel of *Flowdon*, *Anno* 1513. and was much lamented by *Eraſmus Roterodamus*, under whom he had ſtudied ſome years. I find him ſtyled *Chancellor of the Kingdom* in one of the vaſſals Characters, which is dated in the year 1512.

A competition for the Archbiſhoprick.

38. Three ſtrong competitors fell then at ſtrife for the place, *Gawane Dowglas* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *John Hepburn* Prior of S. *Andrews*, and *Andrew Forman* Biſhop of *Murray*. *Gawane Dowglas* was nobly born, (for he was Brother to the Earl of *Angus*) and greatly eſteemed for his vertue and learning. He, upon the Queens preſentation, (who at that time governed all publick affairs) poſſeſſed himſelf with the Caſtle of S. *Andrews*. *Hepburn*, a factious man and of great power, procured the Canons to elect him, and under this colour expulſed *Dowglas* his ſervants, fortifying the houſe with a Garriſon of Souldiers. *Forman* was provided by the gift of Pope *Julius* the Second, and made *Legatus à latere*, (for by his many employments in *France* and at the Court of *Rome* he had gained to himſelf much credit.) But the power of *Hepburn* was ſuch as for a while no man could be found to publiſh *Forman*'s Bulls. *Alexander* Lord *Home* (who ſome write was *Forman*'s Uncle) was at laſt moved by the dimiſſion of *Coldingham* in favor of his Brother *David* to take his part, and coming to *Edenburgh* proclaimed the Pope's Gift and *Forman*'s Legation with great ſolemnity. *Buchan. l.* 3. *Leſl. l.* 3.

The Biſhop of *Dunkeld* quitteth his intereſt.

This Act divided the *Homes* and the *Hepburns*, who after that time were never in ſound friendſhip. *Dowglas*, not willing to be ſeen more in that contention, did quit his

An. 1522. his interes, leaving the quarrel to the other two, who did purſue it both. *Hepburn* poſting to *Rome* laboured to have his Election confirmed, but prevailed not. *Forman* becauſe of his Legation was followed of the Churchmen for the moſt part, and acknowledged by all the vaſſals of the See; yet the jarring ſtill continued until the Duke of *Albany* his coming into the Country, who at his acceptation of the Regency, brought them to a ſubmiſſion, and pacified all theſe ſtrifes, diſtributing the Benefices in this manner. To *Forman* he left the Archbiſhoprick of S. *Andrews* and Abbacy of *Dunfermlin*, which was given him by the Pope in Commendam. The Abbacy of *Aberbrotheck*, which *Forman* likewiſe poſſeſſed, he gave to *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellor for the time. The Prior *John Hepburn* was contented with a penſion of three thouſand Crowns, which *Forman* was ordained to pay him during life; and upon his brother Maſter *James Hepburn* was the Biſhoprick of *Murray* beſtowed. *Alexander Gordon*, Couſen to the Earl of *Huntley*, was made Biſhop of *Aberdene*; *James Ogilvy*, a brother of the houſe of *Ogilvy*, Abbot of *Dryburgh*; and *George Dundaſs*, of the houſe of *Dundaſs*, Commendator of the Preceptory of *Torphichen*. This partition did ſatisfie them all, and ſo they were fully reconciled. Some few years after *Forman* died at *Dunfermlin*, where he was alſo buried. A plain and open man, but ſaid to be profuſe. Beſides the Benefices he poſſeſſed in *Scotland*, he was Archbiſhop of *Bourges* in *France*, by the gift of King *Lewis* the Twelfth; which did greatly increaſe his means.

The Duke of *Albany* pacifieth the Competitors.

Leſl. l. 9.

James Beaton tranſlated from *Glaſgow* to S. *Andrews.*

39. Upon the death of *Forman James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was tranſlated to S. *Andrews*. Maſter *Gawane Dumber*, to whoſe inſtruction the young King was committed, was preferred to his place. The troubles of the time were great, becauſe of the Minority of the King; and therein this Biſhop had not the leaſt part, being chaſed from the Court, and from his own dwellings, glad to lurk, and ſhift himſelf a long time from place to place amongſt friends, to eſchew the violence of the *Dowglaſſes*, who had ſetled themſelves about the King, and ſweyed all affairs at their pleaſures. But it was not long ere he made even with them; the Queen Mother, who had taken the Earl of *Angus* to her Husband, falling into diſlike of him, and purſuing a divorce in the Biſhop's Court, which ſhe eaſily obtained: thereupon the young King his eſcape from the *Dowglaſſes*, and their exile in *England*, at which time the Biſhop was reponed to his office and place. Seventeen years he lived Biſhop of this See, and was herein moſt unfortunate, that under the ſhadow of his authority many good men were put to death for the cauſe of Religion, though he himſelf was neither violently ſet, nor much ſolicitous (as it was thought) how matters went in the Church.

An. 1522.

Leſl. l. 9.

Buchan. l. 14.

Mr. *Patrick Hamilton* Abbot of *Ferm* Martyr.

The firſt that was called in queſtion was Maſter *Patrick Hamilton*, Abbot of *Ferm*, a man nobly deſcended, (for he was Nephew to the Earl of *Arrane* by his Father, and to the Duke of *Albany* by the Mother) and not much paſt twenty three years of age. This young Gentleman had travelled in *Germany*, and falling in familiarity with *Martin Luther*, *Philip Melanchthon*, *Francis Lamberd*, and other learned men, was by them inſtructed in the knowledge of true Religion; in the profeſſion whereof he was ſo zealous, as he was reſolved to come back into his Countrey, and communicate the light he had received unto others. At his return, whereſoever he came, he ſpared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to ſhew the Errors crept into Chriſtian Religion: whereunto many gave ear, and a great following he had both for his learning and courteous behaviour to all ſorts of people. The Clergy grudging at this, under colour of conference, enticed him to the city of S. *Andrews*; and when he came thither appointed Frier *Alexander Campbel* to keep company with him, and to uſe the beſt perſuaſions he could to divert him from his Opinions. Sundry conferences they had, wherein the Frier acknowledging that many things in the Church did need to be reformed, and applauding his judgment in moſt of the Points, his mind was rather confirmed, than in any ſort weakned. Thus having ſtaied ſome few days in the City, whileſt he ſuſpected no violence to be uſed, under night he was apprehended being in bed, and carried priſoner to the Caſtle; the next day he was preſented before the Biſhop, accuſed for maintaining the Articles following.

Buchan. l. 14.

Hiſtory of the Church *p.* 21.

1. That

An. 1527.

Articles wherewith the Abbot was charged.

1. That the corruption of Sin remains in Children after their Baptiſm.
2. That no man by the power of his Free will can do any good.
3. That no man is without ſin ſo long as he liveth.
4. That every true Chriſtian may know himſelf to be in the ſtate of Grace.
5. That a man is not juſtified by Works, but by Faith only.
6. That good Works make not a good man, but that a good man doeth good Works; and that an ill man doth ill Works, yet the ſame ill Works truly repented make not an ill man.
7. That Faith, Hope and Charity are ſo linked together, that he who hath one of them hath all, and he that lacketh one lacketh all.
8. That God is the cauſe of ſin in this ſenſe, that he withdraweth his Grace from man, and Grace withdrawn he cannot but ſin.
9. That it is a deviliſh Doctrine to teach, that by any actual Penance Remiſſion of ſin is purchaſed.
10. That auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to Salvation.
11. That there is no Purgatory.
12. That the holy Patriarchs were in Heaven before Chriſts Paſſion.
13. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and that every Prieſt hath as much power as the Pope.

Being deſired to expreſs his mind touching theſe Articles, he ſaid, *That he held the firſt Seven to be undoubtedly true*, whereunto he offered to ſet his hand: *the reſt* (he ſaid) *were diſputable Points, but ſuch as he could not condemn, unleſs he ſaw better reaſons than yet he had heard.* After ſome conference kept with him on each Article, the whole were remitted to the judgment of the Theologues. There met to this effect Maſter *Hugh Spence*, Provoſt of S. *Salvators* College, Maſter *James Waddall*, Perſon of *Fliſk*, and Rector of the Univerſity, Maſter *James Simſon*, Official of S. *Andrews*, Maſter *Thomas Rumſey*, Profeſſor of the holy Scriptures, Maſter *John Griſon*, Theologue, and Provincial of the Black Friers, *John Tillidaff*, Warden of the gray Friers, Maſter *Martine Balfoure* and Maſter *John Spence*, Lawyers, Sir *Alexander Young*, Batchelour of Divinity, Sir *John Annand* Canon of S. *Andrews*, Frier *Alexander Campbell*, Prior of the Black Friers, and Maſter *Robert Bannerman*, Regent of the Pedagogy. Theſe men within a day or two preſented their Cenſure of the Articles, judging them all Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. This ſubſcribed with all their hands, and delivered to the Biſhop in a ſolemn meeting, kept in the Cathedral Church the firſt of *March*, 1527. Sentence was pronounced againſt the young Gentleman, declaring him an Heretick, and giving him over in the hands of the Secular power to ſuffer puniſhment due to Hereſie.

Manuſcript Proceſs, which is extant under the hands of the Theologues.

An. 1527.

There aſſiſted the Biſhop in that meeting, *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *George* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *John* Biſhop of *Brichen*, and *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, *Patrick* Prior of S. *Andrews*, *David* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*, *George* Abbot of *Dunfermling*, *Alexander* Abbot of *Cambuskenneth*, *Henry* Abbot of *Lundors*, and *John* Prior of *Pettenweem*, the Dean, Subdean and Theſaurer of the Church of *Glaſgow*, with the Rectors of *Stobo*, *Areskin*, *Carſtares*, *Goven* and *Glaſgow*; all which ſet their hands to the Sentence; and to give it the greater authority, whoſoever were of any eſtimation in the Univerſity were made to ſubſcribe the ſame, amongſt whom was the Earl of *Caſſels*, a child of thirteen years old.

The ſubſcribers of the Sentence.

The ſame day (for the Execution was haſtened, leſt the King, who was gone at that time in Pilgrimage to S. *Duthak* in *Roſſe*, ſhould impede the proceeding) he was condemned by the ſecular Judge, and in the afternoon led to the place of his Suffering, which was appointed to be at the gate of S. *Salvators* College. Being come to the place, he put off his Gown, and gave it with his Bonnet, Coat and other apparel to his ſervant, ſaying, *This ſtuffe will not help in the fire, yet will do thee ſome good; I have no more to leave thee, but the enſample of my death, which I pray thee keep in mind. For albeit the ſame be bitter and painful in mans judgment, yet is it the entrance to everlaſting life, which none can inherit that denieth Chriſt before this Congregation.* Then was he tied to the ſtake; about it a great quantity of coal,

The manner of his Execution, and Speech at his dying.

An. 1527. wood, and other combuſtible matter was heaped, whereof he ſeemed to have no fear, but ſeriouſly commending his Soul into the hands of God, held his eyes fixed towards the Heavens. The Executioner firing the Powder that was laid to kindle the wood, his left hand and the ſide of his face was a little ſcorched therewith, yet the fire did not kindle. Whereupon ſome were ſent to the Caſtle to bring more Powder; whileſt this was bringing he uttered divers comfortable ſpeeches to them that ſtood by: the Friers all that time moleſting him with their cries, bidding him convert, pray to our Lady, and ſay, *Salve Regina.* Amongſt them none was more troubleſome than Frier *Alexander Campbell*, who, as we ſaid, kept company with him at his firſt coming to the City: often he beſought him to depart, and not to vex him: but when he would not ceaſe his crying, he ſaid, *Wicked man thou knoweſt I am not an Heretick, and that it is the Truth of God for which I now ſuffer; ſo much thou diddeſt confeſs unto me in private, and thereupon I appeal thee to anſwer before the Judgment-ſeat of Chriſt.*

Hiſtory of the Church.

His appealing of Frier *Campbell.*

The Powder by this time was brought, and the fire kindled; after which with a loud voice he was heard to ſay, *How long, O Lord, ſhall darkneſs oppreſs this Realm? how long wilt thou ſuffer this tyranny of men?* and then cloſed his ſpeeches with theſe words, *Lord Jeſus, receive my ſpirit.* His body was quickly conſumed (for the fire was vehement) but the patience and conſtancy he ſhewed in his dying ſtirred up ſuch compaſſion in the beholders, as many of them doubted not to ſay that he ſuffered an innocent, and was indeed a true Martyr of Chriſt. This opinion was farther confirmed by the death of Frier *Campbell*, and the manner of it; for within a year and leſs he fell into a Phrenſie, and died as one deſperate.

Frier *Campbell* dieth of a Phrenſie.

Hiſtory of the Church. P. 23.

The rumor of this Execution ſtirred up ſome in all the quarters of the Kingdom to enquire of the reaſons of his ſuffering, and what the Articles were for which he was condemned; by the inquiſition whereof many were brought to underſtand and apprehend otherwiſe of the truth of things than formerly they did. In the Univerſity it ſelf was left ſo deep an impreſſion of his Doctrine, as could not afterwards be extinguiſhed; yea divers of the Friers fell after this time openly in their Sermons to condemn the Errours and Abuſes of the Clergy. Frier *Alexander Seaton*, one of the *Dominican* Order, a man reaſonably learned, and for the time Confeſſor to King *James* the Firſt, preached ordinarily at S. *Andrews* all the Lent following; where taking for his ſubject the Commandments of the Law, he did inſiſt much on theſe points: 'That the Law of God is the only rule of Righteouſneſs: That if Gods Law be not violated, no ſin is committed: That it is not in 'mans power to ſatisfie for ſin: and that the forgiveneſs of ſin is no otherwiſe 'purchaſed than by unfeigned Repentance, and true Faith, apprehending the 'mercy of God in Chriſt. Of Purgatory, Pilgrimage, Prayer to Saints, Merits and Miracles, which was the uſual matter of Friers Sermons, not a word he ſpoke; whereupon he grew to be ſuſpected as one inclining to Hereſie. About the end of Lent, upon ſome occaſion he went to *Dundy*, and being there was advertiſed that another of his Order was ſet up to refute the points of Doctrine he had taught; which moved him to return to S. *Andrews*, and confirm the ſame Points which he had formerly delivered, adding ſomewhat beſide of the Vertues required by the Apoſtle in a good and faithful Biſhop.

Numbers brought to the knowledge of the Truth by his ſuffering.

Buchan. l. 14.

Frier *Seaton* ſuſpected of Hereſie.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Thereupon he was called before the Biſhop, and charged to have affirmed in his Sermon, that a Biſhop ſhould be a Preacher, and that the Biſhop who preached not was a dumb Dog, and one that fed not the flock, but his own belly. The Frier anſwering, 'That he had ſaid, indeed, that S. *Paul* required a Biſhop to 'be a *Teacher*, and that *Eſay* called them *dumb Dogs* who did not preach, but 'that he himſelf had affirmed nothing. I declared, ſaid he, what the Spirit of 'God ſaid, with whom if men offend not, they cannot juſtly offend with me: 'and thoſe that have reported my ſpeeches, ſeem to be unlearned Aſſes, who can-'not put a difference betwixt that which *Eſay* and S. *Paul* ſpeaks, and that which 'of my ſelf I ſpeak. I never ſaid that you my Lord and the other Biſhops who 'preach not are dumb Dogs, I only told what the Prophet and the Apoſtle ſaid in 'that caſe.

Frier *Seaton* called before the Biſhop.

This

This anſwer galled the Archbiſhop exceedingly; yet knowing the man to be one of an audacious and bold ſpirit, he diſſembled his anger, minding to bring him in diſcredit with the King; which was eaſily wrought, becauſe of the liberty the Fryer uſed in reproving the King's Licentiouſneſs. So perceiving the King's countenance altered towards him, and fearing ſome danger if he ſhould ſtay any more at Court, he fled to *Berwick*, and from thence wrote unto the King, ſhewing the cauſe of his ſudden departing to be the fear he conceived of the authority of the Biſhops, who had behaved themſelves as Kings, and would not admit any man, of what ſtate or degree ſoever he was, if once they did account him an Heretick, to ſpeak in his own defence. Not the leſs for himſelf, he offered to return, and juſtifie his cauſe ſo as he might have audience. Withal he advertiſed the King, that it concerned him in duty to ſee that every one who is accuſed of his Life be permitted to uſe his lawful defences: for howſoever the Prelates held that ſuch matters belong not to the cognition of the Prince, he would make the contrary manifeſt by their own Laws, if he ſhould be once heard. Wherefore he beſought his Highneſs not to be led any more by their informations, but to uſe the authority committed unto him by God, and not to ſuffer theſe Tyrants to proceed againſt him till he was brought to his anſwer, which he would not refuſe to give, ſo as he might be aſſured to do it with the ſafety of his life. *An.* 1527.

The Frier flieth to *Berwick*, and from thence writeth to the King.

This Letter receiving no anſwer, after he had ſtayed a while at *Berwick* he went to *London*, and became Chaplain to *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, in whoſe ſervice he died. In the Book of Martyrs I read that *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, by his crafty and ſubtle perſuaſions, induced him to make a Recantation of ſundry Points at *Paul's Croſs*: but what his belief was of moſt of the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, it appeareth by the Treatiſes he left behind him. His Examination by *Gardiner* and *Bonner* (which he likewiſe publiſhed, diſcovering the policies they uſed to circumvene him) doth teſtifie his conſtancy in the Truth, and that he never denied any Point which formerly he had taught.

He becometh Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*.

Acts of Martyrs.

Soon after his flight, one *Henry Forreſt* was delated for ſaying that Maſter *Patrick Hamilton* died a Martyr, and thereupon was brought to S. *Andrews*: but becauſe the probation was not clear enough, Frier *Walter Lainge* was appointed to confeſs him. The ſimple man, that feared no harm, being asked by the Frier what was his judgment of Maſter *Patrick*, anſwered, *That he eſteemed him to be a good man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned might well be defended.* This confeſſion revealed by the Frier was taken for a ſufficient evidence, and the poor man condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was leading out to be degraded, he complained grievouſly of the Frier who had betrayed him, crying out, *Fie on falſhood, fie on falſe Friers, revealers of Confeſſion: Never let any man truſt them after me. They are deſpiſers of God and deceivers of men.* And when they were taking from him his Orders, (for he was of the Order of the *Bennet* and *Collet* (as they uſed then to ſpeak) he cried aloud, *Take not only from me your Orders, but your baptiſm alſo.* So being carried to a place of execution, (which was appointed to be at the North ſtile of the Abbey, to the end the Hereticks of *Angus* might ſee the fire) he ſuffered death moſt conſtantly. Whileſt they were conſulting upon the manner of his execution, one *John Linſay*, a plain and ſimple man who attended the Biſhop, gave advice to burn him in ſome hollow Cellar: *for the ſmoke*, ſaith he, *of Maſter* Patrick Hamilton *hath infected all thoſe on whom it blew.*

Henry Forreſt Martyr.

Yet the perſecution ſtill proceeding, divers were cited to appear at *Halirudhouſe* by *James Hay* Biſhop of *Roſs*, who ſate as Commiſſioner for the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*; amongſt others *James Hamilton* of *Levingſton*, brother-german to Maſter *Patrick*, with *Katherine Hamilton* his ſiſter. The Gentleman was adviſed by the King ſecretly (for he loved the man) not to appear, and was for his contumacy condemned. His ſiſter appearing, and queſtioned upon the point of Juſtification by Works, anſwered ſimply, that ſhe believed no perſon could be ſaved by their Works. Maſter *John Spence* the Lawyer (whom we named before) held a long diſcourſe with her about that purpoſe, telling her that there were divers ſorts of works, Works of Congruity, and Works of Condignity; in the application whereof he

Divers cited to appear at *Halirudhouſe*.

An. 1534. conſumed a long time. The woman growing thereupon into a chaſe, cried out, *Work here, work there, what kind of working is all this? I know perfectly that no Works can ſave me, but the works of Chriſt my Saviour.* The King was preſent all the time, and laughed heartily at the anſwer; yet taking the Gentlewoman aſide, he moved her to recant her Opinions; and by her enſample divers others at the ſame time abjured their Profeſſion: of which number were Sir *William Kirk*, Prieſt, *Adam Daes*, *Henry Cairnes*, Maſter *William Johnſton*, Advocate, Maſter *Henry Henryſon*, Schoolmaſter in *Edinburgh*, and *John Stewart*, In-dweller in *Leith*.

Normand Gourlay and *David Straiton* Martyrs, Acts of Martyrs.

Theſe perſons ſcarce diſmiſſed, Maſter *Normand Gourlay* and *David Straiton* were brought to trial. Maſter *Normand* was charged for denying Purgatory, and ſaying that *the Pope had no juriſdiction within Scotland*. *David Straiton* was charged with the ſame Points, and farther was accuſed for maintaining that *Tithes were not due to Church-men:* which Point he denied, confeſſing that the Tithes of ſome Fiſhes which his ſervants had taken at Sea being too rigorouſly exacted, he ſaid that if they would have the Tithes of the Fiſhes, they ſhould go and receive them where the ſtock was taken; and that he gave order to his ſervants to caſt every tenth Fiſh they took into the Sea, becauſe he ſaw nothing but rigor would content the Church.

Hiſtory of the Church.

This Gentleman had been in former times very quarrellous and turbulent, but was then become another man, through frequenting the company of *John Areskyn* of *Dun*, by whom it pleaſed God to enlighten his mind with the knowledge of his Truth, and to kindle in his heart ſuch a love to the ſame, as uſually he was heard to pray for ſtrength and ſpiritual courage, that if he ſhould be brought to ſuffer for Chriſt, no fear of death nor corporal pain might cauſe him ſhrink. And it clearly appeared, when he was brought to his anſwer, that his prayers were heard. For notwithſtanding of the offers made him to recant and burn his Bill, (as they ſpoke at that time) he ſtood moſt conſtantly to the defence of the Truth, and gave great incouragement to Maſter *Normand Gourlay*, who ſuffered with him. Theſe two were burnt at one ſtake the 27 of *Auguſt*, 1534.

An. 1534. *Alexander Aleſſe* and others fly to *England*.

At the ſame time was Sentence pronounced againſt *Alexander Aleſſe*, Maſter *John Fife*, *John Macbee*, and one *Macdongal*, who were ſummoned to the ſaid Diet, and compeered not. Theſe perſons fled afterwards into *England*, where they remained a while well entertained. *Alexander Aleſſe* by the commendation of the Lord *Cromwel* came in favour with King *Henry* the Eighth, and was called commonly *the Kings Scholar*; as he was indeed a man of good learning, and gave thereof a notable proof in his diſpute with *Stokeſley*, Biſhop of *London*, before the Convocation in the year 1537. After *Cromwel's* death, taking with him Maſter *John Fife*, he went into *Saxony*, where they lived Profeſſours together a long time in the Univerſity of *Lipſia*. *Macdongal* went alſo in their company, and came to good credit, being elected Burgomaſter of one of their Towns. *John Macbee*, commonly called *Doctor Machabeus*, during his abode in *England* was liberally entertained by *Nicolas Shaxton*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, who made much accompt of him, but afterwards going to *Denmark* became Chaplain to King *Chriſtian*, in whoſe ſervice he died in the year 1550. Thus it pleaſed God to provide for theſe men after their exile.

Bal. cent. 14.

Divers accuſed of Hereſie in a meeting at *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1538.

Some four years after the Biſhops kept a meeting at *Edinburgh* in the month of *February*, 1538. where divers were accuſed of Hereſie, and condemned to die. Frier *Killore*, Frier *Beverage*, Sir *Duncane Simpſon*, Prieſt, *Robert Forreſter*, a Gentleman, and Dean *Thomas Forreſt* a Canon of S. *Colinſinch*, called commonly *The Vicar of Dolour*. This poor man not long before had been called before the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, his Ordinary, for preaching every Sunday to his Pariſhioners upon the Epiſtles and Goſpels of the day, and deſired to forbear, ſeeing his diligence that way brought him in ſuſpicion of Hereſie. If he could find a good Goſpel, or a good Epiſtle that made for the liberty of the holy Church, the Biſhop willed him to preach that to his people, and let the reſt be. The honeſt man replying, that *he had read both the New Teſtament and the Old, and that he had never found an ill Epiſtle or an ill Goſpel in any of them*; the Biſhop ſaid, *I thank God I have lived well theſe many*

The Vicar of *Dolour* his conference with the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*.

years,

years, and never knew either the Old or New. I content me with my Portuiſe and Pontifical; and if you, Dean Thomas, *leave not theſe fantaſies, you will repent when you cannot mend it.* Dean *Thomas* anſwered, that *he believed it was his duty to do what he did, and that he had laid his accompt with any danger that might follow.* So at this time being brought in queſtion with the perſons above named, they were all together condemned, and burnt in the fire upon the Caſtle-hill of *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1538. Hiſtory of the Church. *Ultimo Feb.* 1538.

This year in *Glaſgow Hieronymus Ruſſel*, of the Order of the Gray Friers, and one *Kennedy*, a young man of *Aire*, not paſt 18 years of age, were accuſed likewiſe of Hereſie: but becauſe the Archbiſhop Mr. *Gawine Dumbar*, was eſteemed ſomewhat cold in thoſe buſineſſes, Maſter *John Lawder*, Maſter *Andrew Oliphant* and Frier *Maltman* were ſent from *Edinburgh* to aſſiſt at their trial. *Kennedy* at his firſt appearing in judgment diſcovered ſome weakneſs, and would gladly have ſaved his life by denying the Points laid to his charge; but encouraged by *Hieronymus*, and by the anſwers he made to the Judges, he gathered his ſpirits, and falling down upon his knees, brake forth in theſe words, *Wonderful, O God, is thy love and mercy towards me a miſerable wretch; for even now when I would have denied thee and thy Son the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, my only Saviour, and ſo have thrown my ſelf into everlaſting condemnation, thou by thine own hand haſt pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me to feel moſt heavenly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before oppreſſed my mind. Now I deſie death; do what you pleaſe, I praiſe God, I am ready.* Frier *Ruſſel* and one *Kennedy* martyred at *Glaſgow*. Hiſtory of the Church.

The Frier reaſoned long and learnedly againſt his accuſers, and being anſwered only with railings and bitter ſpeeches, ſaid, *This is your hour, and power of darkneſs; now you ſit as Judges, and we ſtand wrongfully condemned: but the day cometh which will ſhew our innocency, and you ſhall ſee your own blindneſs, to your everlaſting confuſion. Go on, and fulfil the meaſure of your iniquity.* At which words the Archbiſhop was greatly moved, affirming that theſe rigorous Executions did hurt the cauſe of the Church more than could well be thought of, and therefore declared, that in his opinion it ſhould be beſt to ſave the lives of the men, and take ſome other courſe with them. But theſe others who were ſent to aſſiſt told him expreſly, that if he followed any milder courſe than that which had been kept at *Edinburgh*, they could not eſteem him the Church's friend: whereupon he was compelled to give way to their Cruelty, and thus theſe Innocents were condemned to be burnt alive. The Archbiſhop diſſwadeth the Execution.

All the time they were preparing the fire, *Hieronymus* comforted mightily the young man, uſing theſe ſpeeches unto him, *Fear not, brother, for he is more mighty that is in us than he who is in the world. The pain which we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort and light, but our joy and conſolation ſhall never have an end; death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed already by him for whoſe ſake we ſuffer. Therefore let us ſtrive to enter in by the ſame ſtrait way which our Saviour hath taken before us.* Many other comfortable ſpeeches he uttered, which moved the hearers wonderfully. When they were brought to the place of their ſuffering, they uſed not many words, but commending their Souls to God, after they were tied to the ſtake, endured the fire conſtantly, without expreſſing any token of fear or amazement. The courage of *Ruſſel* at his dying.

It was about the ſame time that Maſter *George Buchanan* (who for his rare Erudition was afterwards in great fame) for ſome biting verſes againſt the *Franciſcans* was committed to priſon: but he eſcaping by a window of the chamber, wherein he was detained priſoner, whileſt the Keepers were faſt aſleep, fled into *France*. Thus there paſſed few days wherein ſome one or other was not called in queſtion for Religion. But the more hot the Perſecution was, the favourers of the Truth did every day the more increaſe. And now had the Archbiſhop *James Beaton* committed the charge of all Church affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal, (who ſucceeded in his place) for he was aged and ſickly himſelf, and not ſeen often abroad. In his laſt days he began to erect the new Colledge in S. *Andrews*, and ſet men a-work to build the ſame: but neither lived he to finiſh the work, nor were the moneys he left in ſtore to that uſe rightly beſtowed. Some conteſtings a few years before he and the Clergy had with the King, becauſe of the Impoſitions laid upon Mr. *George Buchanan* eſcapeth out of priſon. *Buchan. l.* 14. The Hiſtory of the Church. The Archbiſhop committeth the charge of all affairs to his Nephew the Cardinal.

An. 1539. upon the Prelates, for the entertainment of the Senators of the College of Justice. So as the matter was drawn by an appeal to *Rome*, and *Gawine Dumber* Bishop of *Aberdene* appointed to prosecute the same. But this ceased upon an accord made, which was, that the Senate should consist of fourteen Ordinaries with a President, seven of the Spiritualty and as many of the Temporalty; the President always being of the Spiritual estate, and a Prelate constitute in dignity. According to this appointment a ratification passed in Parliament *Anno* 1537, and the Abbot of *Cambuskennoth* was elected President of the new Senate in the year 1539. The Bishop a little after he had assisted as witness at the Christening of the King's first son, who was born at S. *Andrews*, departed this life, having designed his successors in all the Benefices he enjoyed, which were not a few; for besides the Archbishoprick of S. *Andrews*, he possessed the Abbacies of *Aberbrothock*, *Dunfermlin*, and *Kilwining*. To his Nephew the Cardinal he left S. *Andrews* and *Aberbrothock*; to *George Dury* his kinsman the Abbacie of *Dunfermlin*; and to ——*Hamilton*, of the house of *Roplock*, the Abbacy of *Kilwining*. All which the King, for the esteem wherein he held this Bishop whilest he lived, confirmed to them according to his Will. He was buried in the Abbey-Church before the high Altar.

A Contest for the Imposition laid upon the Clergy for the Lords of Session.

Buchan. l. 14. *Lesl. l.* 9.

Bishop *Beaton* dieth.

The learned man that lived in this time, M. *John Major*.

In his time lived Master *John Major*, *Hector Boeth*, *Gilbert Crab*, and *William Gregory*, men of good learning, and worthy to be remembred. Master *John Major* was born at *Hadington*, within the Province of *Lothian*, and trained up from his youth in the study of Letters. A while at *Cambridge* he heard Philosophy taught; but finding the place not so convenient, he went to *Paris*, and past his course in the College of *Montacute*. After that he gave himself to Theology, commencing Doctor amongst the *Sorbonists*, and in Scholastick Divinity was not much behind any of his time; which his *Decisiones Sententiarum*, *Sophisticalia Parisiensia*, and that other Work intituled *Placita Theologica*, do sufficiently witness. Returning afterwards unto his Country, he professed Theology in S. *Salvator's* College at S. *Andrews*, whereof he was made Provost, and died there being of a good age: a man well inclined, ingenious, and according to these times not unlearned. He wrote the Story of his Country, howbeit in a *Sorbonick* and barbarous style, yet very truly, and with a great liberty of spirit, not sparing the Usurpation of *Rome*, and taxing in divers places the Laziness and Superfluity of the Clergy: which could hardly be done in those times without danger.

Bal. cent. 14.

Lesl. l. 9.

Hector Boeth.

Hector Boethius was Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, a great Philosopher, and much commended by *Erasmus* for his eloquence and felicity of ingenie. *Buchanan*, who could well discern of learned men, speaking in a certain place of him saith, *Quod non solum artium liberalium cognitione supra quam illa ferebant tempora insignis erat, sed etiam humanitate & comitate singulari præditus*, That he was not only notably learned in the liberal Sciences above the condition of those times, but also of an exceeding courteous and humane inclination. Yet is he traduced by some of the *English* Writers for a fabulous and partial Historian. But they who like to peruse his History will perceive that this is spoken out of passion and malice, and not upon any just cause.

Bal. cent. 14.

Gilbert Crab.

Gilbert Crab lived in the Country of *France*, much esteemed for his dexterity and diligence in the education of youth. He was sent to *Paris* by his friends being yet very young, and having studied his course there, was preferred to be Sub-dean of a Church near unto *Bordeaux*, yet ceased not to advance the knowledge of Letters at his uttermost; and was so respected, as the children of all the Noblemen in those parts were committed to his instruction. He died young at *Bordeaux*, not having attained to the fourtieth year of his age, much lamented of those that knew him.

Bal. cent. 15.

William Gregory.

Bal. ibidem.

William Gregory lived in *Tholouse*, and was made General of the *Carmelites* in the Diocess of *Meaulx* and *Tholouse*, which Order he is said to have greatly reformed. *Baleus* writeth that he received much kindness of this *Gregory* at *Tholouse* in the year 1527, and saith that he died in that City, having left divers monuments of his ingenie to posterity, the Catalogue whereof you may see in the place.

With

With this I ſhall joyn another, not for any commendation of his Learning, for he had none, nor for his good qualities, which were as few, but for ſtrange and extraordinary things ſeen in him, which in the time miniſtred occaſion of great talk and wondring to many. This man named *John Scot* having ſuccumbed in a plea at Law, and knowing himſelf unable to pay that wherein he was adjudged, took ſanctuary in the Abbey of *Halirudhouſe*, where out of a deep diſpleaſure he abſtained from all meat and drink the ſpace of 30 or 40 days together. Publick rumour bringing this abroad, the King would have it put to trial, and to that effect ſhut him up in a private room within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, whereunto no man had acceſs: he cauſed a little bread and water to be ſet by him, which he was found not to have taſted in the ſpace of 32 days. This proof given of his Abſtinence, he was dimitted, and coming forth into the ſtreet half naked, made a ſpeech to the people that flocked about him, wherein he profeſſed to do all this by the help of the Bleſſed Virgin, and that he could faſt as long as he pleaſed. Many did take it for a Miracle, eſteeming him a perſon of wonderful Holineſs; others thought him to be phrenetick and mad; ſo as in a ſhort time he came to be neglected, and thereupon leaving the Country went to *Rome*, where he gave the like proof of his faſting to Pope *Clement* the Seventh.

An. 1539.

John Scot his memorable faſting.

Buchan. l. 14.

Leſl. l. 9.

From *Rome* he came to *Venice* apparelled with holy Veſtures, ſuch as the Prieſts uſe when they ſay Maſs, and carrying in his hand a Teſtimonial of his Abſtinence under the Popes Seal, he gave there the like proof, and was allowed ſome five Ducates to make his expence towards the holy Sepulchre, which he pretended to viſit. This voyage he performed, and then returned home, bringing with him ſome palm-tree leaves and a ſcrip-ful of ſtones, which he ſaid were a part of the Pillar to which our Saviour was tied when he was ſcourged; and coming by *London*, went up into the Pulpit in *Pauls* Church-yard, where he caſt forth many ſpeeches againſt the divorce of King *Henry* from *Katherine* his Queen, inveighing bitterly againſt him for his defection from the *Roman* See, and thereupon was thruſt in priſon, where he continued 50 days faſting.

He taketh his journy to the holy Sepulchre.

He is impriſoned in *London*.

After that being dimitted (for they held him to be a mad man) he came directly into *Scotland*, and remained in company with one *Thomas Doughty*, who a little before was returned from *Italy*, and had built a little Chappel to the holy Virgin with the mony he had begged in his travel. This man by his counterfeit Miracles made great advantage amongſt the ſimple people; and albeit he was known to be a couzening fellow, and in life extremely vicious, yet was he ſuffered by the Clergy to abuſe the ignorant multitude, for that the opinion of Purgatory, Pardons and Prayers to Saints, which began then every where to be deſpiſed, was by this mean nouriſhed amongſt the people.

Tho. Doughty ſuffered to abuſe the people.

Scot, grudging that *Doughty* did appropriate all the gain he made to himſelf, and not admit him a partner in the ſame, retired to a houſe in the ſuburbs of *Edinburgh* at the Weſtern part of the Town, and therein erected a religious Altar, which he adorned in the beſt manner he could, ſetting up his Daughter, a young maid of reaſonable beauty, upon the Altar, and placing lights and torches round about her. The ſimple ſort for a long time believed her to be the Virgin *Mary*, and frequented the place in great numbers to do her worſhip, but the Knavery coming to be detected, he forſook his Altar, and forgetting all his devotion, returned to his firſt trade and manner of life. *Leſley* in his Story ſaith, that he propheſied many things concerning the decay of the *Romiſh* Religion, and the reſtitution of it in a ſhort time. Of the decay he might ſpeak, having ſeen it begun; but for other things he was a Dreamer rather than a Prophet.

Scots emulation of *Doughty*, and his couzenage.

40. The firſt act of the Cardinal after his promotion did ſhew what an enemy he would be to thoſe who in that time were called Hereticks; for he was not well warmed in his ſeat, when to make his greatneſs ſeen, he brought to S. *Andrews* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arran*, *Marſhall*, and *Montroſſe*, the Lords *Fleming*, *Lindſay*, *Erskene*, and *Seaton*, with divers other Barons and men of quality. There came thither alſo *Gawine* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, Chancelor, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, *Henry* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *John* Biſhop of *Brichen*, and *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, the

The Hiſtory of Cardinal *Bra-ton*.

An. 1540. the Abbots of *Melroſs*, *Dunfermlin*, *Lindors*, and *Kinloſſe*, with a number of Priors, Deans and Doctors of Theology. And they all having convened in the Cathedral Church, he, ſitting in a Chair ſomewhat erected above the reſt, (for that he was a Cardinal) began to expone the dangers wherein the Catholick faith ſtood by the increaſe of Hereticks, and the boldneſs they took to profeſs their Opinions openly even in the Kings Court, where he ſaid *they found too great countenance.* In ſpecial he named Sir *John Borthwick*, commonly called *Captain Borthwick*, whom he had cauſed cite to that Diet for diſperſing Heretical Books, and for maintaining divers Articles contrary to the Doctrine of the *Roman* Church, deſiring their aſſiſtance in the procedure of Juſtice againſt him. The heads of the Accuſation were read.

Sir *John Borthwick* cited for Hereſie.

The heads of his Accuſation.

1. That he held the Pope to have no greater authority over Chriſtians than any other Biſhop or Prelate had.
2. That Indulgences and Pardons granted by the Pope were of no force nor effect, but deviſed to abuſe people, and deceive poor ignorant ſouls.
3. That Biſhops, Prieſts and other Clergy-men may lawfully marry.
4. That the Hereſies, commonly called *the Hereſies of England* and their new Liturgy was commendable, and to be embraced of all Chriſtians.
5. That the people of *Scotland* are blinded by their Clergy, and profeſſed not the true Faith.
6. That Church-men ought not to enjoy any Temporalties.
7. That the King ought to convert the Rents of the Church into other pious uſes.
8. That the Church of *Scotland* ought to be governed after the manner of the *Engliſh*.
9. That the Canons and Decrees of the Church were of no force, as being contrary to the Law of God.
10. That the Orders of Friers and Monks ſhould be aboliſhed, as had been done in *England*.
11. That he did openly call the Pope *Simoniack*, for that he ſold Spiritual things.
12. That he did read Heretical Books, and the new Teſtament in *Engliſh*, and ſome other Treatiſes written by *Melanchthon*, *Oecolampadius* and *Eraſmus*, which he gave likewiſe unto others.
13. The laſt and greateſt Point was, That he refuſed to acknowledge the Authority of the *Roman* See, or be ſubject thereunto.

Sir *John Borthwick* denounced Heretick.

Theſe Accuſations (he not appearing, nor any in his behalf) were taken as confeſſed, and he denounced an Heretick, yea an Hereſiarch, (for ſo the Sentence beareth) his goods ordained to be confiſcate, himſelf burnt *in effigie*, if he could not otherwiſe be apprehended, and all manner of perſons inhibited to relieve or entertain him under the pain of curſing or forfeiture.

An. 1540. Acts of Mart.

This Sentence was given againſt him the 28 of *May*, *Anno* 1540, and the ſame day was his picture burnt in the open Market-place of S. *Andrews*, as likewiſe in *Edinburgh* ſome two days after. Sir *John Borthwick* hearing how they had proceeded againſt him, fled into *England*, where he was kindly received by *Henry* the Eighth then reigning, and by him imployed in a Commiſſion to the Proteſtant Princes in *Germany*, for a Confederation betwixt him and them in defence of their common Profeſſion.

The King invited to meet his Uncle King *Henry* at *York*. *Buchan. l.* 14. *Leſl. l.* 9. *Holinſhed* Hiſtory of *Scotland*.

King *Henry* had ſome years before ſent into *Scotland* the Biſhop of S. *Davids* to preſent the King his Nephew with ſome *Engliſh* Books, containing an Expoſition of the principal Heads of Chriſtian Religion, thinking to induce him to make the like Reformation which he had made in *England*. And at that time came Lord *William Howard*, to deſire the King to meet his Uncle King *Henry* at *York*, upon ſome occaſions tending to the common good of both Kingdoms. The King conſenting a Diet was appointed, and all things prepared for the journey. But the Cardinal and Clergy, fearing the effects of that Conference, laboured with the Courtiers to divert him, and before the King himſelf they laid divers terrors; as, That he would be detained priſoner in *England*, as King *James* the Firſt had been: That he

The Cardinal and Clergy ſeek to impede the meeting.

he ſhould make himſelf ſuſpected to the Emperor, and to his old Confederate the *French* King: And, which he was moſt to regard, incur the Pope's diſpleaſure, by treating too familiarly with him that was lying under the higheſt Cenſure of the Church. Yet ſtood the King reſolute for the journey, foreſeeing (as alſo it happened) that if he ſhould break the Diet, the ſame might breed the *Engliſh* King's diſlike, and be an occaſion of War, on which he would not hazard, unleſs he knew of means to entertain the ſame. The Clergy hereupon, beſides the repreſentation of ſome moneys in hand, made offer of an annuity of fifty thouſand Crowns, if War ſhould fall out; declaring withal, that by confiſcating the goods of Hereticks he might gain an hundred thouſand more. And with ſuch vain hopes they brought him to ſend a fair excuſe to King *Henry* by Sir *James Lermonth* his domeſtick. After this the King, being ruled wholly by the Cardinal, followed in all things the appetite of the Clergy, giving commiſſion to Sir *James Hamilton* his Treaſurer, to call and convene all perſons ſuſpected of Hereſie, and inflict the puniſhments which after trial they ſhould be found to merit. The King was alſo heard ſay, That *none of that ſort ſhould expect any favour at his hands, nay not his own ſons, if they ſhould prove guilty*; which put many in fear.

An. 1541.

The King excuſeth himſelf to King *Henry*.

But this continued not long, for Sir *James Hamilton* becoming ſuſpected, and accuſed of a practice againſt the King his life, was ſhortly after executed; and War breaking out with *England*, he found the Nobility averſe from the Incurſions he intended to make, which did greatly diſcontent him. Theſe thoughts with ſome fearful Viſions he had by night that much terrified him, withdrew his mind wholly from the extremities on which the Clergy had ſet him: For at *Linlithgow* on a night as he ſlept, it ſeemed to him that *Thomas Scot* Juſtice Clerk came unto him with a company of Devils, crying, *Woe worth the day that ever I knew thee or thy ſervice! ſerving thee againſt God and againſt his Servants, I am adjudged to Hell torments.* Hereupon awaking, he called for lights, and cauſing his ſervants to ariſe, told what he had heard and ſeen. The next morrow, by the light of day, advertiſement was brought him of the Juſtice Clerk his death, which fell out juſt at the time that the King found himſelf ſo troubled, and in the ſame manner almoſt; for he died in great unquietneſs, iterating theſe words, *Juſto Dei judicio condemnatus ſum*, By the righteous judgment of God I am condemned. The form of his death anſwering the Dream ſo juſtly, made it the more terrible.

Sir *James Hamilton* executed.

The King troubled with Viſions.

Hiſtory of the Church.

The Juſtice Clerk his fearful death.

Another Viſion he had in the ſame place, not many nights after, which did more affright him: Whileſt he lay a ſleeping, he imagined that Sir *James Hamilton*, whom he cauſed to be executed, came unto him with a ſword drawn in his hand, and therewith cut off both his Arms, threatning within a ſhort time to return and deprive him of his life: with this he awaked, and as he lay muſing what the Dream could import, news were brought him of the death of his two Sons, *James* and *Arthur*, who died at S. *Andrews* and *Striveling* at one and the very ſame hour. The next year, which was the year of our Lord 1542, being overwhelmed with grief and paſſion for the loſs of his Army received at *Solway*, he departed this life at *Falkland* in the 32 year of his age. Some few days before he died, he had advertiſement that his Queen was delivered of a Daughter at *Linlithgow*; at which time it is ſaid he burſt forth in paſſion, ſaying, *It came with a Laſs*, (meaning the Crown) *and will go with a Laſs, fie upon it:* after which he was not heard to utter many words.

The King died at *Falkland*, *An.* 1542 the eighth of *December*.

The Cardinal hearing that the King was deceaſed, did ſuborn a Prieſt, called *Henry Balfour*, to form his laſt Will, whereby it declared that he had committed to the Cardinal, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile* and *Murray*, the Government of the Realm during his Daughters Minority. This Will he cauſed publiſh in *Edinburgh* on the Monday after the King's death. But the Nobles giving it no credit, and eſteeming it a forgery, did chooſe the Earl of *Arran* Regent and Governour of the Realm. Never was a Governour received with greater love and opinion of all ſorts; for beſides the favour carried to himſelf, every one was glad to be freed of the Cardinal's Government; and by his firſt beginnings a ſtrong hope was conceived, that all things ſhould be reformed which were amiſs both in Church and

The Cardinal forgeth the Kings Teſtament.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Earl of *Arran* elected Governour.

An. 1542. and Kingdom. But this hope ſoon vaniſhed in the manner that ye ſhall hear.

The King of *England* ſeeketh to unite the Kingdoms by Marriage.

King *Henry* of *England* hearing that his Nephew the King of *Scots* was dead, and that he had left one only Daughter of ſeven days old, began to think of uniting the two Kingdoms, and reducing the whole Iſle under one Government, by the marriage of *Edward* his Son, a Prince of five years old, to the young Queen of *Scots*. Hereupon he ſent for the Earls of *Caſſils* and *Glencarne*, the Lords of *Fleming*, *Maxwell*, and *Gray*, (who were taken priſoners at *Solway*, and detained in *England*) to *Hampton* Court, where he then lay; and at their coming proponed the buſineſs unto them, with an offer to dimit them freely, ſo as they would promiſe to uſe their beſt means with the Governour, and others of the Nobility of *Scotland*, for obtaining their conſents to the Match. The Noblemen liking the motion, and eſteeming it a ready means to eſtabliſh a laſting Peace, gave their promiſe to deal faithfully in it, and ſo were ſent home with many liberal promiſes if the Marriage ſhould take effect. In their company returned the Earl of *Angus*, and his Brother Sir *George*, (who had been exiled a long time in *England*) with Letters to the Governour from the King for their reſtitution.

Buchan. l. 15.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

The matter being moved to the Governour and Council, it was liked by all, the Queen-Mother and the Cardinal only excepted: and for this a Parliament was called at *Edinburgh* the 13 of *March* following, whither came Sir *Ralph Sadler*, as Ambaſſador from King *Henry*, to attend the ſucceſs. In the beginning a great ſtir was made by the Cardinal and Clergy that adhered to him, ſo as the Eſtates could come to no concluſion; whereupon the Cardinal was committed in the Caſtle of *Dalkeith*. The day following, by an uniform conſent, the Match was agreed, and the Earl of *Glencarne*, Sir *George Dowglas* Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, Sir *William Hamilton* of *Forne*, and Sir *James Lermonth* of *Derſay*, imployed by the Eſtates to tranſact with King *Henry* upon all particulars.

Leſl. l. 10. The Cardinal committed. Ambaſſadors ſent into *England* for concluding the Match.

Buchan. l. 15.

The hiſtory of the Church.

In this Parliament, upon a Petition preſented to the Eſtates for reſtraining the power of the Prelates in purſuing thoſe they called Hereticks, and for liberty to read the Scripture in the *Engliſh* language, Commiſſion was granted to ſome ſelected perſons for conſidering the Petition, and preſcribing what was fit to be done therein. The Commiſſioners meeting after the Parliament was broke up, declared, *That it ſhould be lawful for every one that could read to uſe the* Engliſh *Tranſlation of the Bible, until the Prelates ſhould publiſh one more correct.* Intimation of this liberty being ſent through all the Kingdom by the Governour's direction, the Clergy did declaim againſt him as a favourer of Hereticks, taking exception at two Preachers he entertained in his houſe, the one called Frier *William*, the other *John Rough*, who did openly in their Sermons inveigh againſt the Pope's Authority, the adoration of Images, invocation of Saints, and other ſuperſtitious inventions of *Rome*.

The Governor's Preachers ſuſpected by the Clergy.

The Ambaſſadors return from *England*.

In the end of *July* the Ambaſſadors directed towards *England* returned with ſatisfaction in all particulars concerning the Marriage; and ſo the Contract betwixt the two Kingdoms was ſigned by the Governour and thoſe whom the States had deputed for the part of *Scotland*, and by Sir *Ralph Sadler* Ambaſſador for the part of *England*, and the Seals of the Kingdom interchanged, as uſe is. The Governour and *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, for the greater aſſurance, did ſolemnly ſwear to obſerve the Contract in all Articles thereof, dividing the holy Sacrament amongſt them, as the cuſtom then was.

Hiſtory of the Church.

The eſtate of the Governor's Court.

And now all matters look'd fair, no man wiſhing them to go better; for in the Governour's Court was nothing ſeen that the ſevereſt eye could cenſure or reprove. In the publick Government ſuch a moderation was kept, as no man was heard to complain. The Governour was reverently obeyed, and held in as great reſpect as any Kings of preceding times. To be ſhort, every man did promiſe himſelf a bleſſed and happy time; which on ſudden all was overturned, and the Realm caſt in greater troubles than before.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* and Abbot of *Paiſley* ſeek to divert the Governor from the Contract with *England*.

John Hamilton Abbot of *Paiſley*, baſe Brother to the Governour, and *David Panter*, (afterwards removed to the Biſhoprick of *Roſs*) who had lived a long time in *France*, returning about this time into the Country, and being devoted to the *French*, dealt privately with the Governour, who was of an eaſie nature, and apt to

to be taken by thoſe he truſted, to break the Contract with *England*. But having ſmall hope to prevail ſo long as the Preachers and Gentlemen, whoſe counſel he followed, remained with him, they uſed all means to be rid of them. Frier *Guilielm* fearing to be called in queſtion for his Doctrine (at which the Abbot was ever excepting) withdrew himſelf and went into *England*: *John Rough* upon ſome colour was dimitted to preach in the parts of *Kile* and *Carrick*. The Laird of *Grainge*, Maſter *Henry Balnaves*, Maſter *Thomas Ballenden*, and Sir *David Lindſay* of the *Mont*, who had attended the Governor ever ſince the time of his promoving to the Regency, had ſuch diſcontents given them, as they were made too weary of their attendance; and the meaner ſort, ſuch as Mr. *Michael Durham*, Mr. *David Borthwick*, *David Forres*, and *David Bothwel*, men that had ſerved him faithfully and of a long time, were openly menaced, and forced to quit their ſervices. *An.* 1542. The Governors Preachers and ſervants part from him. Hiſtory of the Church.

Neither was the Cardinal in this time idle, for being by the Queens interceſſion removed from *Dalkieth* to the place of *Seaton*, he went from thence without warrant to S. *Andrews*, none calling him therefore in queſtion; for the Governors Brother, who was then preferred to be Theſaurer, and ruled all things at Court, made up a ſecret friendſhip with him. Shortly after in a frequent meeting of the Clergy at S. *Andrews*, the Cardinal laying before them the dangers wherewith the Clergy was threatned by the Match with *England*, did earneſtly incite them to oppoſe it, and contribute monys and imploy all their friendſhip to the contrary, ſeeing it concerned them no leſs than their lives or eſtates were worth. They making no difficulty, and offering to contribute all their means to that effect, appointed a preſent Collection to be made, which was truſted to his diſpoſing. The Friers were directed to inveigh in their Sermons againſt the Alliance, and the Prieſts ſet on to ſtir up the popular againſt the Ambaſſadour, who had many Indignities offered him, which he patiently digeſted, leſt he ſhould be thought to miniſter any occaſion of breach. The Cardinal ſet at liberty. A Convention of the Clergy at S. *Andrews*. *Buchan. l.* 15.

How ſoon the day appointed for delivering the Pledges was come (for that was a condition in the Contract) the Ambaſſador went unto the Governour, and put him in mind of the Pledges that by the contract he was obliged to enter: complaining withal of the Diſgraces that he and his Maſter the King of *England* received. The Governor anſwering firſt his complaint of the Inſolencies committed, ſaid, *He ſhould take trial, and puniſh the committers in ſuch ſort, as all might ſee what affection he bore to the King and Country of* England. *But for the Pledges*, ſaid he, *I can neither move them to enter willingly, nor force them if they be unwilling. For you ſee what a mutiny is raiſed in the country by the Cardinal, and how uncertain I am of mine own eſtate: Till this be quieted, I know not in that point what to anſwer.* The Ambaſſador, who underſtood that to be truth which he ſpoke, forbare to urge the delivery of the Pledges any more, ſaying he would advertiſe his Maſter how the caſe ſtood, and attend his directions. Soon after the Ambaſſador was recalled, the *Scots* ſhips and Merchants that were in *England* arreſted, and open War denounced. The Ambaſſador of *England* complaineth of the indignity offered to him. The Governors excuſe. *Buchan. l.* 15. War denounced by *England*.

The Country hereupon drew into Factions. The Governor and ſome few noblemen that abode with him at *Halirudhouſe* profeſſing a willingneſs to keep the Contract with *England*, and the Queen-mother with the Cardinal and his followers directly oppoſing. They having the young Queen in their hands, whom they kept ſtill at *Linlithgow*, to ſtrengthen their party ſent to recal the Earl of *Lenox*, (who lived then in *France*:) for the old emulation between the two Houſes of *Lenox* and *Hamilton*, as alſo the ſlaughter of his Father in the field of *Linlithgow*, which he could not have forgotten, would eaſily (as they thought) move him to joyn with them. Beſides, they conſidered that his preſence and friendſhip, which was great in the Country, would aid and countenance their courſe not a little. Hereupon were meſſengers diſpatched in haſte with Letters to the *French* King, and to the Earl himſelf. The Letters written to himſelf were full of affection, and therein hopes given of his Match with the Queen-mother, and of the Regency of the Realm during her Daughters minority. And (as flatterers are never wanting to great men) there were ſome about him, when they underſtood that he was called home, put him in hope of the Crown it ſelf, if the young Queen ſhould happen to depart this The Country goeth into Factions. The Earl of *Lenox* recalled from *France*. *Buchan. l.* 15.

An. 1542. life. For the late King was known to have intended the ſame; and the Governors Title, they ſaid, would try nought, himſelf being illegitimate, and procreated in an unlawful marriage, upon a divorce led between his Father and Dame *Elizabeth Home* his wife, which made him uncapable not of the Crown only, but even of his private inheritance. With ſuch conceits they filled the young Nobleman's head; and (as men are made eaſily to believe what they earneſtly deſire) encouraged by theſe hopes, and the *French* Kings promiſes, he returned home.

The Earl of *Lenox* welcomed by the Queen-mother and the Cardinal.

At his coming having ſaluted the Governor, with whom he diſſembled in the beſt ſort he could, and viſiting the Queen-mother and Cardinal at *Linlithgow*, who did very kindly receive him, he went to ſee his friends, and imparted to them the cauſes of his return, with the hopes that were given him, and the promiſe he had of aid and ſupply from the King of *France*. They, approving the courſe he had taken, adviſed him to follow his fortune, and promiſed their aſſiſtance to the uttermoſt. A few days after being advertiſed that the Governor was gathering Forces to take the young Queen from her Mother, he came to the Queen-mother with four thouſand men, and abode with her till by a common conſent her Daughter was ſent to *Striveling*, and committed to the cuſtody of the Lerds *Grahame*, *Areskin*, *Levingſton*, and *Lindſay*.

The young Queen removed to *Striveling*.

The Governor forſaketh his party, and receiveth Abſolution from the Cardinal.

Meanwhile the Governors Brother did earneſtly ply him to relinquiſh the *Engliſh* Alliance, laying before him the danger wherein he thruſt himſelf, in ſuffering the Popes Authority to be weakned, on which he ſaid the ſecurity of his Title and Succeſſion to the Crown did ſtand, and giving him hopes of benefit and advancement from the *French* King: and ſo far in end prevailed, as the Governor, without imparting his mind to the Noblemen who kept Court with him at *Halirudhouſe*, went privately to *Striveling*, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Cardinal, receiving abſolution at his hands, and renouncing the profeſſion he made of the Truth, with the Alliance contracted with *England*. A deed that loſt him the favor of the Country, and brought him in great contempt; for after this fact, was he never in regard, the Cardinal from thenceforth carrying all the ſway, and leaving him only the ſhadow of Authority.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Cardinals care to be rid of the Earl of *Lenox*.

This done, the Cardinals next care was, to rid the Court and the Council of the Earl of *Lenox*; which was brought about in this ſort. The Queen-mother by her Letters to the *French* King did advertiſe what an alteration was made, how the Governor was brought by the Cardinals means to break with *England*, and that for aſſuring the Peace of the Country there was nothing more required than the calling the Earl of *Lenox* back under ſome fair color, for that his ſtay at home might prove dangerous, and a ſuſpicion there was already of his inclining to *England*, which might breed greater Troubles than yet had been ſeen; therefore intreated the King to recal him with ſpeed.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Noblemen ſuſpecting no ſuch dealing (for all that time he was uſed with great demonſtrations of love and kindneſs by the Queen-mother) began to urge the performance of Promiſes, and had his hopes cunningly entertained, till the anſwer returned from *France*; at which time he was advertized by ſome friends in that Court, that the *French* King was hardly informed of him and ſome courſes he had taken, and howbeit he was invited to return, he ſhould not find the welcome he expected. This made him more inſtant with the Queen-mother than before, but it was not long ere he felt himſelf deluded; whereupon he retired home diſcontent, and laid many ways to repair himſelf, but all ſorted to no effect; ſo as he reſolved in end, having loſt the *French* to offer his ſervice to the King of *England*, by whom he was kindly received, and afterwards honored with the alliance of King *Henry* his Neece, Lady *Margaret Dowglas*.

The Earl of *Lenox*, finding himſelf abuſed goeth to *England*.

The Perſecution of the Profeſſors in *Perth*.

How ſoon the Cardinal was freed of the Earl of *Lenox*, he ſet himſelf to purſue thoſe that were called Hereticks, and leading the Governor along with him, went firſt to the Town of *Perth*, where by delation of one Frier *Spence*: *Robert Lamb*, *William Anderſon*, *James Rannold*, *James Hunter*, *James Finlaſon*, and *Hellene Stirk* his wife were apprehended.

Robert Lamb being accuſed for interrupting the ſaid Frier in a Sermon he made at *Perth*,

Perth, whileſt he was teaching that *a man could not be ſaved without praying to the Saints*, confeſſed that he had done it, ſaying, *It was the duty of every man that knoweth the Truth, to bear teſtimony unto it, and not to ſuffer people to be abuſed with falſe Doctrine, ſuch as that was.* *An.* 1542. The Indite-ment of the perſons delated.

William Anderſon, *James Rannald* and *James Finlaſon*, were indited for nailing two Rams horns on S. *Francis* head, the putting of a Cows rump to his tail, and for the eating of a Gooſe upon All-hallow evening.

James Hunter, a Fletcher by occupation, and a ſimple man without any learning, was charged to have kept company with the ſaid perſons.

The woman, *Helen Stirke*, was accuſed for her refuſing to pray unto the Virgin *Mary* when ſhe was in labor of her birth, and ſaying, ſhe would *only pray to God in the name of Jeſus Chriſt.*

Theſe were the Indictments whereupon they were put to trial, and being found guilty by a Jury, were condemned to die. Great interceſſion was made for their lives to the Governor; but he was ſo ſubject to the Cardinal, as without his conſent he would give no pardon. Thus the poor Innocents were taken to the common place of Execution, and hanged. *Robert Lamb* at the foot of the Ladder made a pithy Exhortation to the people, beſeeching them to fear God, and forſake the Leven of Papiſtical Abominations. The woman deſired earneſtly to dy with her husband, but could not be permitted, ſentence being given againſt her that ſhe ſhould be drowned; yet ſhe followed him to the place of Execution, exhorting him by the way to patience and conſtancy for the cauſe of Chriſt: And as ſhe parted from him, ſaid, *Husband, be glad, we have lived together many joyful days, and this day which we muſt die we ought to eſteem the moſt joyful of all, becauſe now we ſhall have joy for ever; Therefore I will not bid you good night, for we ſhall ſhortly meet in the Kingdom of Heaven.* How ſoon the men were executed, the woman was taken to a pool of water not far off, where having commended her children to the charity of her neighbours, and giving a little babe who was ſucking upon her breaſt unto a nurſe, ſhe died with great courage and comfort. They are found guilty, and their behavior at their Suffering.

Sir *Henry Elder*, *John Elder*, *Walter Piper* and *Laurence Puller*, with ſome other Burgeſſes, were baniſhed, and the Lord *Ruthven* Provoſt of the Town diſcharged of his Office, becauſe he was ſuſpected to favor the Hereticks. His place was given to *John Charterhouſe* of *Kinſawnes*, and the Citizens commanded to accept him for their Provoſt; but they excuſed themſelves, ſaying, they could make no election before the ordinary time: yet the Governor out of his authority charged them to accept of *Kinſawnes*, threatning to puniſh thoſe that refuſed. And for that it was thought, after the Governor and Cardinal was gone, that the Townſmen ſhould withſtand their Provoſt, the Lord *Gray* and *Normand Leſley*, Son to the Earl of *Rothes*, were deſired to give their aſſiſtance. Burgeſſes exiled, and the Lord *Ruthven* put from his Provoſtry.

It falling out as was expected, *Kinſawnes* convened his friends, to adviſe how the Townſmen might be forced to obey. The Lord *Gray* undertaking to enter the Town by the Bridge, *Normand Leſley* and his followers were appointed to enter at the South-gate, and S. *Magdalen*'s day appointed for their meeting. The Lord *Gray* came early in the morning, but *Normand*, who brought his company by water, was hindred by the Tide; yet all being quiet in the Town, and no appearance of ſtir, the Lord *Gray* reſolved to enter, eſteeming his own Forces ſufficient: but he was not far advanced, when in the ſtreet called *Fiſh-ſtreet*, the Maſter of *Ruthven*, with his company that lay cloſe in ſome houſes near by, iſſued forth upon him, and compelled him to turn back. The diſorder in the fight was great, every one hindering another, ſo as many were trod to death, and ſome threeſcore perſons killed. *Kinſawns* elected Provoſt, ſeeketh to force the Town to obedience. *Buchan. l.* 15. The Lord *Gray* invading *Perth* is repulſed.

The Cardinal wiſhed rather the loſs had fallen on the Lord *Ruthvens* ſide; yet he was not ill pleaſed with the affront that *Gray* had received; for he loved none of them: and ſo making no great account of the matter, he went on with his work, and in the Country of *Angus* calling many in queſtion for reading the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, which as then was accounted an hainous crime. And it is ſaid, 'The ignorance of theſe times was ſo great, as even the Prieſts did think the New *Buchan. l.* 15. The Cardinals proceeding againſt the Profeſſors in *Angus* and *Mernis*.

An. 1544. Testament to have been composed by *Martin Luther*, and the Old to be the only Scripture that men ought to read.

Roger, a black Frier, imprisoned at S. *Andrews*.

John Roger, a Black Frier, with certain others, was brought to the Castle of S. *Andrews*, and within some few days found dead at the foot of the back wall: whether he fell seeking to escape, or that he was murthered (as the report went) in prison, it is uncertain. From *Angus* the Cardinal leading the Governor with him went to *Mernis*, using the like inquisition, and stayed there till near Christmas; at *An.* 1544. which time they returned to S. *Andrews*, and having past the Holy time in feasting, took journey to *Edinburgh*, where a Convention of the Clergy was kept for censuring the lives of scandalous Priests.

The history of Mr. *George Wishart.*

Whilest they were thus busied, advertisement was made to the Cardinal that Master *George Wishart*, for whom he had searched a long time, was in the house of *Ormeston* in *Lothian*. This man being of all the witnesses that God raised in that time to advance his Truth the most worthy, the Reader will not mislike that I set down the Story at large. He was a Brother of the house of *Pittarrow* in *Mernis*, a man of great knowledge and pleasant utterance, indued also with many rare vertues; humble, modest, charitable, and patient even to admiration. Some time he had spent in the University of *Cambridge*, and, out of a desire to promove the Truth in his own Country, came home in the year 1544. making his chief resorts in the Towns of *Dundy* and *Montross*, where he taught publickly with great profit and applause.

Wishart discharged from preaching at *Dundy*.

The Cardinal, incensed with the following he had among the people, discharged them of *Dundy* to receive him. Whereupon *Robert Mill*, a man of great authority in the Town, either corrupted by the Cardinals gifts, or because he feared some trouble might fall upon the Town for his occasion, did one day as he had ended his Sermon, openly prohibit him to come any more amongst them, and not to trouble the Town with his Sermons. He after a little silence, turning himself to the speaker, said, *God is my witness that I mind ever your comfort, and not your trouble, which to me is more grievous than to your selves. But sure I am, to reject the Word of God, and drive away his messengers, is not the way to save you from Trouble. When I am gone, God will send you messengers, who will not be afraid either for burning or banishment. I have with the hazard of my life remained among you preaching the word of Salvation; and now, since your selves refuse me, I must leave my innocency to be declared by God. If it be long well with you, I am not led with the Spirit of Truth; and if trouble unexpected fall upon you, remember this is the cause, and turn to God by repentance, for he is merciful.* The Earl *Marshal* and some other Noblemen, who were present at the Sermon, deal earnestly with him to go with them into the North; but he excusing himself, took journey into the West parts.

History of the Church.

He goeth to the West, where the Archbishop of *Glasgow* seeketh to apprehend him.

He had not been long there, when the Archbishop of *Glasgow*, advertised of the great concourse of people unto his Sermons, took purpose to apprehend him, and for that effect made a journey unto the Town of *Aire*. *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, hearing what the Bishop intended, hasted to the Town, offering to place Master *George Wishart* in the Church where the Bishop was preparing to preach: but he would not consent, saying, that the Bishops Sermon would not do much hurt, and that he would teach, if they pleased at the Market-Cross: which he did, divers of the hearers, which were enemies to the Truth, being converted at the same time. The Sunday following, being desired to preach at the Church of *Machlin*, he went thither; but the Sheriff of *Aire* had in the night-time put in a Garison of Souldiers in the Church to exclude him. *Hugh Campbell* of *Kingzeaclengh* with others of the Parish offending thereat, would have entered the Church by force; but he would not suffer it, saying, *It is the word of Peace that I preach unto you, the blood of no man shall be shed for it this day: Christ is as mighty in the fields as in the Church; and he himself, when he lived in the flesh, preached oftener in the Desert and upon the Sea-side, than in the Temple of Jerusalem.* So walking along to the edge of the Moor on the South-side of *Machlin*, he preached to the Multitude that flocked about him three hours and above; and all the while he abode in those parts taught daily with good success.

After

After a months ſtay in theſe quarters, he was advertiſed of a great deſolation in the Town of *Dundy* by reaſon of the Peſtilence, which brake up in it the fourth day after he left the Town. This moved him to return; and on the next morrow after his coming he gave ſignification that he would preach: but becauſe the Sickneſs, which had conſumed a great many people, was ſtill raging in the Town, he choſed to preach upon the head of the Eaſt-gate, the infected perſons ſtanding without the gate, and thoſe that were free within. His Theme was the 20 verſe of the 107 Pſalm; *He ſent his word and healed them, and delivered them from their deſtruction.* Thereupon taking occaſion to ſpeak of the dignity and excellency of the Word of God, and the puniſhments that follow the contempt of the ſame, as alſo of the mercies of God, and his readineſs to pardon thoſe that truly turn unto him, with the happy eſtate of ſuch as God taketh to himſelf out of this miſery; ſo he comforted the people, as they were inſtant to have him ſtay with them, judging themſelves happy if they ſhould die aſſiſted with ſuch a Preacher. Neither did he forſake them all the time the Plague continued, and not ſuffering the poor who were deſtitute of means to lack any neceſſary helps more than the rich. *An.* 1544. *Wiſhart* returneth to *Dundy* the Peſtilence there raging.

It happened, whileſt he ſtayed there, that a Prieſt, called Sir *John Weighton*, having a purpoſe to kill him as he deſcended from the place where he uſed to preach, was apprehended with a weapon in his hand: a Tumult thereupon raiſed, the ſick without the Gate ruſhed in, crying to have the murtherer delivered to them. But he taking the Prieſt in his Arms beſought them to be quiet, ſaying, *He hath done no harm, only he hath ſhewed us what we have to fear in time coming*: and ſo ſaved the wicked man by his interceſſion. A Prieſt apprehended that intended to kill him. Hiſtory of the Church.

The Plague decreaſing he prepared to go to *Edinburgh*, where he had promiſed to meet the Gentlemen of the Weſt, that reſolved at his parting from them to keep the Convocation, and offer diſpute to the Clergy: yet becauſe he had not ſeen the people of *Montroſs* of a long time, and was doubtful if ever he ſhould return, he determined firſt to go thither. Whileſt he remained there, a Letter was directed to him from the Laird of *Kinneir* of *Fife*, advertiſing him that he had taken a ſudden ſickneſs, and requeſting him to come unto him with diligence. He preſently made to the journey, accompanied with ſome honeſt Citizens that would needs convey him part of the way, and was not paſt a quarter of a mile, when on a ſudden he made a ſtay, ſaying to the company, *I am forbidden of God to go this journey: will ſome of you be pleaſed to ride to yonder place* (pointing with his finger to a little hill) *and ſee what you find? for I apprehend there is a plot againſt my life.* So turning back to the Town, they who went forward to the place found ſome threeſcore horſemen laid to intercept them; whereby he underſtood the Letter to be counterfeited. They declaring at their return what they had ſeen, he ſaid, *I know I ſhall end my life in the hands of that man* (meaning the Cardinal) *but it will not be after this manner.* He viſiteth *Montroſſe*. A plot of the Cardinals for his intercepting, and his wonderful eſcape. Hiſtory of the Church.

Some two or three days after he made to his journy, and would not be diſſuaded by the Laird of *Dun* and others who laboured to have him ſtay. The firſt night, he lodged at *Inner-gowry*, two miles from *Dundy*, with an honeſt man called *James Watſon*; where being laid in bed, he was obſerved to riſe a little after midnight, and go forth into a Garden. There, after he had walked a turn or two, he fell upon his knees, ſending forth many ſighs and groans; then proſtrating himſelf upon the ground, he lay in that ſort almoſt an hour, weeping and praying, and then returned to his reſt. *William Spalden* and *John Watſon*, who lay in the ſame chamber, and had followed to ſee whither he went, began to ask him, as if they had known nothing, where he had been: whereunto he made no anſwer. In the morning inquiring of new wherefore he roſe in the night, and what was the cauſe of his mourning (for they told him all they had ſeen him do) he with a dejected countenance anſwered, *I wiſh you had been in your beds, which had been more for your eaſe, for I was ſcarce well occupied.* But they praying him to ſatisfie their minds farther, and to communicate ſome comfort unto them, he ſaid, *I will tell you that I aſſuredly know my travel is nigh at an end; therefore pray to God for me, that I ſhrink not when the battel waxeth moſt hot.* Hearing theſe words, they burſt forth in tears, and ſaid it was to them a His journy to *Edinburgh* and what befel him in the way. Hiſtory of the Church.

An. 1545. ſmall comfort. Whereunto he replied, *God will ſend you comfort after me, this Realm ſhall be illuminated with the Light of Chriſts Goſpel as clearly as ever was any Realm ſince the days of the Apoſtles. The Houſe of God ſhall be built in it; yea it ſhall not lack (whatſoever the enemies ſhall deviſe to the contrary) the very Capeſtone: neither ſhall this be long in doing, for there ſhall not many ſuffer after me. The glory of God ſhall appear, and Truth ſhall once triumph in deſpite of the Devil. But, alas! if the people become unthankful, the plagues and puniſhments which ſhall follow will be fearful and terrible.*

Wiſhart preacheth at *Leith.* This ſaid, he addreſſed himſelf to the way, and went that night to *Perth*: the next day he came to *Leith*, where he kept himſelf cloſe, expecting ſome advertiſement from the Gentlemen of the Weſt. No advertiſement coming, he waxed heavy and ſorrowful; and being ask'd what made him ſo heavy, he ſaid, *I have labored to bring people out of darkneſs, but now I lurk as a man aſhamed to ſhew himſelf before men.* They perceiving his deſire was to preach, anſwered that they would gladly hear him; but conſidering the danger he might fall into, they could not adviſe him to do it. He replied, *If you and others will hear me the next Sunday, I ſhall preach in* Leith; *(let God provide for me as beſt pleaſeth him.)* Which he did, taking for his text the Parable of the Sower, out of the 13 Chapter of S. *Matthews* Goſpel.

He goeth to Eaſt *Lothian*, and preacheth at *Haddington.* Having ended his Sermon, he was by the Gentlemen his Auditors counſelled to leave the Town, (for they held his abode in that place dangerous:) which advice he followed, remaining ſome time with the Laird of *Brunſton*, and ſometime with the Laird of *Longnedry* and *Ormeſton*; yet every Sunday in one Church or other he taught openly, unto the time of his apprehenſion. The laſt Sermon he made was at *Haddington*, where he received from the Gentlemen of the Weſt a Letter, declaring they could not keep the Diet appointed at *Edinburgh:* which grieved him ſo much, as calling *John Knox* (who then attended him) he ſaid, *I am weary of the world, ſince I ſee men too weary of God.* Yet he went to the Pulpit, and rebuking the people of that Town for the contempt of the Goſpel, told them, that *Strangers ſhould poſſeſs their houſes, and chaſe them from their habitations:* which came ſhortly to paſs. In that Sermon, as he had always done at his laſt coming into *Lothian*, he ſpake of the ſhort time he had to live, and told that his death was more nigh than they did believe. All that night he ſtayed in *Haddington*, and the next morning bidding thoſe of his acquaintance farewel, as it were for ever, he went on foot to *Ormeſton*, (for the froſt was vehement) accompanied with the Laird of the place, *John Sandelands* of *Caulder*, and *Chreichton* of *Brunſton*. *John Knox* was deſirous to have gone with him, but he willed him to go back ſaying, *One is enough at this time for a ſacrifice.*

He goeth to *Ormeſton*, and dimitteth *John Knox.*

There he is apprehended and delivered to the Earl *Bothwell* upon promiſe.

When they had ſupped, he fell in a long diſcourſe of the happy eſtate of Gods children, and having ended that purpoſe, ſaid he had a deſire to ſleep, but firſt appointed the 51 Pſalm to be ſung; which done he went to bed. About mid-night the houſe was belayed with horſemen that the Governor ſent to take him priſoner. The Laird refuſing to deliver him, and thinking to get him ſhifted, the Earl *Bothwell* Sheriff of the County came, and he required he ſhould be put in his hand, upon promiſe that his life ſhould be ſafe, and that it ſhould not be in the Cardinals power to do him anyhurt. The Laird reporting this to Mr. *George*, he requeſted him to open the gate ſaying, *The bleſſed will of God be done.* So the Earl entred the houſe, to whom Mr. *George* ſaid, *My Lord, I praiſe God that ſo honorable a man as you are doth receive me this night, in the preſence of theſe Noblemen; for I am aſſured your Honour will not permit any thing to be done unto me againſt the order of the Law. I am not ignorant that all the Law which they who ſeek my life uſe, is nothing but a corruption, and a Cloak to ſhed the blood of Gods Saints: yet I leſs fear to die openly, than to be murthered in ſecret.* The Earl anſwered, 'I ſhall not 'only preſerve your body from violence, if any be intended againſt you, but I will 'promiſe you on my honor, in the preſence of theſe Gentlemen, that neither the 'Governor nor Cardinal ſhall be able to harm you, and that I ſhall keep you in my 'own power till either I make you free, or bring you back to the place where now 'I receive you.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Upon

Upon this promiſe was he delivered and put in the Earls hands, who departed with him to *Elphinſton*, where the Cardinal was attending the ſucceſs. It being told him that young *Caulder* and *Brunſton* were with the Laird of *Ormeſton*, he ſent to apprehend them; but *Brunſton* eſcaped to the wood: the other two were commited to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; and thither was Mr. *George* firſt carried, and afterwards brought back to the houſe of *Hales* (the Earls principal houſe in *Lothian*.) But the Queen-mother, at the Cardinals deſire, being earneſt for the Earl to have ſent him again to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, albeit in regard of his promiſe he refuſed a long time, yet overcome in end by her intreaty he yielded. So was Mr. *George* of new taken to the Caſtle, and after a ſhort ſtay there conveyed to S. *Andrews*, where he remained Priſoner unto the day of his ſuffering.

An. 1545.

The Lairds of *Caulder* and *Ormeſton* committed.

Wiſhart carried to S. *Andrews*.

The Cardinal, not thinking it expedient to delay his Trial, wrote to the Prelates to meet at S. *Andrews* the 27 of *February*. The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, at his coming, gave advice to ſeek a Commiſſion from the Governor to ſome man of quality, that might execute Juſtice, leſt all the burthen ſhould lie upon them; whereunto the Cardinal agreed, ſuppoſing the Governor would make no ſcruple in the matter: nor had he made any, if *David Hamilton* of *Preſton*, knowing what was ſought, had not ſeriouſly diſſuaded him, adviſing him rather to uſe his power in the defence of Gods Servants, than to arm their adverſaries with his Authority. *For it is marvelled*, ſaid he, *that you ſhould give ſuch liberty to wicked and godleſs men thus to oppreſs poor Innocents, unto whoſe charge no crime is laid; only they are accuſed for preaching the Goſpel of Chriſt, which your ſelf not long ſince openly profeſſed, and exhorted others to profeſs, promiſing by your Authority to maintain the ſame. The opinion which men had of your affection to the Truth was that which chiefly procured your advancement to the place you now hold in the Realm: and now conſider what are mens thoughts and ſpeeches of your proceedings, or rather what a fearful unthankfulneſs it is on your part to Almighty God, who hath beſtowed upon you ſo many bleſſings. You are rid of your neighbors at home (who envied your honor) without blood and ſlaughter; you have lately reported victory of the forein enemy that was ſtronger by much than your ſelf; and now will you perſecute Gods Servants for the pleaſure of flagitious men, who neither can hide their wickedneſs, nor have care to diſſemble it? Remember how ſuddenly the late King was taken away, when he followed theſe courſes which now you run. They who by their perverſe counſels wrought his undoing, are leading you on to the ſame deſtruction. At the firſt they were your open enemies, and reſiſted your promotion to the government with all their might: but now I know not how they have ſnared you by their malicious devices. Think upon King* Saul, *who was exalted by God from a mean eſtate to be King of* Iſrael; *ſo long as he obeyed the word of God, he proſpered, but how ſoon he grew diſobedient, he became miſerable. Compare the ſucceſs you have had in your affairs with his proſperity, and you will find it not unlike: and of this you may be aſſured, that, except you take another courſe, your end ſhall be no better than his, perhaps worſe. Wherefore be wiſe, and ſuffer not your ſelf to be led any more by the counſels of wicked men, neither let poor innocents at their appetites be thus cruelly murthered.*

The Cardinal ſends to the Governor for a Commiſſion.

David Hamilton of *Preſton* diſſuadeth the Governor.

Buchan. l. 15.

The Governour, moved with theſe ſpeeches, did anſwer the Cardinal, 'That he 'ſhould do well not to precipitate the mans trial, but to delay it until his coming; 'for as to himſelf he would not conſent to his death before the cauſe were well ex- 'amined; and if the Cardinal ſhould do otherwiſe, he would make proteſtation that 'the mans blood ſhould be required at his hands. This anſwer grieved the Cardinal not a little, for he knew that the delay would work the Priſoners eſcape, and to commit the cauſe to examination he ſaw it was more dangerous. Therefore in a great paſſion he replied, 'That he wrote not unto the Governor as though he de- 'pended in any matter upon his authority, but out of a deſire he had that the Here- 'ticks condemnation might proceed with a ſhew of publick conſent, which ſince 'he could not obtain, he would be doing himſelf that which he held moſt fitting.

The Governor deſires the Cardinal to defer the Trial.

Thus he made a Citation to be given forth, and Mr. *George* to be charged to appear the next morrow, to anſwer for his Seditious and Heretical Doctrine. Mr. *George* receiving the Summons ſaid, *The Cardinal hath no need to ſummon me, for I*

A citation for his appearance.

am

An. 1545. History of the Church.

am in his hands, and kept faſt in irons, ſo as he may compel me to anſwer at what time he pleaſeth. But to manifeſt, ſaith he, *what men you are, it is well done to keep your forms and conſtitutions.* The next day the Cardinal and Prelates being met in the Abbey-Church, the Priſoner was preſented by the Captain of the Caſtle, and then

At his trial the Sub-prior preacheth.

the Sub-prior, called Maſter *John Winrame*, a man of good learning, and one who ſecretly favored the Truth, went up into the Pulpit, as he had been injoyned. He took for his Theme the words of our Saviour in the 13 of *Matthews* Goſpel, concerning *the good Seed*, which he interpreted to be *the Word of God*; *Hereſie* he ſaid was the *ill Seed*, and that he defined to be *A falſe opinion fighting directly againſt the Word, and defended with pertinacy.* Thereafter falling to ſpeak of the cauſes of Hereſie, he ſaid the *main cauſe* was *the ignorance and negligence of thoſe that had the cure of Souls, and neither underſtood the word of God, nor could uſe the ſame to the convincing of falſe Teachers, and the reducing of thoſe who were gone aſtray.* In the later part of his Sermon, ſpeaking of the way how Hereſies ſhould be diſcerned, he ſaid, *That as the Goldſmith knoweth the fine gold from the counterfeit by the touchſtone, ſo is Hereſie diſcerned by the true, ſincere and undefiled Word of God.* And in the end concluded, *that Hereticks ought to be puniſhed, and might lawfully be put to death by the Magiſtrate.*

He is accuſed by Mr. *John Lawder* a Prieſt.

Now albeit that was ſaid made directly againſt themſelves, who were then met, not to confute Hereſie, but to bear down the Truth, and puniſh thoſe that found fault with their pride and licentiouſneſs; yet as all had been ſpoken for them they proceeded, and, after their wonted form, placed Mr. *George* in a ſeat erected for that purpoſe, and over againſt him, Maſter *John Lawder*, a Prieſt, in another; who having a Scroll of paper in his hand, containing the Articles laid unto Mr. *George*

Buchan. l. 15.

his charge, did uſe many bitter and reproachful words: all which he heard very patiently, not moving or changing once his countenance. Being required to anſwer, before he would utter a word, he bowed his knees, and made his prayer to God;

His Anſwer.

then ſtanding up, intreated them in moſt humble manner to ſuffer him repeat the ſum of Doctrine which he had taught ſince his coming into *Scotland*; which, he ſaid, was nothing but what the ten Commandments of God, the 12 Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Lords Prayer contained. In *Dundy* he ſaid that he had preached a part of the Epiſtle to the *Romans*. And as he was going on, to ſhew what form he kept in his preaching, he was interrupted by the accuſer, who with many opprobrious ſpeeches calling him an Heretick, a Runnegate, a Traitor and Thief, ſaid that it was not lawful for him to preach, and that he had uſurped the power at his own hand, without any lawful calling of the Church. The Prelates alſo prohibiting all diſcourſes willed him to anſwer ſimply, yea, or nay; fearing, if liberty was given him to ſpeak, he ſhould draw ſome of the hearers to his mind.

Mr. *George wiſhart* his appellation.

Mr. *George*, perceiving that he could not have audience, appealed to an equal and indifferent Judge. Whereunto *Lawder* replied, that the Cardinal was a more than ſufficient Judge for him: and then he reckoned out all his ſtyles, ſaying, that he was Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, Biſhop of *Meropois*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, Commendatory of *Aberbrothock*, *Legatus natus*, *Legatus à latere*, and the ſecond perſon within the Realm. Mr. *George* calmly anſwered, *I do not condemn my Lord Cardinal, but I deſire the word of God to be my Judge, and ſome of the Temporal eſtate, with certain of your Lordſhips here preſent, becauſe I am my Lord Governors priſoner.* At which words ſome fooliſh people that ſtood by cried out, *ſuch man, ſuch Judge*; meaning that the Governor and others of the Temporal State were Hereticks like unto himſelf.

Sentence of death pronounced againſt him.

Then would the Cardinal have pronounced Sentence without any further proceſs; but being advertiſed to let the Accuſation be read, and hear what he would ſay, leſt people ſhould think him wrongfully condemned, he commanded the Prieſt to read the Points diſtinctly, and receive his Anſwer to every one of them ſeverally. The Articles laid to his charge were eighteen in number, which, with the Anſwers he made, the Reader may at his leiſure ſee in the Book of Martyrs. After they had ſpent ſome hours in this ſort, Sentence was pronounced againſt him, and he condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. Then was he led back to the

Caſtle,

Caſtle, and lodged in the Captains Chamber that night, the greateſt part whereof he ſpent in prayer. *An.* 1545.

Early in the morning the Prelates ſent two Friers to advertiſe him that he muſt die, and ask if he would confeſs himſelf: He anſwered, That *he had no buſineſs with Friers, nor would he willingly confer with them; but if they were diſpoſed to gratify him in that ſort, he deſired to ſpeak with the learned man that preached the day before.* This being permitted, the Sub-prior came, and talked with him a good ſpace: At laſt he ask'd Mr. *George* if he would receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. He anſwered, *Moſt willingly, ſo I may have it miniſtred according to Chriſts inſtitution, under both kinds of Bread and Wine.* Hereupon the Sub-prior went to the Biſhops, and told that he had conferred with the priſoner, who did ſolemnly affirm that he was free of all the crimes, and that he did utter this not out of a deſire he had of life, but to manifeſt his Innocency (which was known to God) before men. The Cardinal offended with theſe ſpeeches of the Sub-prior, ſaid, It is a long time ſince we knew what a man thou art. The Sub-prior anſwering nothing, asked if they would permit the Sacrament to be given to the priſoner. The Cardinal conferring with the reſt of the Biſhops a while, anſwered in all their names, That it was not reaſonable to give any Spiritual benefit to an obſtinate Heretick condemned by the Church.

Two Friers ſent to confeſs him.

The Conference with the Sub-prior.

When Maſter *George* heard that the Sacrament was denied him, being asked by the Captain of the Caſtle, going then to break faſt, if he would take a part with him, he anſwered, *Very willingly, and ſo much the rather, becauſe I perceive you to be a good Chriſtian, and a man fearing God.* Then turning himſelf to the Captain, he ſaid, *I beſeech you in the name of God, and for the love you bear to our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to be ſilent a little while, till I have made a ſhort Exhortation, and bleſſed this Bread which we are to eat, ſo that I may bid you farewel.* The table being covered, and Bread according to the cuſtom ſet upon it, he ſpake about the ſpace of an half hour, of the inſtitution of the Supper, and of our Saviours Death and Paſſion, exhorting thoſe that were preſent to mutual love, and to the leading of an holy life, ſuch as becometh the members of Chriſt. Then giving thanks, he brake the Bread, diſtributing to every one that was preſent a portion: likewiſe having taſted the Wine, he delivered the Cup unto them, exhorting them to remember with thankfulneſs the death of our Lord *Jeſus* in this his Communion with them. *As to my ſelf,* he ſaid, *there is a more bitter potion prepared for me, only becauſe I have preached the true Doctrine of Chriſt, which bringeth Salvation: but pray you the Lord with me that I may take it patiently, as out of his hand.* And ſo concluding with a new thankſgiving, he withdrew himſelf to his Chamber.

He communicateth with the Captain of the Caſtle.

Buchan. l. 15.

Within a little ſpace two Executioners came up unto him, one of whom apparelled him in a black Coat of Linen, the other faſtened ſome bags of powder upon all the parts of his body; and thus arrayed he was brought to an utter room, where he was commanded to ſtay till all things were prepared. A Scaffold in the mean time erecting on the Eaſt part of the Caſtle towards the Abbey, with a great Tree in the midſt in manner of a Gibbet, unto which the priſoner was to be tied: and right againſt it was all the munition of the Caſtle planted, if perhaps any ſhould preſs by violence to take him away. The fore-Tower was hanged with Tapeſtry and rich Cuſhions laid for eaſe of the Cardinal and Prelates, who were to behold that ſpectacle. And when all things were made ready, he was led forth with his hands being tied behind his back, and a number of Souldiers guarding him to the place of Execution. As he was going forth of the Caſtle-gate, ſome poor creatures, who were lying there, did ask of him ſome alms for Gods ſake: to whom he ſaid, *I have not the uſe of any hands wherewith I ſhould give you alms, but our merciful God, who out of his abundance feedeth all men, vouchſafe to give you the things which are neceſſary both for your bodies and for your Souls.* Afterwards two Friers met him, crying, *Maſter* George, *pray to our Lady, that ſhe may be mediatrix for you to her Son.* To whom he ſaid, *Ceaſe, tempt me not, my brethren.*

Two Executioners lead him to the place of his ſuffering.

Hiſtory of the Church.

Being come to the place of Execution, and gone up upon the Scaffold, he turned himſelf towards the people, and beſought them not to offend with the good Word of God becauſe of the Torments they ſaw prepared for him; deſiring them withal

his death, and the maner of it. 2. *Martii* 1545.

to

An. 1546. to ſhew his brethren and ſiſters, who had often heard him, that the Doctrine he taught was no wives Fables, but the true Goſpel of Chriſt given him by the grace of God, which he was ſent to preach, and for which he was then with a moſt glad heart and mind to give his life. *Some have falſly ſpoken*, ſaid he, *that I ſhould hold the opinion that the Souls of men departed ſleep, after their death until the laſt day; but I know and believe the contrary, and am aſſured that my Soul ſhall this night be with my Saviour in the heavens.* This ſaid, he bowed his knees, and having conceived a ſhort, but moſt pithy prayer, he was tied to the ſtake, and then cried aloud, *O Saviour of the world have mercy upon me; Father of Heaven, I commend my ſpirit into thine holy hands.* The Executioners having kindled the fire, the powder that was faſtned to his body blew up. The Captain of the Caſtle, who ſtood near unto him, perceiving that he was yet alive, willed him to be of good courage, and commend his Soul unto God. *This flame* (ſaid he) *hath ſcorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my ſpirit: but he who from yonder high place beholdeth us with ſuch pride, ſhall within few days ly in the ſame as ignominiouſly, as now he is ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf.* After which words one of the Tormentors drawing the Cord that went about his neck, ſtopt his breath, ſo as he ſpake no more. The fire increaſing, his body was quickly conſumed unto aſhes.

His Propheſie of the Cardinals death.

Buchan. l. 15.

But the Cardinals malice not yet ſatisfied, cauſed the ſame night a Proclamation to be made through the City, that none ſhould pray for the Heretick under pain of the heavieſt Cenſures that could be inflicted. And then the Prieſts triumphing did in all meetings extol the Cardinal above the skies, ſaying, *That he not regarding the Governors Authority, had by himſelf cauſed juſtice to be executed upon that Heretick, and kithed a moſt worthy Patron of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate. If the Church*, ſaid they, *in former times had found ſuch a Protector, matters had not been reduced to the doubtful terms wherein now they ſtand; but long ere this time by her own power and authority ſhe had been able to maintain her ſelf.* Such inſolent ſpeeches they were heard to utter in every place. The Cardinal himſelf alſo ſeemed to be greatly pleaſed with that which he had done, preſuming it ſhould keep all his enemies in fear; yet it proved the very rock on which he and all his fortunes periſhed: for the common ſort of people exclaimed mightily againſt his Cruelty, and ſome of good birth and quality did openly vow that the blood of Maſter *George Wiſhart* ſhould be revenged, though they ſhould give life for life; of which number, *John Leſley*, brother to the Earl of *Rothes*, forbare not in all companies openly to avouch, that his hand and dagger ſhould be the Cardinals Prieſts.

Prayers inhibited to be made for him after his death.

The Prieſts extol the Cardinal.

He contracted his baſe Daughter to the heir of *Craford.*

Nor was he ignorant of the general hatred carried unto him, and thereupon began to fortify himſelf with ſome ſtrong alliance, which he ſhortly after made, contracting one of his baſe daughters to the Earl of *Craford* his ſon and heir. The Nuptials were performed with an exceeding pomp and magnificence. But he did not long enjoy the content he took in his Match, for *Normand Leſly*, ſon to the Earl of *Rothes*, who had followed him a long time, and done him good ſervices, having moved him in the behalf of ſome friends that were intereſſed by the reſtitution of the Lairds of *Cleiſh*, *Eaſter Weimes*, and certain others who had been forfeited in the late Kings time, was not anſwered as he expected; for which growing into a choler, and alledging the Cardinals promiſe in the buſineſs, he ſaid, that he would not be deluded in that ſort. The Cardinal, who had not been accuſtomed to ſuch ſpeeches, and thought he was not uſed with that reſpect which became, chafed mightily, ſo as after an unſeemly altercation they parted in wrath.

An. 1546.

Buchan. l. 15.

A Conſpiracy againſt the Cardinal.

This diſcord publickly rumored, divers that hated the Cardinal (ſome for the cauſe of Religion, and ſome for other private reſpects) did repair to *Normand*, and, working upon his paſſion, incenſed him with their words, wondering how he could look for any good from him that was a man hated of God and all good people. And, as it falleth out in ſuch conferences, whileſt every man was recounting the injuries he had ſuffered in private, and talking of his violent courſes, one amongſt the reſt ſaid, that they ſhould do God good ſervice, and no ſmall benefit to the Countrey, to make an end of that vicious and ungodly Tyrant, whom all good men did hate: and with ſuch words inflaming one another, at laſt they agreed to cut him off.

The

The principal undertakers were *Normand Leſley*, *John Leſley* his Uncle, *William Kircaldy* of *Grange*, *Peter Carmicall* of *Fife*, and *James Melvile*, one of the houſe of *Carneby*. The plot was, to meet at S. *Andrews* in the moſt private manner they could, and ſurpriſe the Caſtle ſome morning before the ſervants were ſtirring. And that the enterpriſe ſhould not fail, they gave hands to be in the City the 28 of *May*, promiſing in the mean time ſo to carry themſelves as no ſuſpicion might be taken of their purpoſe. Thus at the day appointed *Normand*, accompanied with five only, came to the City, and went to his accuſtomed lodging; *William Kircaldy* was there a day before; *John Leſley*, who did profeſs enmity to the Cardinal, entered not till night was fallen. Upon Saturday morning the 29 of *May*, riſing about three of the clock, they met in the Abbey Church-yard, where they condeſcended that *William Kircaldy*, and ſix with him (for they did not exceed twelve in all) ſhould attempt the opening of the Gate, and aſſure it for the reſt. All things ſucceeded to their wiſhes: *Grange* at his firſt coming found the gate open, and entering with his company, entertained the Keeper with ſome ſpeeches, asking if the Cardinal was ſtirring, and how ſoon he would riſe. *Normand* came ſhortly after and ſome two with him: laſt of all came *John Leſley* with other two; whom as ſoon as the Keeper ſaw, ſuſpecting ſome bad practice he made to the draw-Bridge; but they laying hands upon him, took the keys, and aſſured the Gate.

An. 1545.

The proceeding of the Conſpirators.

Grange entereth into the Caſtle.

Then appointing four of the company to watch the Chamber where the Cardinal lay, that no advertiſement ſhould go unto him, they went to the ſeveral Chambers in which the ſervants lay aſleep, and calling them by their names, (for they were all known unto them) they put fifty of his ordinary ſervants, beſides the workmen, Maſons and Wrights, who were reckoned above a hundred, (for he was then fortifying the Caſtle) to the Gate, permitting none to ſtay within but the Earl of *Arran*, the Governors eldeſt Son, whom they thought beſt to detain upon all adventures. This was performed with ſo little noiſe, as the Cardinal did not hear till they knock'd at his Chamber. Then he asked who was there. *John Leſley* anſwered, My name is *Leſley*. Which *Leſley*, ſaid the Cardinal, is that? *Normand?* It was anſwered, that he muſt open to thoſe that were there. The anſwer gave him notice that they were no friends; therefore making the door faſt, he refuſed to open. They calling to bring fire, whileſt it was in fetching, he began to commune with them; and after ſome ſpeeches, upon their promiſe to uſe no violence, he opened the door: but they ruſhing in with their Swords drawn did moſt inhumanely kill him, he not making any reſiſtance.

The ſervants and workmen put to the gate.

The Cardinal killed.

The Tumult was great in the City, upon the rumour that the Caſtle was taken. The people armed, and ſuch as favored the Cardinal made haſte, intending to ſcale the walls; but when it was told them that he was dead whom they ſought to help, their hearts cooled. The people ſtill crying for a ſight of the Cardinal, his corps was brought to the very ſame place where he ſate beholding Mr. *George Wiſharts* Execution. Upon the ſight whereof they diſſolved: many then calling to mind the Martyr his laſt words, were thereby confirmed in the opinion they had of his Piety and Holineſs.

A Tumult in the City. *Buchan. l.* 15.

Such was the end of this unfortunate man, who in his life was ambitious beyond meaſure, and in puniſhing of thoſe he eſteemed Hereticks more than inhumane. A barbarous part it was in him to ſit and behold the Martyring of Maſter *George Wiſhart*, taking pleaſure in that which no man could look on without pity. But the hatred he bare to the Truth, and the care he had to maintain his own greatneſs, was ſuch and ſo exceſſive, as he did both forget himſelf, and the place he held in the Church, and now doth remain a tragical enſample in Story, to admoniſh every man to keep him within his bound, and hold that moderation which is fitting.

The Cardinal his Deſcription.

The rumour of this fact being quickly diſperſed through the Country, every man commended or condemned it as his paſſion led him. They who ſtood in awe of his power did highly commend the enterpriſe and praiſe the doers, and of that ſort divers came to congratulate the fact, offering to take one part with them. Others, who were more wiſe and moderate, though they diſliked not the fact, (as hoping to enjoy their poſſeſſion with greater liberty) did yet abhor the form and manner

How the fact was interpreted in the Country.

An. 1545. manner, judging it to be foully done, especially on the part of *Normand*, at whose hands he did not look for any harm. And indeed few or none of those who had an hand in that work escaped an extraordinary judgment; God thereby declaring, that howsoever it pleaseth him in the execution of his Judgments to use sometimes the ministery and service of men, yet doth he not allow of their wicked disposition, and for most part faileth not to reward them with the same or the like that they do unto others.

A great stir in the Church by his occasion.

But in the Church a fearful uproar was raised upon this accident, the Priests and Friers exclaiming every where against the Murther, as the most odious, which in any memory had been committed. The Bishops running upon the Governor (who was no less troubled with the fact than themselves) desired some course might be taken for the speedy punishment of the Murtherers: but he following the course of Law, directed summons for their appearing to underlie trial; which they contemned, and were therefore denounced Rebels. The Ecclesiastick Judges, to be nothing behind for their parts, did solemnly curse the actors, and all that should receive or minister unto them any necessaries.

The Murtherers accursed.

The Governors base Brother elected Bishop.

41. Mean while the Governor did nominate his base Brother for the place; who was elected by the Canons, and soon after confirmed by Pope *Paul* the Third. For he fearing the defection of the Realm from the obedience of the *Roman* See, as *England* had given the ensample, was glad to gratifie the Governour, and with the Bulls which were freely exped, wrote both to the Governor, and to the Bishop, that they should make their zeal appear in vindicating the injury done to the Ecclesiastick estate.

The Castle besieged, and supplied from *England*.

Upon the receit of these Letters it was resolved to besiege the Castle, which beginning about the end of *August*, continued until the month of *January*; howbeit to small effect: for the passage by Sea, being open, they were supplied with all necessaries from *England* by King *Henry*, to whom they had obliged their faith by two several messages for defending the Castle, and maintaining the Contract with *England*: which the Governour fearing, he was induced to capitulate with the besieged, and yield unto the conditions following.

A Capitulation with the besieged.

1. That the Governor should procure unto them a sufficient Absolution from the Pope for the slaughter of the Cardinal; and till the same was returned, that they should retain the Castle, and not be pursued by force.

2. That they, their friends, servants and partakers, should simply be remitted by the Governor, and never be called in question for the said slaughter, but should enjoy all commodities spiritual and temporal which they possessed before the committing thereof.

3. That the besieged should give pledges for rendring the Castle how soon the Absolution was returned from *Rome*; and for surety of the pledges, but the Earl of *Arran*, eldest Son to the Governor should remain in their custody until the Absolution was returned, and they secured to their content.

The Governor sendeth to *France* for a supply.

The conditions were to the besieged more advantageous than honourable to the Governor, but neither the one nor the other intended performance: for the Governor at the same time sent a messenger to *France*, with Letters from the Queen *Dowager* and from himself, intreating a supply of Ships and Gallies, to batter the House on that part which looked towards the Sea, and debar the keepers of farther provision. They, on the other side, were resolved not to forsake King *Henry*'s protection, of whose assistance they were confident. The proceedings of the next Summer shall clear the intentions on either side; in the mean time let us hear how the affairs of Religion went the rest of this Winter.

Divers joyned with those within the Castle.

Divers, as we touched before, upon the news of the Cardinals death, came and joyned with those that had killed him, especially Master *Henry Balnaves*, the *Melvils* of the house of *Raith*, and some Gentlemen of *Fife*, to the number of seven-score persons, who all entered into the Castle the day after the slaughter, and abode there during the time of the first siege. *John Rough*, he that had attended the Governors Chaplain in the beginning of his Regiment, came also thither, and became their Preacher.

John Rough and *John Knox* preach to the besieged.

After

After him came *John Knox*, but not till the ſiege was raiſed, and the appointment made whereof we have ſpoken. The adverſaries of Religion, taking advantage of this, did caſt in the teeth of both the Preachers and Profeſſors the murther commited, as though they did all approve the ſame; and Biſhop *Leſley* in his Chronicle ſpeaking of *John Knox* ſaith, that *He did think to attain to the top of Evangelical profeſſion, by triumphing that way upon the ſlaughter of a Prieſt and Cardinal.* I deny not but this his doing was ſcarce allowable, & that it had been a wiſer part in him not to have gone towards them at all; yet ſince he did neither accompany them at the fact, nor come unto them till the conditions of Peace were granted, his guiltineſs was not ſuch as they make it to be: neither will I ſay that he was grieved at the Cardinal's death, but rather glad that ſuch an enemy was taken out of the way; but that he did inſult upon his death, or allow the manner of it, cannot be truly affirmed. As to that which is objected, forth of the Narration made of this accident in the Book intituled, *The Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland*, where the Author ſeemeth indeed to commend the fact: though that Hiſtory be aſcribed to *John Knox*, it is ſure that he did not pen the ſame, as I ſhall make clear in another place. *An.* 1545.

How ſoon the Governor was gone, *John Rough* did openly preach in the Pariſh Church, and was much haunted by the people; at which the Clergy offending, a great ſtir was raiſed. Dean *John Anand* oppugning his Doctrine both by word and writing, *John Knox* did take on him to maintain the ſame: and the matter being brought to a Diſpute, after long reaſoning upon the Authority of the *Roman* Church, *John Knox* did offer to prove, 'That the preſent Church of *Rome* was 'more degenerate from the Purity which it had in the days of the Apoſtles, than 'was the Church of the Jews from the Ordinances given by *Moſes* when they con-'ſented to the death of our Saviour. *John Rough* preaching in the City is oppugned by the Clergy.

Such as were preſent at the reaſoning having requeſted *John Knox* to make good what he had ſpoken, he took occaſion the Sunday following to preach in the Pariſh-Church, chuſing for his Theme the 24 and 25 verſes of the ſeventh Chapter of *Daniel*. In the Sermon, after he had ſpoken of 'the care that God had al-'ways of his Church, to forewarn her of the dangers that were to happen many 'years before the ſame fell out; and illuſtrated that point by the Predictions of '*Iſrael*'s Captivity, the prophecie of the Four Empires, namely the *Babylonian*, '*Perſian*, *Grecian*, and *Roman*, and foretelling of the Beaſt that ſhould ariſe out of 'the deſtruction of the *Roman* Empire; he ſaid that by that Beaſt the Church of '*Rome* was to be underſtood, in regard all the marks aſſigned by *Daniel* did pertain 'to that Church, and to no other power which ever was in the world. Then falling 'to ſpeak of Antichriſt, he ſhewed that there was not any one Perſon meant by that 'title, but a Body and Multitude of people, having a wicked Head, that ſhould not 'only be ſinful himſelf, but the occaſion alſo of ſin to all that ſhould be ſubject un-'to him. And that he was called Antichriſt, becauſe he was *contrary to Chriſt* in 'life and doctrine, and in laws. The contrariety of Life he made clear by decypher-'ing the corrupt and beaſtly converſation both of the Popes themſelves and of 'their Clergy. The contrariety of Doctrine he qualified by comparing the Do-'ctrine of the Juſtfication by Faith, taught in the Scriptures, with the Doctrine of 'Juſtification by Works, maintained by the Church of *Rome*. And the contrariety 'of Laws he proved by the obſervation of days, abſtaining from meats, and forbid-'ding of marriage, which Chriſt had made free. In end he came to ſpeak of the 'Marks of the Beaſt. One he ſaid was in the Text, where it was ſaid, *He ſhall ſpeak* '*great words againſt the moſt High*; but what greater words ſaid he can be uttered 'than to call the Pope the Vicar of Chriſt, the Succeſſor of *Peter*, the Head of the 'univerſal Church, moſt Holy, moſt Bleſſed, one who cannot err, that may make 'right of wrong and wrong of right, that of nothing may make ſomewhat, that hath 'all Verity incloſed in the ſhrine of his breaſt, that hath power over all men, no man 'having power over him, and though he draw ten thouſand millions of Souls with 'himſelf to Hell, that none may or ought to ſay that he doth wrong? which words 'he ſhewed were expreſſed in the common Law, and could not be denied. Ano-'ther *John Knox* maintained his Doctrine in a Sermon. The ſubſtance of *John Knox* his Sermon.

An. 1545. 'ther note more remarkable he adduced forth of S. *John* his Revelation, where it 'is ſaid that *the Babylonian Whore ſhall make merchandiſe of the Souls of men*; 'which never any did of what profeſſion ſoever they were, the Pope and his fol- 'lowers excepted: for they (ſaid he) take upon them to mitigate the pains of 'Souls in Purgatory, and to releaſe them by ſaying of Maſſes, ſelling of Pardons 'and Indulgences, which none beſides them ever did: whereupon he inferred, 'that the Church of *Rome* was quite degenerate from her firſt Purity, and that 'very Beaſt foreſhewed in the Scriptures, *&c.*

The Archbiſhop offended with the Sub-Prior for permitting theſe Preachings. The two Preachers convened before the Sub-prior.

At this Sermon Mr. *John Major* the Sub-prior, a number of Canons and Friers of both Orders, with the whole Univerſity, were preſent; whom he appealed to anſwer his allegations, if they found any one of them not conſonant to Truth. The Archbiſhop being advertiſed of this, wrote to the Sub-prior, ſaying, that he wondered how he could ſuffer ſuch heretical and ſchiſmatical Doctrines to be taught, and not oppoſe himſelf thereto. Whereupon *John Rough* and *John Knox* were cited to anſwer unto certain Heads collected out of their Sermons, and ſet down as followeth.

1. That no mortal man can be the head of Chriſt's Church.
2. That the Pope is Antichriſt, and ſo not a member of Chriſt's myſtical Body.
3. That no man may make or deviſe a Religion that is acceptable to God, but that he is bound to obſerve and keep the Religion received from God, without chopping or changing the ſame.
4. That the Sacraments of the New Teſtament ought to be miniſtred as they were inſtituted by Chriſt *Jeſus*, and practiſed by his Apoſtles, nor ought there any thing to be added unto them, nor diminiſhed from them.
5. That the Maſs is abominable idolatry, blaſphemous to the death of *Jeſus* Chriſt, and a profanation to the Lord's Supper.
6. That there is no Purgatory, in the which the Souls of men can either be pined or purged after this life, Heaven being appointed for the faithful, and Hell for the reprobate and unfaithful.
7. That Prayer for the dead is vain, and to the dead is idolatry.
8. That Biſhops are no Biſhops except they preach themſelves without a Subſtitute.
9. That Tithes by God's Law do not appertain neceſſarily to Church-men.

John Knox his judgement of Tithes.

This laſt Article I would not omit, becauſe it is alledged by thoſe that penned the Story. Whether it was a point of *John Rough*'s preaching or not, I cannot ſay; but for *John Knox*, it is clear by his Sermons and writings ſtill extant, that he held it a point of *high Sacriledge to rob and ſpoil the Church of Tithes*. It is true that many in theſe times, offending with the Extortion of Church-men, did hold that *Tithes belonged not to the Church by any Divine right*; and knowing that this Opinion would find eaſie paſſage among the people, as alſo ſerve to abridge the means and power of Church-men, they were the more ready to deliver ſuch Doctrines: but this was done rather out of paſſion than judgment; for he that will not wilfully ſhut his eyes againſt the Truth, cannot but know that Tithes are the Lords, and the portion that he hath reſerved for the maintenance of his worſhip and ſervice. But to leave this.

John Knox his anſwer to the Sub-prior and Clergy.

The Sub-prior and others of the Clergy that convened with him having laid theſe Articles to their charge, *John Knox* anſwered, that for himſelf he was glad to declare his mind in thoſe Points before ſo modeſt and judicious an Auditory; and turning to the Sub-prior, *It is a long time*, ſaid he, *ſince I have heard that you are not ignorant of the Truth: Therefore I do appeal your Conſcience before the Supreme Judge, that if you think the Articles wherewith we are charged contrarious to the Truth of God, that you plainly open your ſelf, and ſuffer not the people to be deceived; but if in your Conſcience you know them to be true and ſound, then I will crave your patrociny, that by your authority the people may be moved to embrace the Truth, whereof now many doubt becauſe of your indifferency.* The Sub-prior anſwered, 'That he came not 'there to judge, but to confer of theſe Points, and would, if he pleaſed, reaſon a lit- 'tle of the Power of the Church, which in my opinion, ſaid he, may very lawfully

deviſe

'devise Rites and Ceremonies for decoring the Sacraments, and other parts of Di- *An.* 1547.
'vine service. *John Knox* replying, *That no man in the worship of God might appoint any Ceremony, giving it a signification to his pleasure*; One *Arbuthnet*, a gray Frier, reasoned so hotly in the contrary, that forgetting himself, he denied the Apostles to have received the Holy Ghost when they penned their Epistles. The Sub-prior checking the Frier, did after a little space dimit the Preachers with a brotherly admonition, to take heed what Doctrine they delivered in publick.

When they were gone, such of the Clergy as were present entered in consultation what was fittest to be done for staying the defection of the people; and in end resolved, that every learned man of the Abbey and University should preach in the Parish-Churches on Sundays, the Sub-prior beginning, the Officials following, and the rest according to their seniority; eschewing all of them to speak of any controverted point which might breed question, and minister unto people occasion of talk. *John Knox*, who by this mean was excluded from the Pulpit on the Sunday, preached on the week-days sometimes, none daring to offer him any wrong, because of the fear they stood in of them within the Castle. A consultation of the Clergy, how to stay the defection of the people.

But *John Rough*, being grieved with the wicked and licentious living of the Soldiers and others in the Castle, took his leave of them and departed into *England*: preaching some years in the Towns of *Carlile*, *Berwick*, and *Newcastle*, he was afterwards provided to a Benefice by the Archbishop of *York*, not far from the Town of *Hull*, and resided upon it until the death of King *Edward* the Sixth. In the time of Queen *Mary*'s Persecution he fled with the wife that he had married into *Friesland*, and won his living with the knitting of Caps, Hose, and such like wares; and in *November* 1557. coming to *London* for providing some necessaries to maintain his trade, was apprehended by the Queens Vice-Chamberlain at the *Saracens* Head in *Islington*, where they who professed Religion used quietly to meet. *John Rough*, forsaking those in the Castle, goeth into *England*.

Being brought before *Bonner* Bishop of *London*, and questioned if at any time since his last coming into *England* he had preached; he answered, *That he had not preached; but in some places where godly people were assembled, he did read the Prayers of the Communion-Book set forth in the Reign of King* Edward *the Sixth*. And being asked what his judgment was of the said Book, he confessed, *That he did approve the same, as agreeing in all points with the Word of God*. The Bishop used many perswasions to make him recant, and detained him some weeks in prison, to try what he would do: but finding him resolute and constant in his profession, he brought him forth to be judged. Where (one *Morgan* a Bishop of S. *Davids* assisting) he was charged, first, *That being a Priest, and in Orders, he had married a Wife*; next, *That he refused to use the Latine Service*; and thirdly, *That he would not go to the Mass*. To the first point he answered. *That Orders were not an impediment to Marriage, and that he had done lawfully in taking a Wife*. To the second and third he said, *If he were to live* Methuselahs *days, he would neither use the Latine Service, nor be present at Mass, which he counted abominable*. Upon these answers he was condemned, degraded, and put in the hands of the Secular Magistrate, who the next morning, being the 21 of *November*, caused him to be burnt in *Smithfield*. Thus ended that worthy Minister and Martyr of Christ, of whom I thought fit in this place to say so much, though his sufferings fell out some years after. He is brought in question, and examined by *Bonner* Bishop of *London*. He suffered Martyrdom, and is burnt in *Smithfield*.

The Summer following, about the beginning of *June*, the Absolution promised to those of the Castle returned from *Rome*; whereupon the Keepers were required to render the House, according to the Capitulation made. But they alledging the Absolution not to be sufficient, because of some words contained in the Bull, wherein it was said, *remittimus crimen irremissibile*, we remit a crime which cannot be remitted, refused to accept the same. It was answered that such a clause was insert only for aggravating the crime, and that the Absolution was in it self valid enough. But they would not be satisfied; and so complaining that promise was not kept with them, resolved to stand to their defence. *An.* 1547. The Absolution returned from *Rome*, doth not satisfy them.

In the end of the same month there arrived twenty one Gallies sent from *France*, under the command of *Leon Strozius*, within sight of the Castle. The Governor was at that time in the borders, and upon advertisement of the Gallies arriving, The Castle of S. *Andrews* again besieged at the coming of the *French* Gallies.

An. 1547. arriving, came with ſuch diligence, as divers who belonged to the Caſtle being in the City had no leiſure to re-enter, and ſome who were gone thither for private buſineſs were forced to ſtay within. Shortly after his coming the ſiege was confirmed by Sea and Land, trenches caſt, and the Cannons planted, ſome in the Abbey ſteeple, ſome in S. *Salvators*, and ſome in the ſtreet that leads to the Caſtle.

The Caſtle beſieged and battered by Land and Sea.

Then began the battery both by Sea and Land, but that of the Sea did no great harm. The ſiege continuing all the month of *July*, upon the twenty ninth day in the South-quarter (on which the Cannon had played furiouſly that morning) a great breach was made: this terrifying the defendants, who to that time ſhewed great courage, expecting relief from *England* (and indeed a naval Army was prepared to come, but King *Henry* dying about the ſame time it was ſtayed) beſide the danger they apprehended of the breach, the Plague within the houſe was hot, and thereof every day a number died. So perceiving no help, and the ſickneſs increaſing, they came to a Capitulation, where it was agreed, that the lives of all within the Caſtle ſhould be ſaved, the Principals tranſported unto *France*, and if they liked not to remain there, be conveighed upon the *French* Kings charges to what Country they pleaſed, *Scotland* excepted. Immediately the Caſtle was rendered to the *French* Captain, who ſent his men to receive the priſoners, and make ſpoil of all that was in the Houſe. They found of victuals great ſtore, wherewith they furniſhed the Gallies. But the Cardinals treaſure and houſhold-ſtuff, which was very pretious, pleaſed them better. All this with the wealth the defendants had (for they had brought all their ſubſtance thither) fell into the hands of the *French*. The fourth or fifth day after the Gallies put to Sea, and about the midſt of *Auguſt* arrived ſafe at *Roan* in *Normandy*, where ſome of the priſoners were incarcerated; others detained all the winter in the Gallies, eſpecially *John Knox*, Mr. *James Balfour*, with his Brothers *David* and *Gilbert*. The Caſtle, after the *French* were gone, was by act of Councel demoliſhed: which ſome ſaid was done to ſatisfie the Popes Law, that ordains *the places where Cardinals are ſlain to be ruinated:* but the true cauſe was, the fear the Governor had that *England* ſhould take the Houſe and fortifie it; as they did ſome others a ſhort while after.

The Caſtle reduced upon capitulation.

The Caſtle demoliſhed.

This revenge taken of the Cardinals death gave the Prieſts ſome ſatisfaction, who reckoned it a part of their happineſs to be rid in this ſort of *John Knox*, and others that they knew to be their enemies. But the Duke of *Somerſet* entring with a ſtrong Army into *Scotland*, in *September* next, put all in a new fear. The Governor ſent Proclamations through the Country, charging all that could bear Arms to meet at *Edinburgh* for the defence of the Realm. Many of all ſorts aſſembled and with greater diligence than was expected, which made the Duke of *Somerſet*, who was a Nobleman well inclined, and hated the ſhedding of blood, to write unto the Governour and Nobility, intreating them to conſider, 'That both the Ar-
'mies conſiſted of Chriſtian men, who above all things (if they were not forget-
'ful of their profeſſion) ought to wiſh peace and quietneſs, and have in deteſta-
'tion war and unjuſt force; as likewiſe to remember that the cauſe of the pre-
'ſent Invaſion did not proceed from covetouſneſs or malice, but from the deſire
'of a perpetual Peace, which could not be ſo firmly made up by any mean as by
'Marriage, which they knew was promiſed, and by the publick conſent of the
'whole Eſtates ratified, upon conditions more beneficial to the *Scots* than to
'the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that they were called not unto a ſervitude, but unto a
'common fellowſhip, and a liberal communication of all their fortunes, which
'could not but be more commodious to the *Scots* than to the *Engliſh*; the hope
'of advantage and the fear of injuries being always greater than the party that is
'more ſtrong, to that which is the weaker. And for the buſineſs in hand, he de-
'ſired them to conſider this eſpecially, that ſeeing there was a neceſſity of giving
'their Queen in marriage to ſome man, if they did either reſpect their profit or
'honor, they could not make a better choice than of a King their neighbor, born
'in the ſame Iſle, joyned in propinquity of blood, inſtructed in the ſame Laws,
'educated in the ſame manners and language, ſuperior in riches and in all exter-
'nal commodities and ornaments, and ſuch a one as would bring with him a per-
'petual

The Duke of *Somerſet* invadeth *Scotland*.

His Letter to the Governor and Nobility.

'petual peace, together with the oblivion of ancient grudges and hatreds. For *An.* 1548.
'ſhould they take a ſtranger to be their King, differing from themſelves in lan-
'guage, manners and laws, great evils and diſcommodities could not but ariſe;
'as they might know by that which had fallen out in the like caſe to other nations,
'by whoſe enſample he wiſhed they ſhould be made wiſe. As for the part of *Eng-*
'*land*, he ſaid, if they did find the minds of the *Scots* not eſtranged from Peace,
'they would remit ſomewhat of their right, and be contented that the young
'Queen ſhould be kept amongſt themſelves until ſhe were fit for Marriage, and
'might chuſe a Husband to her ſelf by advice of the Nobility; during which time
'all hoſtility ſhould ceaſe betwixt the two Kingdoms; it being provided that the
'Queen ſhould not be ſent to any foreign Country, nor contracted in marriage
'with the *French* King, nor any other Prince: which if the *Scots* would faithfully
'promiſe, he would preſently return with his Army, and recompence all injuries
'done ſince his coming into *Scotland*, at the ſight and eſtimation of honeſt men.

This Letter the Governor communicated to his brother, and to a few others on whoſe counſel he depended, ſuch as *George Dury* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, Mr. *Archibald Beaton*, and Mr. *Hugh Rig* a Lawyer, who gave him advice to ſuppreſs the Letter: for they feared, if the offers were publiſhed, the greater part of the Nobility would embrace the ſame: and inſtead thereof they made a rumour to be diſperſed through the Army, that the *Engliſh* were come to take away the Queen by force, and bring the Kingdom into ſubjection. The Nobles and whole Army believing this to be the effect of the Letter, became mightily incenſed. Nor did any kithe ſo fooliſh as the Prieſts and Clergy-men, who, dreaming of nothing but Victory, cried out, that the *Engliſh* Hereticks had no ſpirits, and durſt not come to Battel. But they found themſelves deceived; for upon Saturday, the tenth of *September*, 1547. the Armies joyning, the *Scots* were put to the worſe, and many thouſands ſlain, few in the fight (which laſted not long) but exceeding many in the chaſe. The *Engliſh* purſuing the Victory came forwards to *Leith*, where they remained eight days, dividing the ſpoil and priſoners; and in that time ſurpriſed the Iſles of *Inchkeith* and *Inchcolm* in the river of *Forth*, with *Broughtie* Caſtle in the mouth of *Tay*, which places they ſtrongly fortified. In their return homewards they took the Caſtle of *Home*, with the houſe of *Faſcaſtle*, and placed Garriſons in the Towns of *Haddington*, *Lawder* and *Roxborough*. The Governor, the Biſhop his brother, and ſuch of the Nobles as eſcaped in the flight, went to *Striveling*, and there taking counſel what ſhould be done with the young Queen, concluded to ſend her to the Caſtle of *Dunbritton*, under the cuſtody of the Lords *Areskin* and *Levingſton*, and to adverti ſe the King of *France* how matters went, intreating of him a ſupply both of men and money.

The Duke of Somerſets letters ſuppreſſed.

The Battel of Pinkie.

The young Queen conveyed to Dunbritton.

Hereupon the next Summer arrived at *Leith* three thouſand *Germans* under the charge of Count *Rhingrave*, with as many *French* commanded by *Monſieur de Andelot*, *Monſieur de Mallery*, and *Monſieur d' Oſſel*, *Monſieur d' Eſſe* being General of the whole. This ſupply did ſo hearten the Governor, as gathering together an Army he beleaguered the Town of *Haddington*, which the *Engliſh* had at that time made very ſtrong. The Nobility being there convened entered of new into a conſultation touching the young Queen, and the courſe that ſhould be taken with her. The *French* General deſired ſhe ſhould be ſent into *France*, and eſpouſed to the *Daulphin*; which the Queen her Mother longed to have done. The Noblemen were not of one mind: for ſuch as favoured the Reformation were of opinion that the conditions offered by *England* (which were then come to light) ſhould be embraced, becauſe that would bring with it ten years of Peace at leaſt; in which time if either King *Edward* of *England* or the young Queen ſhould depart this life, all things would return to their firſt eſtate; and if no ſuch things happened, yet the Kingdom being at reſt, and freed of the preſent Troubles, would grow to ſome better eaſe within it ſelf, and they might more maturely adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be taken. 'Delay, they ſaid, in matters of ſuch conſequence was ſafeſt, and that
'precipitation might bring with it a ſuddain, but untimely, repentance. The reſt ſtood all for the *French*, moſt of them being corrupted with gold, and others with

An. 1548. *The ſiege of Haddington.*

A counſel taken for ſending the young Queen to France.

An. 1550. large promiſes. The Governor himſelf had an annuity promiſed of twelve thouſand franks, and a company of men at Arms to the Earl of *Arran* his ſon. All theſe pretending the ſafety of the young Queen, did reaſon that there was no other way to be rid of the *Engliſh* Wars but that one: For as long as the *Engliſh* have any hope, ſaid he, to ſpeed, they will ſtill be troubling; but when they ſhall ſee the Queen gone, and that there is no remedy, they will ceaſe from their purſuit. The greateſt number inclining that way, it was concluded that the young Queen ſhould be conveyed to *France*. Shortly after the *French* Navy that lay at *Leith*, giving out that they were to return home, compaſſing the North Iſles, received her at *Dunbritton*, and after much toſſing at Sea did ſafely land her in *France*.

An. 1550. The Wars with *England* in the mean time went on, and continued full two years, till by the Treaty of *Bulloign*, in the year 1550, a Peace was made, the Lord *Chaſtilion* being Commiſſioner for the *French*, the Earl of *Bedford* for the *Engliſh*, and *David Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs* for the *Scots*. At that time were *Normand Leſley*, M. *Henry Balnaves*, *John Knox* and others, who had been kept partly in priſon and partly in the Gallies ſince the taking of S. *Andrews* Caſtle, put to liberty. Mr. *James Balfour* had freed himſelf long before by abjuring his Profeſſion, and was become Official to the Biſhop of S. *Andrews*; *James Melvil* died in the Tower of *Breſt* in *Britain*; *William Kircaldie*, *Peter Carmichal*, with *Robert* and *William Leſleys*, who were impriſoned in *Mont* S. *Michael*, found means to eſcape before the Treaty, and went into *England*. *Normand* after he was freed returned into *Scotland*, but fearing the Governour he went into *Denmark*; where not finding that kind reception he expected, he betook himſelf to *England*, and had an honourable penſion allowed him, which was thankfully anſwered during the life of King *Edward* the Sixth. Queen *Mary* ſucceeding, he found not the like favour, and thereupon went to *France*, where he had a company of men of Arms given him, with which he ſerved the *French* King in his wars againſt the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and in purſuing the ememy whom he had in chaſe was wounded with the ſhot of a Piſtol, whereof he died the day after at *Montruel*. He was a man of noble qualities, and full of courage, but falling unfortunately in the ſlaughter of the Cardinal, which he is ſaid at his dying to have ſore repented, he loſt himſelf and the expectation which was generally held of his worth.

Peace made with *England*. The priſoners taken in the Caſtle of S. *Andrews* put at liberty.

Normand Leſley his fortune and death.

The Country vexed with Juſtice Courts.

The Country, notwithſtanding the Peace made with *England*, was not in much better caſe; for the Governour, who was altogether ruled by the Biſhop his brother, going through the Country with Juſtice Courts (as they call them) vexed the people mightily: and whereas during the War men enjoyed the liberty of their profeſſion, a new Perſecution was raiſed, which took the beginning at one *Adam Wallace*, a ſimple man, but very zealous in his Religion. He was taken at *Winton* in *Lothian* by the Biſhops direction, and brought to his trial in the Church of Black Friers in *Edinburgh*; where, in preſence of the Governour, the Earl of *Argile*, great Juſtice of the Realm, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley*, *Glaincarne*, and divers others of the Nobility, he was accuſed, firſt, *of Uſurping the office of a Preacher, having no lawful calling thereto*; next, *of Baptizing one of his own children*; thirdly, *for denying Purgatory*; fourthly, *for maintaining that Prayers made to the Saints and for the dead were meerly ſuperſtitious*; and fifthly, *for calling the Maſs an idolatrous ſervice, and affirming that the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Conſecration, remained Bread and Wine.*

Adam Wallace accuſed of Hereſie.

His Anſwer.

To the firſt he anſwered, *That he never judged himſelf worthy of ſo excellent a vocation as is the calling of a Preacher, nor did he ever preſume to preach; only he confeſſed, that in ſome private places he did read a part of the Scripture at times, & make a ſhort exhortation thereupon to thoſe that would hear him.* It being replied that he ought not to have medled with the Scriptures; he ſaid, *That he eſteemed it the duty of every Chriſtian to ſeek the knowledge of Gods Word, and the aſſurance of his own Salvation, which was not to be found but in the Scriptures.* One that ſtood by ſaying, What then ſhall be left to the Biſhops and Churchmen to do, if every man ſhould be a babler upon the Bible? he anſwered, *It becomes you to ſpeak more reverently of God and of his bleſſed Word; and if the Judge did right, he would puniſh you for your Blaſphemy. But to*

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your

your queſtion, I ſay, that albeit you and I and five thouſand more would read the Bible, and confer together upon it, yet we leave more to the Biſhops to do than either they will do or can; for we leave to them the preaching of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and the feeding of the flock which he hath redeemed by his own bloud, which is a burthen heavy enough; neither do we them any wrong in working out our own Salvation ſo far as we may. An. 1550.

To the ſecond he anſwered, *That it was as lawful for him to baptize his own childe, ſince he could not have a true Miniſter, as it was to* Abraham *to circumciſe* Iſmael *and his family.*

To the third and fourth heads more generally he ſaid, *That he never believed nor maintained any thing but that he found in the book hanging at his girdle*; which was the Bible in *French*, *Dutch* and *Engliſh*. And being urged to be more particular, he anſwered, *That if he were diſpoſed to ſpeak of theſe matters, he would require a more upright and indifferent Judge.* The Earl of *Huntley* upon that ſaying he was a fool to deſire another Judge than the Governor and the Biſhops there preſent; he replied, *That the Biſhops could not be his Judges, becauſe they were open enemies to the Doctrine he profeſſed. And for the Governor, he doubted if he had the knowledge to diſcern lies from truth, and the inventions of men from the true worſhip of God. The Judge that he deſired*, he ſaid, *was the Book of God, by which if he ſhould be convinced to have taught, ſpoken, or done in matters of Religion any thing that was repugnant to the will of God, he would not refuſe to die; but if he tried innocent, and was found not to have ſpoken or done any thing contrary thereto, then he deſired the protection of the Governor and Nobility againſt the Tyranny of malicious men.*

Being enquired what he did think of the Maſs, he ſaid, *That he had read the Bible in three languages, and had never found the word* Maſs *in them all; and that the thing which was in greateſt eſtimation with men was nothing but abomination in the ſight of God.* Then did all the Company cry out *Hereſie, Hereſie, let him be condemned.* So the poor man was ſentenced to be an Heretick, and put in the hands of Sir *John Campbel* of *Lundie*, Juſtice-deputy, who having adjudged him to die, ſent him back to priſon, becauſe the night was coming on. All that night he ſpent in ſinging of Pſalmes, which he had learned by heart, and the next day was led forth to the fire, which was prepared on the Caſtle-hill, being inhibited to ſpeak unto the people; yet when he came to the place of execution he intreated the beholders, *Not to offend with the Truth becauſe of his ſufferings*, ſaying, *The diſciple is not above his Maſter*: and as he was proceeding, the Provoſt of the Town, who had the overſight of the Execution, did interrupt him, ſaying, that he would not be permitted to ſpeak to the people; whereupon having in ſome few words commended his Soul to God, he took his death moſt patiently. Acts of Martyrs.

The ſame year there aroſe a great contention amongſt the Church-men for ſaying the *Pater Noſter*, upon this occaſion. One *Richard Marſhal*, Prior of the Black Friers at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, had been in S. *Andrews*, and in one of his Sermons taught, that the *Pater Noſter ſhould be ſaid unto God only, and not unto the Saints.* Some Doctors of the Univerſity taking exception againſt his Doctrine, ſtirred up a Gray Frier called Frier *Tottis* to confute him, and prove that the *Pater Noſter* might be ſaid unto the ſaints. The Frier, an audacious and ignorant fellow, took the matter in hand, and reading this Text out of the 5. of S. *Matthews* Goſpel, *Bleſſed are the poor in ſpirit, for unto them belongeth the kingdom of Heaven*, gathered upon it, 'That the *Pater noſter* might be ſaid to *Saints*, becauſe all the Petitions in 'the Prayer, ſaid he, appertain to the Saints. For if we meet an old man in the 'ſtreet, we will ſay, *Good morrow, Father*; which more in our prayers may we call 'the Saints *our Fathers*. And ſeeing we grant they are *in Heaven*, we may ſay to 'every one of them, *Our Father, which art in Heaven.* Then we know, ſaid he, God 'hath made their *names holy*: ſo we may ſay to any of the Saints, *Hallowed be thy 'name.* And as they are in the *Kingdom* of Heaven, ſo that *Kingdom* is theirs by 'poſſeſſion; therefore when we pray for the *Kingdom* of Heaven, we may ſay to 'any of them, *Thy kingdom come.* In like manner, except their *will* had been the '*will* of God, they had never come to that Kingdom; therefore ſeeing their *will* is 'Gods *will*, we may ſay to every one of them, *Thy will be done.* But when he came A contention among Church men for ſaying of *Pater noſter.* The fooliſh preaching of a Frier in S. *Andrews* upon this ſubject.

to

An. 1553. to the fourth Petition, he was much troubled to find a colour for it, confeſſing 'it was not in the Saints power to *give us daily bread*; yet they may pray, ſaid he, 'to God for us, that he will *give us our daily bread.* The like gloſs he made upon the reſt of the Petitions, but with ſo little ſatisfaction of the hearers, as they all fell a laughing, and the children meeting him in the ſtreets did cry and call him *Frier Pater noſter*; whereof he grew ſo aſhamed, that he left the City.

Acts of Martyrs, *p.* 1274. Yet in the Univerſity the contention ceaſed not; whereupon the Doctors did aſſemble to diſpute, and decide the queſtion. In that meeting ſome held that the *Pater noſter* was ſaid to God *Formaliter*, and to Saints *Materialiter*; others, not liking the diſtinction, ſaid that the *Pater Noſter* ought to be ſaid to God *Principaliter*, and to Saints *minus Principaliter*; others would have it *Ultimate & non Ultimate*; others *Primario, & Secundario*; and ſome (wherewith the moſt voices went) ſaid that the *Pater Noſter* ſhould be ſaid to God, *capiendo Strictè*, and to Saints, *capiendo Largè*. Yet did they not ſettle upon the diſtinction; and after divers meetings, when they could not agree, by common conſent the deciſion was remitted to the Provincial Synod, which was to meet at *Edinburgh* in *January* following. A ſimple fellow that ſerved the Sub-prior in his chamber for the time, thinking there was ſome great matter in hand that made the Doctors to convene ſo often, asked him one night as he went to bed, what the matter was. The Sub-prior merrily anſwering, *Tom* (that was the fellows name) *we cannot agree whom to the Pater noſter ſhould be ſaid.* He ſuddenly replied, *Sir, whom to ſhould it be ſaid but unto God?* Then ſaid the Sub-Prior, *What ſhall we do with the Saints?* He anſwered, *Give them Aves and Creeds enow in the Devils name, for that may ſuffice them.* This anſwer going abroad, many ſaid, *He hath given a wiſer deciſion than all the Doctors had done with their diſtinctions.*

A pleaſant diſcourſe and jeſt of the Sub-priors ſervant.

The Deciſion of the provincial Synod. When the Synod convened, the queſtion was again agitated, and after much reaſoning, the ſame being put to voices, it was found that the *Pater noſter might be ſaid unto the Saints.* But the Biſhops and ſuch as had any judgment would not ſuffer the concluſion to be enacted, ordaining the Sub-prior at his return to S. *Andrews*, for ſetling the minds of people, to ſhew that the *Pater noſter ought to be ſaid to God, yet ſo that the Saints ought alſo to be invocated.* And thus ended that contention. In this meeting order was taken for publiſhing an *Engliſh* Catechiſm, containing a ſhort explanation of the Commandments, Belief and Lords Prayer; and the Curates enjoyned to read a part thereof every Sunday and Holy-day to the people, when there was no Sermon. This being imprinted, was ſold for two pence, and therefore called by the vulgar, *The two-penny Faith.*

The Catechiſm called *The two-penny Faith.*

A Provincial Synod kept at *Linlithgow.* The year following another Provincial Council was kept at *Linlithgow*, in which the maintainers of any Opinions contrary to the Church of *Rome* were accuſed, and the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* made in the time of Pope *Paul* the Third received. Some Acts were made for reforming corrupt lives of the Clergy, but little or no execution followed; they to whom the correction belonged being themſelves in the higheſt meaſure faulty and culpable.

An. 1553. King *Edward* the Sixth of *England* dieth. But the next year brought with it an alteration in both Kingdoms, to the Clergies great content: For in *England* King *Edward* the Sixth departed this life, a Prince of rare Piety, and the ſpecial comfort of thoſe who profeſſed the Reformed Religion; in whoſe place Queen *Mary* ſucceeded, one wholly devoted to the Pope and his faction: And at home the Governor was induced by *Robert Carnegie* (on whom he relied much) and by *Panter* Biſhop of *Roſs* to dimit the Regency to the Queen-mother, of whom the Clergy held themſelves more aſſured. She following the directions of her brother, the Duke of *Guiſe*, and the Cardinal of *Lorain*, ſet her ſelf to maintain Popiſh Superſtition at the uttermoſt, uſing leſs cruelty than did Queen *Mary*, but more policy, and to the ſame end. So as now the fear of change in Religion was gone, and the hopes quite daſht of thoſe that ſought Reformation: yet the Lord by his Providence did otherwiſe diſpoſe things, and made that a mean to advance Religion amongſt us which men thought ſhould be utterly extinguiſhed; for ſome of thoſe that fled from Queen *Marys* Perſecution taking their refuge unto this Kingdom, did not only help to keep in the Light which was begun

Queen-Regent admitted to rule by diſmiſſion of the Governor.

to

to ſhine, but made the Sun break up more clear than before. *An.* 1554.

William Harlow, a man of ſimple and mean condition, came firſt into the Country. He had ſerved ſome years in the *Engliſh* Church with good approbation, and was at this time very comfortable to the faithful. *William Harlow* a Miniſter.

After him came *John Willock*, a *Franciſcan* ſometime in the Town of *Aire*, who for love of Religion had left the Country, and lived in *England*. When the Perſecution aroſe there, he fled into *Embden* in *Frieſland*, where he profeſſed Medicine, and by that occaſion was made known to *Anna* Counteſs of *Frieſland*, then a widow, who imployed him in a Commiſſion to the Queen-Regent in the year 1554. His Commiſſion giving him ſome liberty, he kept moſt company with thoſe he ſaw well-affected in religion; and during the time of his aboad was a great encourager of the Profeſſors. Returning the next year with commendatory Letters from the ſame Counteſs to the Queen-Regent, he made his ſtay in *Edinburgh*, where, notwithſtanding he was viſited with an heavy ſickneſs for divers months, he ceaſed not daily to inſtruct and exhort ſuch as came unto him, who were neither few, nor of mean ſort. *John Willock* a Convert. *An.* 1554.

In the end of the year *John Knox* came into *Scotland*, to whom many of good note repaired; for he taught daily in the houſe of one *James Sim* at *Edinburgh*, where he was ſecretly kept. In his teaching he labored chiefly to inform his hearers, that in no caſe it was lawful to be preſent at the Maſs, or to partake of the Papiſtical Sacraments. *William Maitland* younger of *Lethington*, a man of good learning and utterance reſorting often to his Sermons, and perceiving his vehemency in that Point, took occaſion one day in the preſence of his Auditors to ſay, 'That he 'did not think his Doctrine well-grounded, and that wiſe men ought to ſerve the 'time and not expoſe their lives to unneceſſary dangers, and ſo make themſelves un-'profitable to the Church. For even the Apoſtle S. *Paul*, ſaid he, to eſchew the 'tumult of the people at *Jeruſalem*, went into the Temple, and purified himſelf 'with four men that had a vow upon them, which otherwiſe than for eſchewing 'the preſent danger he would not have done. To this *John Knox* anſwered, *That men ought ſo to ſerve the time, as they neglect not their obedience unto God, whoſe Commandment, how great ſoever the danger be, may not be tranſgreſſed. For the enſample alledged*, he ſaid, *the diſſimilitude was great, ſeeing to go into the Temple to purifie and pay vows was ſometimes commanded by God himſelf, whereas the Maſs from the firſt invention of it was abominable Idolatry, and never allowed of God.* Farther he ſaid, *that it might juſtly be doubted if either* S. Pauls *fact, or the advice that* S. James *and the Elders of* Jeruſalem *gave him, had any good warrant, ſeeing the event proved not ſuch as they did promiſe to themſelves; for* S. Paul *was ſo far from purchaſing thereby the favour of the Jews, as to the contrary they riſing in a tumult threw him forth of the Temple, and had almoſt killed him; ſo as it ſeemed God did not allow his doing, for that it ſerved to confirm the obſtinate Jews in their ſuperſtition.* By theſe and the like anſwers to the reſt of the allegations propounded, the hearers were ſo ſatisfied, as they reſolved to go no more to Maſs, but to make an open ſeparation, whoſe enſample divers others both of the Town and Country followed. *John Knox* returneth into *Scotland*. *John Knox* his conference with young *Lethington*, touching the preſence at the Maſs.

This being obſerved by the Prieſts and others of the inferior Clergy, they complained to the Biſhops, and ſhewed how the Church-ſervice was contemned, and people drawn away to private Conventicles. The Biſhops meaning the caſe to the Queen-Regent, ſhe was much commoved; yet adviſed them to uſe their own authority, and ſpare her for a little time, leſt the Articles of the Marriage which was then treating betwixt her daughter and the *Daulphin* of *France* might receive ſome croſs at the Convention of the Eſtates. Hereupon they took counſel to call *John Knox*, and ſummoned him to appear in the Church of Black Friers at *Edinburgh* the fifteenth of *May*. But when the day came, they took a new device, and deſerted the Diet, pretending ſome informality in the Summons; howbeit the true cauſe was, that a number of Barons and Gentlemen were come to the Town to aſſiſt him. After that time his Preaching grew publick, and was more frequented than before. The Earls of *Glencarn* and *Marſhall* repaired daily thereto, and were ſo taken with his Sermons, as they did counſel him to write unto the Queen-Regent, and The Prieſts offended at the diſhant of the Maſs. *John Knox* cited, and the Diet deſerted.

An. 1556. and intreat her to make a Reformation of the Church; which he did. The Letter was delivered by the Earl of *Glencarne*; but ſhe calling it a Paſquil, gave the ſame to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and made no more accompt thereof. This is that Letter which was afterwards publiſhed in Print, and intituled, *A Letter to Queen Dowager.*

He goeth to *Geneva.*

Letters about the ſame time were brought to *John Knox* from the *Engliſh* Church at *Geneva*, declaring that they had elected him to be their Preacher, and requeſting him to come and accept the Charge. This Letter he communicated with thoſe that were his ordinary auditors; and when he ſaw them exceedingly grieved for his departing, gave his promiſe to return, how ſoon they ſhould find it fit to recal him.

He is condemned as an Heretick, and burnt *in effigie.*

Soon after he took leave of them and went to his journey; but was not well gone, when upon a new Citation directed by the Clergy (becauſe he appeared not) he was condemned for an Heretick, and burnt *in effigie* at the Mercat-croſs of *Edinburgh.* This was done in the month of *July*, 1556. The copy of the Sentence being ſent unto him, he publiſhed an Apology, intituling it *An Appellation from the Clergy to the Nobility and Commons of* Scotland.

An. 1556. Divers prodigious ſigns.

This year many prodigious ſigns were obſerved: A Comet of that kind which the Aſtronomers call *πογων*, the vulgars a firie Biſſome, ſhined the whole months of *November*, *December*, and *January*; great Rivers in the middeſt of Winter dried up, and in the Summer ſwelled ſo high as divers Villages were therewith drowned, and numbers of Cattel feeding in the valley-grounds carried to the Sea; Whales of a huge greatneſs were caſt out into ſundry parts of the River of *Forth*; Hail-ſtones of the bigneſs of a Doves egg falling in many parts deſtroyed abundance of Cornes; and, which was moſt terrible, a firie Dragon was ſeen to flie low upon the earth, vomiting forth fire both in the day and night ſeaſon, which laſted a long time, and put the people to a neceſſity of watching their houſes and corn-yards. Theſe direful ſignes (as every man is led by his fancy to preſage) were taken by ſome to be prognoſticks of great Troubles that ſhould enſue upon the Match with *France*; others ſaid that thereby was ſignified ſome great change in the eſtate of the Church.

The eſteem of the Clergy decayeth.

And indeed after this the eſtimation of the Clergy daily diminiſhed, and divers of that number relinquiſhing their Order, made open profeſſion of the Truth. Mr. *John Dowglas*, a *Carmelite* Frier, forſaking his Order, became a Chaplain to

Mr. *John Dowglas a Carmelite* forſaketh his Order.

the Earl of *Argile*, who reſided then at Court, and ſpoke openly in his Sermons againſt Popiſh Superſtitions. In *Dundy*, *Paul Methven* did publickly exhort the people to renounce the Doctrine of *Rome*, and ſubmit themſelves to the Doctrine of Chriſt. And in all the parts of the Country ſome were daily breaking forth, eſpecially from the Cloiſters, and declaiming againſt the Corruptions of the Church. The Biſhops perceiving it would be to no purpoſe to convene the Preachers before themſelves for Hereſie, moved the Queen-Regent to call them before the Council for raiſing Mutinies, and ſtirring up people to Sedition, hoping

The Preachers cited before the Council.

that way at leaſt to reſtrain their publick teaching: but at the day appointed for their appearance, ſuch numbers of people did accompany them, as it was held ſafeſt not to call them till the multitude was diſperſt; and for that effect a

A Proclamation for the Borders.

Proclamation was given out, charging all perſons that were come to the Town without licence of the Authority to repair immediately to the Borders, and attend the Lieutenant in the ſervice againſt *England* for the ſpace of 15 days.

The Gentlemen of the Weſt complain of their oppreſſion.

The Gentlemen of the Weſt-country, who were but lately returned from the ſame ſervice, eſteeming this a ſort of oppreſſion, went in a tumult to the Palace, and entering the Queens Privy-chamber, complained of the unreaſonable Proclamation that was ſent forth. The Queen began to excuſe the matter, and ſhew the neceſſity of their attendance for ſome ſhort time; but they would not be ſatisfied. And one *James Chalmers* of *Gaitgirth*, a froward and furious man, ſtepping forward, ſaid, *We know, Madam, that this is the device of the Biſhops who ſtand by you; we avow to God it ſhall not go ſo: they oppreſs us & our poor tenants for feeding their idle bellies, they trouble our Preachers, and ſeek to undo them and us all; we will not ſuffer it any longer.*

longer. And with thoſe words every man made to his weapon. The Queen being extremely feared gave him many good words, praying them to uſe no violence, and ſaying that ſhe meant no ill to their Preachers; that ſhe would hear the controverſie betwixt the Biſhops and them; and that the preſent Diet with the Proclamation given out ſhould be diſcharged. So the force ceaſed, and all was quiet for that time. *An.* 1558.

Not long after there arrived a meſſenger from the *French* King with Letters to the Nobility, deſiring that the Marriage ſhould be conſummated betwixt the young Queen and the *Daulphin* his Son, and that certain Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent to aſſiſt the ſolemnity. A Convention of Eſtates being called to this purpoſe in *December* following, choice was made of eight perſons to go in that journey. For the Spiritual Eſtate were named *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, and *James Stewart* Prior of St. *Andrews*, baſe Brother to the young Queen; For the Nobility, *Gilbert Kennedy* Earl of *Caſſils*, *George Leſly* Earl of *Rothes*, and *James* Lord *Fleming*; for the Burrows, *George* Lord *Seaton* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* Provoſt of *Montroſſe*. Commiſſioners choſen for the young Queens marriage with the *Daulphin*.

The great Diſaſters that happened both in their going and returning brought many to think the Marriage would not prove happy and proſperous. For having ſhipped to *Leith* in the month of *February*, they were diſperſed by a mighty tempeſt, and one of their Veſſels that carried their horſes caſt away at S. *Ebbes* head, before they left the *Scottiſh* ſhore; another, wherein the Earl of *Rothes* and Biſhop of *Orkney* ſailed, with all the furniture for the Marriage, (which was very rich and coſtly) periſhed upon the coaſt of *France*, nigh unto *Bulloign*, the Earl and Biſhop hardly eſcaping by the ſhip-boat, which carried them to land. Neither had they any better fortune in their return homewards; for at *Diep* divers of the chief perſons fell ſick and died. The Biſhop of *Orkney*, a man of ſingular wiſdom and experience, (who in his time had performed many honourable Ambaſſages to the credit and benefit of his Countrey) ended there his life the 14 of *September*, 1558. The Earl of *Rothes* died two days after him, and the Earl of *Caſſils*, Theſaurer of the Realm, a vertuous Nobleman, went the ſame way. The Lord *Fleming*, a brave young Nobleman, returned to *Paris*, ſuſpecting ſome contagion, and deceaſed in *December* following. Theſe deaths falling out ſo ſuddenly together, bred a ſuſpicion in many that they were made away by poiſon, which was the rather believed, becauſe the *French* King was known to be diſpleaſed for their refuſe of the matrimonial Crown to his Son. However it was, the apprehenſion taken therefore begat a great hatred of the *French* among the people of this Realm. The Misfortunes that happened in that voyage. *An.* 1558.

In the month of *April*, *Walter Mill*, an old decrepit Prieſt, having ceaſed from ſaying of Maſs, became ſuſpected, and was upon the ſame apprehended in *Dyſert* by Sir *Gorge Strachen* and Sir *Hugh Torry*, two of the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* Prieſts: He was kept in the Caſtle, and earneſtly laboured to recant and acknowledge his Errors; but continuing firm and conſtant in his Opinions, his trial at laſt made, he was accuſed in preſence of the Biſhops of S. *Andrewes*, *Murray*, *Brichen*, *Cathnes*, and *Athens*; the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Lundors*, *Balmerinoth*, and *Couper*; Dean *John Winrame*, Sub-prior, *John Griſon*, a black Frier, Mr. *William Cranſton*, Provoſt of the old College, and divers other Doctors of the Univerſity. When he came into the Church, and was led to the place where they had appointed him to ſtand, he looked ſo feeble, partly by age and travel, partly by ill entertainment, as it was feared none ſhould hear what he anſwered. Yet how ſoon he began to ſpeak, he delivered his mind with ſuch quietneſs and courage as amazed his very enemies. The Hiſtory of *Walter Mill* Martyr.

Sir *Andrew Oliphant*, one of the Archbiſhop's Prieſts commanding him to ariſe (for he was upon his knees) and anſwer to the Articles, ſaid, *Sir* Walter Mill, *get up and anſwer, for you keep my Lord here too long.* He nottheleſs continued his devotion, and that done he aroſe, and ſaid, *he ought to obey God more than men; I ſerve a mightier Lord than your Lord is. And where you call me* Sir Walter, *they call me* Walter, *and not* Sir Walter: *I have been too long one of the* Pope's Knights. *Now ſay what you have to ſay.* His Examination.

Oliphant

An. 1558. *Oliphant* then began with this queſtion, *What thinkeſt thou of Prieſts Marriage?* He anſwered, *I eſteem it a bleſſed bond, ordained by God, approved by Chriſt, and made free to all ſorts of men; but you abhor it, and in the mean time take other mens wives and daughters; you vow Chaſtity, and keep it not.*

Oliphant proceeding ſaid, *Thou ſayeſt that there is not ſeven Sacraments.* He anſwered, *Give me the Lord's Supper and Baptiſm, and take you the reſt and part them amongſt you.*

Oliph. *Thou ſayeſt that the Maſs is Idolatry.* He anſwered, *A Lord ſendeth and calleth many to his Dinner, and when it is ready, ringeth the Bell, and they come into the Hall, but he turning his back upon the gueſts eateth all himſelf, giving them no part; and ſo do you.*

Oliph. *Thou denieſt the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body of Chriſt really in fleſh and blood.* He anſwered, *The Scripture is not to be taken carnally, but ſpiritually; and your Maſs is wrong: for Chriſt was once offered on the Croſs for mans ſin, and will never be again, for then he put end to all ſacrifices.*

Oliph. *Thou denieſt the office of the Biſhop.* He anſwered, *I affirm they whom you call Biſhops do not Biſhops works, nor uſe the Offices of Biſhops, but live after their own ſenſual pleaſures, taking no care for the Flock, nor yet regarding the word of God.*

Oliph. *Thou ſpeakeſt againſt Pilgrimage, and calleſt it a Pilgrimage to Whoredom.* He anſwered, *I ſay that Pilgrimage is not commanded in the Scripture, and that there is no greater Whoredom in any place than at your Pilgrimages, except it be in the common Brothels.*

Oliph. *Thou preacheſt privately in houſes, and ſometimes in the fields.* He anſwered, *Tea man, and upon the Sea too, when I am ſailing.*

Oliph. *If thou wilt not recant thy Opinions, I will pronounce Sentence againſt thee.* He anſwered, *I know I muſt die once, therefore, as Chriſt ſaid to* Judas, Quod facis fac cito; *you ſhall know that I will not recant the Truth, for I am corn, and no chaff; I will neither be blown away with the wind, nor burſt with the flail, but will abide both.*

Theſe anſwers he gave with great boldneſs, to the admiration of all that were preſent.

Sentence pronounced againſt *Walter Mill.* The Bailiff of the Regalty refuſeth to be Judge.

Then did *Oliphant* pronounce Sentence, ordaining him to be delivered to the temporal Judge, and burnt as an Heretick. But becauſe no man could be found to ſupply the place of a Judge, (for *Patrick Lermonth* Bailiff of the Regalty did abſolutely refuſe) nor in the whole City ſo much as a cord to be had for Money to tye him after he ſhould be condemned, his life for one day was prolonged. The next morning one of the Archbiſhop's domeſticks, called *Alexander Somervaile*, a wicked and flagitious man, ſupplying the place of the temporal Judge, condemned him to the fire; and becauſe no cords could be had, the ropes of the Archbiſhops Pavilion were taken to ſerve the purpoſe.

His conſtancy at his ſuffering.

As the time of his ſuffering drew near, his conſtancy and courage ſtill encreaſed; for being conveyed to the fire with a number of armed men, when he was come to the place, and the Prieſt *Oliphant* did command him to go to the ſtake, he ſaid, *No, I will not go, except thou put me up with thy hand; for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands on my ſelf; but wilt thou put to thy hand and take part of my death, thou ſhalt ſee me go up gladly.* Then *Oliphant* putting him forward, he went up with a chearful countenance, ſaying, *Introibo ad altare Dei*; and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak to the people. *Oliphant* and the Executioners ſaid, that he had ſpoken too much, and that the Biſhops were offended with the delay. Yet ſome youths that ſtood by willed him to ſpeak what he pleaſed, giving the Executioners and Biſhops both to the Devil. So after he had made his Prayer upon his knees he aroſe, and ſtanding upon the coals, ſpake to the people a few words to this effect,

'Dear friends, the cauſe why I ſuffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge,
'though I acknowledge my ſelf a miſerable ſinner before God; but only for the
'defence of *Jeſus* Chriſt, ſet forth in the Old and New Teſtaments; for which as
'many faithful Martyrs have offered their lives moſt gadly, being aſſured after
'their death to enjoy endleſs felicity; ſo this day I praiſe God that he hath called
'me of his mercy amongſt the reſt of his Servants, to ſeal up his Truth with my
'life,

'life, which as I have received of him, ſo willingly I offer it to his glory. There- *An.* 1558.
'fore, as you would eſcape eternal death, be no more ſeduced with the Lies of
'the Prieſts, Monks, Friers, Priors, Abbots, Biſhops, and the reſt of the ſect of
'Antichriſt; but depend only upon *Jeſus* Chriſt and his mercy, that you may
'be delivered from condemnation.

The multitude that look'd on made a great lamentation, for they were exceedingly moved with his words. When the fire was kindled and began to flame, he cried, *Lord, have mercy on me; pray, good people, whileſt there is time*; and thus departed, ſhewing a wonderful courage and reſolution of ſpirit. The Citizens took his death ſo grievouſly, that, leſt it ſhould be forgotten, they made up a great Heap of ſtones in the place where his body was burnt; and when the Prieſts had cauſed the Heap twice or thrice to be carried away, denouncing ſuch as ſhould bring any ſtones thither accurſed, ſtill it was renewed, until watches were appointed to ſee who they were that brought any ſtones to the place, and charge given to apprehend them. The Epitaph made upon him is worthy the inſerting. The people exceedingly moved at his ſpeeches.

Non noſtra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ His Epitaph.
Armarunt hoſtes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Chriſti, ſacris ſignata libellis,
Quæ vitæ cauſa eſt, & mihi cauſa necis.

This man was the laſt Martyr that died in *Scotland* for Religion, and his death the very death of Popery in this Realm; for thereby the minds of men were ſo greatly enraged, as reſolving thereafter openly to profeſs the Truth, they did bind themſelves by promiſe and ſubſcription to oaths, if any ſhould be called in queſtion for matter of Religion at any time after, they ſhould take up Arms, and joyn in defence of their brethren againſt the tyrannous Perſecution of the Biſhops. His death, the death of Popery in this Kingdom.

The work of Reformation did hereupon take a beginning, the Story whereof before I ſet down (after I have remembred ſome worthy perſons that lived in thoſe times) I will add the Catalogue of our Biſhops in the reſt of the Sees of this Kingdom, ſo far as I have been informed or learned by diligent ſearch. The worthy men that lived in this time.

Sir *David Lindeſay* of *Mont* ſhall firſt be named, a man honorably deſcended, and greatly favored by King *James* the Fifth. Beſides his knowledge and deep judgment in Heraldry (whereof he was the chief) and in other publick affairs, he was moſt religiouſly inclined; but much hated by the Clergy, for the liberty he uſed in condemning the Superſtition of the Time, and rebuking their looſe and diſſolute lives. Nottheleſs he went unchallenged, and was not brought in queſtion; which ſhewed the good account wherein he was held. Divers Poeſies he wrought in his mother tongue, which gave evidence of his quickneſs of wit, and the knowledge he had in Hiſtories. In the beginning of the Governors Regency he did attend him, till the Governour miſled by ill counſel made his authority ſubject to the Cardinal. After that time he lived for the moſt part private, and died in a good age, the Queen Regent having the adminiſtration of affairs. Sir *David Lindeſay* of the *Mont*.

Next to him ſhall be remembred Mr. *Patrick Cockburn*, a Gentleman of the houſe of *Langton* in the *Merſe*. This man having attained by his ſtudies to great learning, lived a long time in the Univerſity of *Paris* well eſteemed. What courſe he took afterwards I know not, nor where he died; but by the Treatiſes yet extant that he wrote, it appeareth that he was a man of good Learning and a favourer of the Truth. Mr. *Patrick Cockburn*.

The third ſhall be *John Mackbrair*, a Gentleman of *Galloway*, who forſaking the Country for Religion, became a Preacher in the *Engliſh* Church: in the time of Queen *Marys* Perſecution he fled to *Frankford*, and ſerved the *Engliſh* Congregation as Miniſter. Afterwards called by ſome occaſion to the charge of a Church in the lower *Germany*, he continued there the reſt of his days. Some Homilies he left upon the Prophecy of *Hoſea*, and an Hiſtory of the beginning and progreſs of the *Engliſh* Church. *John Mackbrair*.

To theſe I ſhall add our Countryman *Robert Wachop*, though he lived and died an *Robert Wachop* Archbiſhop of *Armagh*.

An. 1130. an adversary to the Truth, seeing by his vertue and learning he purchased both credit and dignity in forein parts; and, which almost exceedeth belief, being blind from his very birth, only by learning the lessons and conferences of learned men; he grew to such knowledge, as in the University of *Paris* none of the Doctors was held more learned, nor had a more frequent auditory. Being afterward promoved to the Archbishoprick of *Armach* in *Ireland*, he was employed in divers Legations to the Emperor and King of *France* by Pope *Paul* the Third, which he discharged with such prudence, as he came to be greatly esteemed with all the Princes to whom he was known. At last in his return homewards from *Rome*, in the year 1551, he died at *Paris*, much lamented of all that University.

Coming now to set down the Catalogue of Bishops in the rest of the Sees, I shall keep the order of the Provinces, and begin with *Dunkeld*, the Bishop whereof hath hitherto been reckoned in the first place.

The Bishops of DUNKELD.

Dunkeld erected to be a Bishoprick.

In the City of *Dunkeld* there was of old an Abbey founded by *Constantine* the Third King of *Picts*, about the year 729, to the memory of S. *Columbe*, in which the *Culdees* were placed. King *David*, in the year 1130, did erect it to be a Bishops See; and recommending one *Gregorius* to the place, obtained Pope *Alexander* the Third his confirmation thereof. He sate 42 years, and was much favoured by that good King. The lands of *Anchtertail*, with divers others appertaining to that See, were of King *David* his gift. This Bishop died at *Dunkeld* in the year 1169.

The succession of Bishops in that See.

2. *Richard*, Chaplain to King *William*, was elected in his place, and consecrated in S. *Andrews* upon the Vigils of S. *Laurence* by *Richard* Bishop of S. *Andrews*. This Bishop was commended for vindicating the Church of *Abercorne* forth of the hands of a laick person named *John Avonele*, who claimed the Patronage thereof. He sate four years, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in S. *Colmes Inche* in the year 1173.

3. *Cormacus* succeeded in his place, to whom King *William* gave the lands of *Dalgathy*. He died in the year 1177.

4. In his place was chosen *Walter de Bidden*, who was Chancellor to King *William*; but he lived not many years.

5. *John Scot*, an *Englishman* born, being Arch-deacon of S. *Andrews*, had been elected Bishop of that See, but that his Election being withstood by the King, as we shewed before, he was after *Biddens* death promoved by the Popes consent to *Dunkeld*; a man that made conscience of his Charge, and was painful in his Office. The Country of *Argile* was at that time of the Diocese of *Dunkeld*, the people whereof did only speak *Irish*, and neither understood the Bishop, nor he them. Upon this he travelled to have the Diocese divided, and *Argile* erected into an Episcopal See; and to that effect sent a Letter to Pope *Clement* the Third, intreating that one *Evaldus* his Chaplain, who could speak *Irish*, a wise and godly person, might have the charge of that part committed to him: For, *How*, said he, *can I make an accompt to the Judge of the world in the last day, when I cannot be understood of them whom I teach? The maintenance is sufficient for two Bishops, if we be not prodigal of the Patrimony of Christ, and will live with that moderation which becometh his servants: it shall therefore be much better to diminish the charge, and increase the number of able workmen in the Lords field.* The Pope reading the Letter, and considering how earnest he was to be eased of his Charge, though to his own temporal loss, said, *It is the study of others to enlarge their bounds and livings, not caring how it goeth with the people; and here is one that requesteth his Benefice may be parted in two. O how few Bishops are now in the Christian world so disposed!* And so commending greatly the Bishops disposition, granted his request, sending back *Evaldus* (for he was the messenger) consecrated Bishop as was desired. The Bishop glad to have obtained his desire, entered *Evaldus* to the Charge, and followed diligently his own in that part which remained. Some few days before his death he rendred himself a Monk in *Newbotle*, and there departed this life in the year 1203. His body was interred

terred in the Quire of that Church upon the North ſide of the Altar. *William Bining*, afterwards Abbot of *Cowper*, did write his Life, but the ſtory is periſhed. An. 1210.

6. After his death *Richard Provand* King *Williams* Chaplain, was conſecrated Biſhop, and lived a few years only in the See, for he departed this world in the year 1210, and was buried in *Inchcolme*.

7. *John Leiceſter*, Couſen to King *William*, and elected ſucceſſour, and dying at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme* with his predeceſſour in the year 1214.

8. *Hugo*, called *Hugo de ſigillo*, a Monk of *Aberbrothock*, ſucceeded unto *Leiceſter*; a man of ſweet and amiable diſpoſition. He was called *The poor mans Biſhop*, and lived not a year after his Conſecration.

9. *Matthew* Chancellour of *Scotland* was then elected, but he died the ſame year before he was conſecrated.

10. To him ſucceeded *Gilbert*, Chaplain to Biſhop *Hugo*. He ſate 22 years, and died in the year 1236.

11. *Galfrid Liverance* was elected in his ſtead. This Biſhop was a zealous man; he reformed the Service of the Church *ad uſum Sarum*, and ordained the Canons to make reſidence at *Dunkeld*, giving them the Commons of the Church for their entertainment. He died at *Tibbermoore* in the year 1249, and was buried at *Dunkeld*.

12. After *Galfrids* death *Richard* Chancellor to the King ſucceeded, and dying the ſame year at *Crawmond*, was buried in *Inchcolme*.

13. After him M. *Richard* of *Innerkething*, Chancellor of *Scotland*, was elected, who ſate 22 years. He built the great Quire of the Abbey-Church in *Inchcolme* upon his own charges, and died very old in the year 1272. He is much commended for his faithful ſervice done to King *Alexander*. His body was interred at *Dunkeld*, and his heart laid in the North wall of the Quire which he built in *Inchcolme*.

14. *Robert Sutevile*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, debarred at firſt from the Biſhoprick of S. *Andrews* by the ambitious ſuite of *Abel* the Archdeacon, was at this time preferred to be Biſhop of *Dunkeld*. He died in the year 1300. and governed the See 28 years, *Moribus, ſcientia & vita præclarus*.

15. After him *Matthew*, by recommendation of *Edward* the firſt of *England*, who kept *Scotland* then under ſubjection, was advanced to the Biſhoprick, and ſate 12 years.

16. *William Sinclare*, a brother of the houſe of *Roſlin*, and Uncle to *William* Lord *Biſſet*, ſucceeded. This is he that King *Robert* the *Bruce* uſed to call *his own Biſhop*; for the King being in *Ireland* with an Army for the ſupply of his brother *Edward*, the *Engliſh* taking advantage of his abſence, ſent two Armies to invade the Kingdom; the one by Land, the other by Sea. The Sea-Army landed in *Fife*, near to *Anchtertaile* (where the Biſhop had his reſidence) which the Sheriff of the Country, for hindering their depredations, went to encounter, but at the ſight of their numbers he gave back and fled. The Biſhop hearing of their flight, brought forth his ordinary train, and caſting himſelf in the Sheriffs way, asked why he fled; and having checkt him bitterly for his cowardiſe, called for a lance, crying aloud, *You that love the honour of* Scotland, *follow me*. By this forwardneſs he put ſuch courage in the reſt, as they returning upon the *Engliſh*, did chaſe them all back to their Ships. One of the Ship-boats overcharged with the company that leapt into it was ſunk, and in that conflict were drowned and ſlain 500 *Engliſh* and above. The honor of this Victory was wholly aſcribed to the Biſhops courage, for which he was greatly favoured by the King. He built in his time the Quire of *Dunkeld* from the ground, which the Army of *England* had demoliſhed; redeemed the Lands of *Green-oke* from one *Simon Cader*, and gave to his Archdeacon the Church of *Logia Leguhy*, with the Vicarage penſionary of little *Dunkeld*. Afterwards dying the 27 day of *June*, *Anno* 1338, he was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*, in a marble Tomb by himſelf erected.

17. The ſame year one *Duncan*, an *Engliſhman* born, was conſecrated Biſhop. He ſet in feu the Lands of *Fordel* to *Walter Fotheringham*, at the deſire of *Edward Baliol*, and died in the year 1364, after he had ſate 26 years.

An. 1376. 18. To him ſucceeded *Michael* of *Monimuske*, Chamberlain of *Scotland*. He died the firſt of *March* 1376, and was buried in the Quire of *Dunkeld*.

19. After him Mr. *John Peblis*, Chancellor to King *David Bruce*, came to the place; a man learned and of great authority. He ſate 20 years in the See.

20. In the year 1396, *Robert Carden* Son to *John Carden* of that ilk, was conſecrated Biſhop, and governed the See the ſpace of 40 years. He did many good things in his time to his Church, building and inlarging it at his own charge, and acquired thereunto divers lands, as the town of *Crawmond* with the lands adjoyning, for which he gave in excambion the lands of *Cambo* in the ſame Pariſh, and the lands of *Muchler* beſides *Dunkeld*. He died the 16 of *January* 1436, and was buried honorably in S. *Ninians* Chappel of *Dunkeld*, which himſelf had built.

21. To him ſucceeded *Donald Macknachton*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, Doctor of the Common Law, and Nephew to Biſhop *Robert* his predeceſſor. He was elected by the Chapter; but King *James* the Firſt miſliking the choice, oppoſed his entry; whereupon he took journy to *Rome* to obtain his Election confirmed, and died by the way as he was travelling thither.

22. *James Kennedy*, Nephew to King *James* the Firſt by his ſiſter, was then preferred to the See. Two years he ſate Biſhop in *Dunkeld*, and was afterwards tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, as before we have ſhewed.

23. Upon his Tranſlation Mr. *Alexander Lawder*, Parſon of *Rothow*, and brother-german to the Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, then Chancellor of the Kingdom, was elected Biſhop: but he died the ſame year (which was the year 1440) at *Edinburgh*, and was buried with his Anceſtors in the Church of *Lawder*.

24. Mr. *James Bruce*, Parſon of *Killmeny*, was after him conſecrated Biſhop of *Dunkeld* at *Dunfermlin*, the fourth of *February* in the year of Chriſt 1441, and ſate Biſhop the ſpace of 6 years. In the ſeventh year he was tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, and made Chancellor of the Kingdom.

25. To him ſucceeded Mr. *John Ralſton*. He was Secretary to King *James* the Second, and ſate Biſhop little above three years, dying in *Dunkeld* in the year 1450, where he was buried.

26. Maſter *Thomas Lawder*, Preceptor or Maſter of *Lowtrey*, who had been Tutor to King *James* the Second in his youth, at the age of 60 years was elected Biſhop after *Ralſton* by the Kings recommendation. He took great pains in preaching, and by his continual exhortations and exemplary life won that unruly people to the obedience of God and the King. Having finiſhed the building of the Church, he dedicated the ſame in the year 1454, and adorned it in moſt magnificent manner. He obtained of the King an erection of the Biſhops Lands on the North ſide of *Forth* into a Barony called *the Barony of Dunkeld*, as likewiſe the Lands in the South into another which was called *the Barony of Aberlady*; built a Bridge upon the River of *Tay*, nigh to his own Palace; founded a number of Chaplanries and Prebends, partly in *Edinburgh*, partly in *Dunkeld*; made purchaſe of two lodgings, one in *Edinburgh*, and another at *Perth*, for the receipt of his Succeſſors: and having done many good works, reſigned his Biſhoprick, becauſe of his great age, to Maſter *James Levingſton*, Dean of *Dunkeld*.

27. This Reſignation was croſſed awhile by *Thomas Spence*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, whoſe credit in the Court was great at that time: but upon tranſaction amongſt themſelves, the Kings conſent was obtained, and he conſecrated at *Dunkeld* by *John Hepburn* Biſhop of *Dumblain*, *John Balfour* Biſhop of *Brichen*, and the ſaid *Thomas Spence*, in the year 1476. He ſate ſeven years two months and five days, and dying at *Edinburgh*, was buried in the Iſle of *Inchcolme*.

28. The Chapter after *Levingſtons* deceaſe made choice of *Alexander Inglis*, Dean of *Dunkeld*, and Keeper of the Rolls in the time of King *James* the Third: but Pope *Sixtus* the Fourth, caſſing his Election, gave the Biſhoprick to *George Brown* Chancellor of *Aberdene* (who was then at *Rome*) and conſecrated him Biſhop in Saint *James* Church, *Anno* 1484. The King diſpleaſed with this promotion declared him rebel, and complained thereof to the Pope and Cardinals; but the Pope maintaining his own gift, the King was afterwards reconciled to him, and he peaceably

ably poſſeſſed in the Biſhoprick. This Biſhop was a ſtrict obſerver of diſcipline, and by his auſtere and rigorous forms wrought a great Reformation in all the parts of his Dioceſe, which he diſtributed in four Deanries, placing one in the Borders of *Athol* and *Drumalbane*, another in *Fife*, *Fothrick* and *Strathern*, the third in *Angus*, and the fourth in the parts beſouth *Forth*. The penalties of offenders he gave to the uſe of the Church where they reſided, ſaying commonly, *Oleum peccatorum non impinguet caput meum*. He was a man given much to Hoſpitality, and withal very careful of the Church; for he recovered to the See the lands of *Fordel* and *Muckarſie*, with the Foreſt of *Birnan*, that had been alienated before his time, founded divers Prebends and Chaplanries, and gave many ornaments the Cathedral Church. Before his death he was tormented with the Felt gravel, which he bare moſt patiently, profeſſing that *he was glad to endure thoſe pains, as ſerving to wean his heart and affection from the love of this world*; and ſo departed this life moſt happily the 12 of *January*, 1514. *An.* 1010.

29. *Andrew Stewart*, Brother to *John* Earl of *Athol*, was upon his death poſtulated Biſhop; but it took no effect, Maſter *Gawan Douglas*, Brother to the Earl of *Angus*, and Provoſt of Saint *Giles* in *Edinburgh*, being preferred thereto by Pope *Leo* the Tenth. This gift was quarrelled by the Duke of *Albany* Governor, and the Biſhop called in queſtion for his trafficking with *Rome* without licence; whereupon he was committed, and continued priſoner a whole year. Afterwards compounding with *Andrew Stewart*, to whom he gave the Churches of *Elit* and *Cargil*, he got peaceable poſſeſſion of the See; yet the troubles that followed in the country made him forſake the ſame, and undertake a journy to *Rome*. In his way thither he died of the Plague at *London* in *Savoy* houſe in the year 1522. A man learned, wiſe, and given to all vertue and goodneſs. Some monuments of his ingeny he left in *Scottiſh* metre which are greatly eſteemed, eſpecially his tranſlation of *Virgil* his Books of *Æneids*.

30. *George Creighton* ſucceeded, a man nobly diſpoſed, and a great houſ-keeper, but in matters of his calling not very skilled. In the queſtion of Religion (which was in his time ſeverely agitated) he loved to have things calmly carried, but his counſel took little place. It was he that ſaid to one of his Vicars, whom he was perſuading to leave his Opinions, *That he thanked God that he knew neither the Old nor the New Teſtaments, and yet had proſpered well enough all his days.*

31. *Robert Creighton* his Nephew was preferred upon his death to the See, in whoſe time fell out the Reformation of the Church.

The Biſhops of ABERDENE.

The Succeſſion of Biſhops in the See of *Aberdene.*

1. *Malcolme* the Second, in memory of the defeat he gave the *Danes* at *Murthlack*, founded there a Biſhops Seat in the year 1010, and preferred one *Beanus* thereto, a man of ſingular vertue and godlineſs, gifting to him and his ſucceſſors the lands of *Murthlack*, *Cloveth* and *Dummeth*. This Biſhop ſate 32 years, and dying in *Murthlack* was buried at the Poſtern-door of the Church, which himſelf had built.

2. *Donortius*, who ſuceeded him, lived Biſhop 42 years, and was interred with his predeceſſor.

3. *Cormachus* the third Biſhop of this See, governed the ſame 39 years, and was buried likewiſe with his Predeceſſors.

4. *Nectanus* ſucceeded. In his time King *David* did tranſlate the See from *Murthlack* to *Aberdene*, and gave to him and his ſucceſſors the lands of old *Aberdene*, *Sclaty*, *Govil*, *Moorecroft*, *Kinmundy*, *Mamewlay*, *Clat*, *Tillineſſil*, *Rayne*, *Daviot*, and their Churches, with divers others lands, whereby the See was greatly enriched. This Biſhop died in the year 1154. having ſate 14 years at *Murthlack*, and 17 at *Aberdene*.

5. After the death of *Nectanus* one *Edward* was promoved, who was greatly favoured by *Malcolme* the Fourth, called the Maiden, and was thought to have perſwaded the King to continue in his ſingle life. He was the firſt Biſhop that brought the Canons to do ordinary ſervice in the Church of

An. 1247. *Aberdene*, and died in the eleventh year after his Conſecration.

6. *Matthew Kinninmouth*, Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, ſucceeded; a man famous for learning, and other excellent vertues. In his time began the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene* to be built unto the memory of S. *Machar*, to whom King *Malcolme* gave the Lands of *Tuligreg*, *Fetterneir*, *Crowdan*, *Banchory Deveneif*, *Balhelvy*, and the Patronages of the Churches. He ſate Biſhop 34 years.

7. *John* Prior of *Kelſo* was next elected Biſhop. This man is greatly commended for liberality to the poor, and magnificence in the buildings and ornaments of the Church: he died the next year after his Conſecration.

8. One *Adam* was aſſumed in his place, rather for ſatisfying King *William*'s pleaſure, than for any good affection born to the man by the reſt of the Clergy. At firſt he ſhewed no great care in his Charge, giving himſelf wholly to temporal affairs; yet after King *Williams* death he grew quite another man, ſetting himſelf to amend his former negligences. He ſate 21 years.

9. Upon his death the Clergy and people of *Aberdene* poſtulated *Matthew* Chancellor of the Kingdom, who was willing to accept the place; but *Dunkeld* falling void in the mean ſeaſon, King *Alexander* the Second preferred him to that See.

10. And *Gilbert Striveling*, a man well born, and much eſteemed for his integrity of life, obtained the place: but he lived not many years, departing this world in the eleventh year after his Election.

11. *Radolph* Abbot of *Aberbrothock* ſucceeded, being with an uniform conſent of the Clergy and people elected Biſhop. He was brought with great difficulty to accept the charge; a man of great prudence, and painful in his calling: for he travelled through all his Dioceſe on foot, preaching and viſiting the Churches, that he might know their true eſtate; and is ſaid never to have changed his form of living that he uſed in the Cloiſter, and to have been more abſtinent and ſparing both in diet and apparel than he was before. He died ſome eight years after his Conſecration, which was about the year of Chriſt, 1247.

12. *Peter Ramſey*, a man of good learning, was next choſen Biſhop; he was a man very kind to the Canons, and parted many of his rents amongſt them. He ſate Biſhop ten years, and deceaſed about the ſeventh or eighth year of King *Alexander* the Third his reign.

13. Preſently after his death *Richard Pottock* an *Engliſhman* was elected, who ſate Biſhop 13 years.

14. *Hugh Benham*, elected by the Monks, went to *Rome*, and was there conſecrated by Pope *Martin* the Fourth. After he had remained there the ſpace of a year, he returned to *Scotland*, at which time there was a great contention between the Church-men and the people of the Country for certain Tithes, that the Prieſts did exact too rigorouſly. The difference being ſubmitted to him, he compoſed the ſame in a Convention of the Clergy at *Perth*, wherein the King and many of the Nobles were preſent, and died of a Catarrhe, being very old, in the Iſle of *Loch Fovil*, about the year 1280.

15. *Henry Cheen*, Nephew to the Lord *Cummyn*, was preferred to the See. The Troubles which in his time brake forth in the Kingdom between *Bruce* and *Baliol* wrought him great vexation; for whileſt he took part with his Uncle againſt *Bruce*, he was baniſhed into *England*, where he lived until the end of theſe Wars, and then licenſed by King *Robert* to return, he gave himſelf to repair the Church, and reſtore all things which the licentiouſneſs of War had diſordered. He died the ſame year in which King *Robert* the *Bruce* ended his life, that is, in the year of Chriſt 1329, which was the 48 year after his Conſecration.

16. *Alexander Kinninmouth* Doctor of Divinity ſucceeded in his place, a great lover of learning and learned men, whom out of all parts he drew to make reſidence with himſelf. In the Winter ſeaſon he dwelt at *Murthlack*, and when the Spring opened at *Aberdene*, becauſe of the confluence of people all that time of the year: all the Summer and Harveſt time he remained at *Fetterneir* and *Rain*, that he might the more commodiouſly diſcharge his office in every part of his Dioceſe.

The

The *Engliſh* in his time ſet on fire the Town of *Aberdene*, which burnt ſix days together, and did much harm; his own Palace with the whole houſes of the Canons were thereby conſumed, which was thought to have haſtned his death. He departed this life in the eleventh year of his Conſecration. *An.* 1247.

17. *William Deyn* was made Biſhop in his ſtead. The moſt of his time the Realm was infeſted with Wars, whereby he was impeded in many good purpoſes that he intended, and had much ado to keep the Clergy in obedience, for every man during the War took liberty to do what they thought good. He ſate Biſhop the ſpace of ten years.

18. After him *John Raith* Doctor in Divinity was choſen Biſhop by the Monks. He lived only ſix years Biſhop, and was buried in the Quire of *Aberdene*.

19. King *David Bruce* returning from *France* about this time had brought with him in company one *Nicolaus*, a corrupt and ambitious man, who procured the Kings recommendation to the Chapter of *Aberdene* for his Election. The Canons excuſed themſelves, ſaying, *The Church of* Aberdene *was not ſo ſcant of men as to admit an unworthy perſon into the place. And howſoever the King in his Kingdom might do what he pleaſed, they were by their oaths aſtricted to admit none but learned men, and ſuch as were approved for integrity of life: wherefore intreated the King in humble manner to ſuffer them, as they had been accuſtomed, to elect ſome wiſe and grave perſon, that could diſcharge the place with credit:* which after ſome months they obtained, making choice of one *Alexander Kinninmouth*, who was conſecrated in the Town of *Perth*, the King himſelf being preſent. This man anſwered fully the hopes conceived of him, and took great pains in his calling; for on the ferial days he taught the Civil and Canon Law, and the Holy days he ſpent in preaching and prayer. Thrice every week he faſted, contenting himſelf in the holy Eves with bread and water. He cauſed demoliſh the old Church of *Aberdene*, which he eſteemed not ſo beautiful as was fitting for a Cathedral Church, and laid the foundation of another more magnificent. But ere the work was advanced ſix cubits high, he was employed by King *Robert* the Second in an Ambaſſage to *France*, for renewing the old League, which he worthily performed. Shortly after his return he died, having ſate Biſhop 24 years.

20. *Adam Conningham*, a man well deſcended, and of great authority, was after him elected. This Biſhop is ſaid to have been in ſuch accompt for his wiſdom and ſincerity, that in all matters of importance propounded in Council his opinion did ever prevail. His frequent imployments with the *French* King, as well before as after his preferment to the See, and the happy ſucceſs he had therein, manifeſted his prudence and dexterity of wit: yet, as it falleth out often in Courts, upon ſome envious delations the King became jealous of him, as if he had practiſed with ſome Noblemen againſt the Royal Succeſſion, and preſſed to reduce the old form of Election of Kings. Finding that the King had taken ſome impreſſion of the report, albeit nothing was more falſe, he took counſel to retire himſelf, and attend his charge at home: where he had not long ſtay'd, but he fell in a new trouble with a baſe Son of the Kings, named *Alexander*, a man extremely vicious, and for his oppreſſions hated of all good men. To the Biſhop he bare a ſpecial grudge, becauſe of the liberty he had uſed in reproving his wickedneſs; and hearing in what diſlike the Biſhop was with the King, he violently poſſeſſed himſelf in the Biſhops Lands, thruſt forth his Tenants, and behaved himſelf as Maſter and Lord of all. The Biſhop complained to the King, but finding no redreſs, he pronounced him excommunicate; wherewith the wicked man incenſed, aſſociating a number as wickedly diſpoſed as himſelf, did ſwear to take the Biſhops life, and came to *Aberdene* of that intention. Whereof the Biſhop getting advertiſement, he went forth to meet him on the way, and how ſoon he ſaw him, diſcovering his head, which was all white (for he was a man of great age) ſaid, *If this be it that thou ſeekeſt, I have brought it unto thee, take thee head, life, and all.* The company admiring the old mans courage, and moved with ſome compaſſion of his white hairs, perſuaded *Alexander* not to meddle with his blood. The report of this inſolency going to the King, he ſent for his Son, and committing him to priſon, cauſed ſatisfaction to be given for all the

An. 1390. the injuries the Biſhop had ſuſtained, and ſurety for his indemnity thereafter. After which he enjoyed reaſonable quietneſs until his death, which happened in the year of Chriſt 1390. having ſate Biſhop ten years.

21. *Gilbert Greinlaw*, a man learned, wiſe, and of great eſteem with the Nobles of the Kingdom, was conſecrated Biſhop of *Aberdene* the ſame year. He had been Chancellor to King *Robert* the Third a long time, which office he diſcharged with great credit, and to the contentment of all the ſubjects. After the Kings death (the Earl of *Fife* Brother to the deceaſed King then governing the Realm) he was employed in an Ambaſſage to *Charles* the Seventh of *France* and went thither in the company of the Earls of *Buchan* and *Douglas*, who with divers other Noblemen were afterward unfortunately killed at the Battel of *Vernoil*. The Biſhop at his return found all things out of frame, the Governor dead, his Son *Mordach* placed in his room, and the whole eſtate miſerable by the riots and oppreſſions which were uſed every where without puniſhment. This made the Biſhop retire himſelf and live private at home, where ſoon after he died of a Conſumption in the year 1424. His body was interred in the Quire of the Cathedral Church.

22. After his death *Henry Leighton* Biſhop of *Murray* was tranſlated to *Aberdene*, a man learned both in the Civil and Canon Law, of great experience, and in that regard poſtulated Biſhop by the Canons. He ſtood doubtful a while whether he ſhould condeſcend to the Charge or not, yet was induced to conſent at laſt, and ſo came to *Aberdene*, where he applied himſelf carefully to do the Charge of a Biſhop; but the Eſtates of the Realm meeting in ſolemn Convention for putting ſome order to the preſent confuſions, he was ſent with ſome others in Commiſſion to *England*, to treat for redemption of King *James* the Firſt, who was there detained captive. This buſineſs happily performed, he returned with the King, to whom he gave great content by his ſervices and forwardneſs in reforming publick abuſes. He advanced greatly the fabrick of the Church of *Aberdene*, and beſtowed large ſums for perfecting that work; he built alſo the Chappel called S. *Johns Chappel* within the Cathedral, and was therein buried himſelf in the year 1441. 17. years after his Tranſlation.

23. *Ingram Lindeſay*, Doctor of the Canon Law, was upon his death with the great applauſe of all good men received Biſhop. He was at that time very old, and by the policy of one *Alexander*, who aimed at his place, moved to take journey to *Rome*; the man imagining that he ſhould die in the voyage, whereof yet he was deceived. For the Biſhop ſailing to *Marſeilles* in *France*, went from thence by Sea to *Rome*, and after ſome months ſtay returned more healthful than before. Seventeen years he continued Biſhop and ruled the affairs of the Church very wiſely. A man conſtant in his promiſes, of a ſpare diet, but very hoſpitable, for he entertained great numbers both of learned men and others, eſpecially the eldeſt Sons of Noblemen and Barons in the North parts; and notwithſtanding of his age and publick employments, was ever at ſtudy when he could find any free time from thoſe cares. A little before his death he fell in the Kings diſpleaſure, for denying admiſſion to ſome whom the King had preſented to certain Benefices, for that they were either meer ignorants, or for their years incapable. But this did not much trouble his mind, as being no way conſcious to himſelf of any juſt offence offered. He died at *Aberdene*, much lamented of the Citizens, who loved him dearly, and buried him in the Cathedral Church with great ſolemnity.

24. Then was *Thomas Spence*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, tranſlated to the See, a man of active ſpirit, and fitted for great buſineſs. Whileſt he was yet very young he went to *France*, truſted with a Commiſſion by King *James* the Second, and by his wiſe behaviour won ſuch favour with *Charles* the Seventh then reigning, as after divers great ſervices performed to that King, he returned honoured with the place of a Chancellor, and a yearly penſion of 3000 *French* Crowns; about which time the Biſhoprick of *Galloway* falling void, he was held moſt worthy to be preferred thereto, and from thence, by the occaſion of Biſhop *Lindeſay* his death, at the earneſt entreaty of the Canons, was tranſlated hither. Moſt of his time after he was tranſlated he ſpent in Legations from the King and Eſtate, ſometimes to the

Duke

Duke of *Burgundy*, and ſometimes to *Edward* the Fourth of *England*. Nottheleſs mindful of his Church, he adorned the ſame in a moſt rich and ſumptuous manner, and built of new the Biſhops palace, which ſince the burning by the *Engliſh* had been waſt and ruinous. Amongſt other charitable works, he erected an Hoſpital at *Edinburgh*, acquiring thereto divers lands, and ended his life by ſickneſs the fifteenth of *April* 1480. His body was interred in the *Trinity* College of *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1480.

25. *Robert Blaicater*, being for the time at *Rome*, was by the proviſion of Pope *Xiſtus* the Fourth made Biſhop, at whoſe hands alſo he received Conſecration; a Gentleman well deſcended, and of good knowledge both in divine and humane learning. Soon after he was tranſlated to *Glaſgow*, where he died.

26. *William Elphinſton* ſucceeded to *Blaicater*, a famous and memorable perſon. He was born in the City of *Glaſgow*, and trained up in the Pedagogie of that City; where he made ſuch profit in his ſtudies, that all who knew him conceived even in his younger years great hopes of his advancement. By the advice of his Uncle *Laurence Elphinſton* he went to *France*, being 29 years of age, and there abode ſome nine years, having purchaſed good reputation in the Univerſity of *Paris* for his skill in the Laws, which ſix years together he profeſſed, reading daily the Lectures thereof in a moſt frequent Auditory. Then returning into his Country, was preferred firſt to be Official of *Glaſgow*, afterwards made Official of S. *Andrews*, and promoved to be of the Kings Council. Some jars falling out at that time betwixt King *James* the Third and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*, which was like to have diſſolved the ancient friendſhip betwixt the two Nations, he was joyned in Commiſſion with the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* and Earl of *Buchan* for pacifying the ſame, and by a wiſe and moſt eloquent oration brought matters ſo about, that the old League and Amity was renewed, and all occaſions of diſcord quite removed: whereupon the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe* was at his return caſt upon him, which he accepted with great difficulty. The See of *Aberdene* aftewards falling void, he was tranſlated thither, and at that time was made Chancellor of the Kingdom; in which charge he carried himſelf with that moderation, and equity, as he was both loved and reverenced of all perſons. But the unhappy Troubles that fell out betwixt the King and ſome of his Nobility, which by no means (though he did uſe his uttermoſt diligence that way) could be pacified, made him retire to his Charge at *Aberdene*, where he gave himſelf to reform ſuch things as he found diſordered in the Church, and had doubtleſs effected the ſame, if he had not been called back to Court, and employed much againſt his will in publick affairs.

King *James* the Fourth then entring his reign, he was by the conſent of the whole eſtate ſent Ambaſſador to *Maximilian* the Emperor, to ſuit his daughter *Margaret* in marriage for the King: but ſhe before his coming being promiſed to the Prince of *Spain*, the buſineſs took no effect: yet that his travel ſhould not be altogether unprofitable, in his return from the Emperors Court he reconciled the Variance which long had continued betwixt this Nation and the people of *Holland*, and thereby grew in ſuch favour with the King, that whatſoever buſineſs he had, either within or without the Kingdom, the ſame was wholly committed to his truſt.

Neither did he in the mean while neglect to uſe his beſt means for the advancement of Learning, having built a ſtately College in *Aberdene*, which for the beauty of the edifice and rich foundation was one of the rareſt mounments this Kingdom had ſeen. The expence he beſtowed partly on that work, partly for providing materials for building of the Bridge upon *Dee*, with the large alms he gave daily to the poor and religious of all ſorts (not to ſpeak of the help and relief he made to others of his kindred) exceeding almoſt all credit and belief: for he was ever obſerved to keep a good table, and had no Benefices in *Commendam* (which was then grown into a cuſtome amongſt Church-men) yet upon the Rents of his own Biſhoprick he did both maintain his eſtate, and do all thoſe great and magnificent works, and dying left in treaſure ten thouſand pounds in gold and ſilver, which he bequeathed to the College and the finiſhing of the Bridge at *Dee*: that in him we may truly ſee how it is not the abundance of worldly goods, but the bleſſing of God, that maketh rich.

What

An. 1514. What time he could ſpare from the publick ſervice he ſpent in writing the Hiſtory of his Nation, and gathered in one Volume all the Antiquities that could be found thereof. The memories alſo of thoſe holy men who lived in former times in this Kingdom he ſtudied to preſerve, committing to writing their worthy and memorable acts, and giving order that on ſolemn days the Religious ſhould read ſome part thereof in their common meetings; neither was he ſeen to be idle, but always in labour and ſtriving how to benefit the publick. Nor was there any man known to have been of more integrity of life and manners, ſweet and pleaſant converſation, of a chearful countenance, and exceeding delightful. The conſtitution of his body was healthful and ſtrong: Old age, which to others is of it ſelf a Diſeaſe, wrought in him no alteration either of mind or body; for being 83 years old, his judgment in the weightieſt matters of State was obſerved to be as quick, and his memory as ripe, as when he was in the middle of his youth.

That which is ſuppoſed to have haſtened his death was the unfortunate death of the King at *Flowden*; for after the report of that loſs he was never perceived to laugh, nor willingly did he hear any thing that ſounded unto mirth or gladneſs, and thereupon had reſolved to live the reſt of his time obſcure and retired: yet being called by the Council to aſſiſt ſome great buſineſs which for the time was in hand, he ſickned in his journey towards *Edinburgh*, and the ſixth day after his coming thither died moſt Chriſtianly. His body embalmed was carried afterwards to *Aberdene*, and entombed in his own College before the high Altar. They write that the day his Corps was brought forth to the burial, the Paſtoral ſtaff, which was all of ſilver, and carried by *Alexander Lawder* a Juriſt, broke in two pieces, one part thereof falling in the grave where his body was to be laid, and that a voice was heard to cry, *Tecum, Gulielme, Mitra ſepelienda*, With thee the Mitre and glory thereof is buried. Thirty years he ſate Biſhop, and ended his courſe being very old in the year 1514.

27. The Canons aſſembling according to their cuſtome to elect a Biſhop in his place, the Earl of *Huntley*, a man of great power in the North, came upon them unexpected, deſiring that *Alexander Gordon* his Couſen, then Chanter of *Murray*, might be choſen. The Canons not daring refuſe, did all give their conſents. In the mean time was one *James Ogilvy* preſented thereto by the Duke of *Albany*, and at *Rome Robert Forman* Dean of *Glaſgow* took a proviſion thereof from Pope *Leo* the Tenth: yet both theſe did reſign their titles afterwards at the Duke of *Albany* his perſuaſion; *Ogilvy* having received in recompence the Abbacy of *Dribrgh*, and *Forman* yielding at the deſire of *Andrew Forman* his Brother, then Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, upon promiſe of the next place that ſhould fall void. Thus after ſome months delay *Gordon* was received, and conſecrated Biſhop: but he enjoyed the place a ſhort time, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Aberdene*.

28. *Gawan Dumbar*, Archdeacon of S. *Andrews* and Maſter of the Rolls, a man of many excellent parts, was after him elected Biſhop. He ſet himſelf to perfect all thoſe works which Biſhop *Elphinſton* had begun, and were not as yet finiſhed; eſpecially the building of the Bridge upon *Dey*, with the houſes that he had appointed for the ſeveral profeſſions of Sciences in the College. The Executors of Biſhop *Elphinſton* he called to an accompt, and made them render the moneys left by him in Legacy; adding thereto his own liberality, wherewith he accompliſhed all theſe works. He founded likewiſe an Hoſpital for twelve poor men, and a Preceptor to attend them; and all the time he lived Biſhop, which was 13 years, whatſoever profit or commodity he made by the Church, he beſtowed wholly upon the poor and ſuch publick works, without applying a farthing either to his own uſe, or the enriching of any of his kinſmen. He departed this life at S. *Andrews* the ninth of *March*, 1531.

29. To him ſucceeded *William Stewart*, ſon to the Laird of *Minto*, a man given to vertue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work. He built the Conſiſtory-houſe in old *Aberdene*, enlarged the territory of the College, & beſtowed upon it a part of the rent it now poſſeſſeth: he built likewiſe the Library, with two Schools, and founded therein four Chaplains: the office of the Chancellary in the State, conferred

ferred upon him by the King, he diſcharged with good credit, and dying at *Aberdene* in the month of *April*, in the year 1545, was buried in the Cathedral Church. *An.* 1160.

30. *Willian Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, ſucceeded in the place. This man brought up in Letters at *Aberdene*, followed his ſtudies a long time in *Paris*, and returning thence, was firſt Parſon of *Clat*, and afterwards promoved to the See. Some hopes he gave at firſt of a vertuous man, but afterwards turned a very Epicure, ſpending all his time in drinking and whoring; he dilapidated the whole Rents by feuing the Lands, and converting the victual-duties in money, a great part whereof he waſted upon his baſe Children, and the Whores their Mothers; a man not worthy to be placed in this Catalogue. He died in the year 1577.

The Biſhops of MURRAY.

This Biſhoprick was founded by King *Malcolme* the third, a worthy and religious King: but who were the firſt Biſhops in this See, I find not. The firſt that is named is one *William*, who did conſecrate *Arnold* Biſhop of S. *Andrews* about the year 1160. The ſucceſſion of Biſhops in the Dioceſe of *Murray*.

2. To him ſucceeded *Simon*, a Monk of the Abby of *Melroſe*, elected Biſhop in the time of *William* King of *Scots*, who governed the See 13 years. He died in the year of our Lord 1184, and was buried at *Birnay*.

3. *Richard*, a Chaplain of King *William*, ſate Biſhop 19 years, and was buried in *Spinie*, where he died.

4. *Bricius*, Prior of *Leſmahagow*, ſucceeded him. He continued Biſhop 24 years, and was the firſt that founded the College of Canons. He died in the year of our Lord 1227, and was buried with his predeceſſor.

5. After him *Andrew* Dean of *Murray* was conſecrated Biſhop. He founded the Cathedral-Church of *Elgin*, and added ten Canons more to the College. He died in the year 1274, and was buried in the Quire of the Church which he had founded towards the South.

6. *Simon*, Dean of the ſame Church, was preferred next unto this See, and lived Biſhop 9 years only. He was buried in the Quire of *Elgin*.

7. *Archbald*, Dean of *Murray*, was after his death made Biſhop, and ſate 47 years. He built the Palace of *Kinneddore*, and departed this life in the year 1303. at *Elgin*, where his corps was alſo interred.

8. *David Murray* after his death elected, was conſecrated at *Avignon* by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth. He lived Biſhop 27 years, and died in *January*, 1330.

9. *John Pilmore*, who then ſtood elected to the Biſhoprick of *Roſſe*, was by the proviſion of Pope *John* the 22, conſecrated Biſhop of *Murray*. He continued Biſhop 27 years, and departed this life in the Caſtle of *Spinie*.

10. *Alexander Barre*, Licenciator in the Laws, ſucceeded. He was conſecrated by Pope *Urban* the Fifth, and died in the Caſtle of *Spinie* the fifteenth of *May*, 1397.

11. *William Spinie*, Chanter of *Murray*, and Doctor of the Canon Law, was after his death conſecrated Biſhop by Pope *Benedict* the Thirteenth, and lived Biſhop nine years only. He died in the Chanory of *Elgin* the ſecond of *Auguſt*, 1406, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

12. *John Innes*, Parſon of *Duffus*, and Batchelor both in the Canon and Civil Law, ſate after him ſeven years, and died in the Chanory the fifteenth of *April*, 1414.

13. *Henry Lichton*, Parſon of *Duffus*, a Doctor in both Laws, after he had ſate Biſhop in this See 10 years, was tranſlated to *Aberdene*.

14. *Columba Dumbar* ſucceeded living Biſhop 10 years, and departing this life in the Caſtle of *Spinie*, was buried in the Iſle of S. *Thomas* the Martyr.

15. After him *John Wincheſter*, Chaplain to King *James* the Second, was preferred to the See; a man of good parts. He continued Biſhop 13 years, and was buried in S. *Mary* Iſle, within the Cathedral-Church.

16. *James Stewart* Dean of *Murray* ſate two years Biſhop.

17. To him ſucceeded *David Stewart*, his brother, Parſon of *Spinie*, who governed the See 14 years, and was buried in S. *Peter* and S. *Pauls* Iſle upon the South of the Cathedral-Church.

18. After

An. 1140. 18. After his death *William Tulloch*, Biſhop of *Orkney*, was tranſlated to *Murray*, and lived five years only after his Conſecration.

19. *Andrew Stewart* Dean of *Murray* ſucceeded. He ſate Biſhop 19 years, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral-Church.

20. *Andrew Forman* ſate after him Biſhop 15 years, and was then tranſlated to S. *Andrews*.

21. Next after him *James Hepburn* governed the See 9 years, and was buried in our *Lady* Iſle, nigh unto the Tomb of *Alexander* the firſt, Earl of *Huntley*.

22. *Robert Shaw* Abbot of *Paiſley*, a man of great vertue and exceedingly beloved, was next made Biſhop; but he lived not above two years in the place.

23. *Alexander Stewart*, Brother-german to the Duke of *Albany*, ſate after him ſeven years, and was buried in the Monaſtery of *Scone*.

24. To him ſucceeded *Patrick Hepburn*, who was Commendatory of *Scone*. In his time the Reformation of Religion was made. He lived Biſhop 36 years, and died in the Caſtle of *Spinie* the 20 of *June*, 1573.

The Biſhops of BRICHEN.

Since the writing of this Catalogue, I have found four Biſhops ſucceeding *Edwardus* one after another; *Turpimis*, *Rodolphus*, *Hugo* and *Gregorius*. But how long they ſate Biſhops I cannot ſay.

In this See, ſince it was founded by King *David*, which was about the year 1140, there have been many worthy Biſhops; yet moſt of them are buried in oblivion. Theſe few that follow I have gathered out of old Records.

1. *Urwardus* or *Edwardus* lived about the year 1260, a Monk at firſt at *Couper* in *Angus*, a man very zealous in his calling, for it is teſtified of him that he went on foot through the whole Kingdom (with one *Euſtathius* Abbot of *Aberbrothock*) preaching the Goſpel whereſoever he came.

2. *Albinus* after him was Biſhop ſome few years.

3. *William* Dean of *Brichen*, elected ſucceſſor, died at *Rome* in the year 1275, whileſt he was attending to have his Election confirmed.

4. The fourth Biſhop I find mentioned is one *John*, who governed the See in the year of God 1318, and got a new confirmation from King *David Bruce* of all the lands, poſſeſſions and privileges injoyed by his Predeceſſors in former times, becauſe of their rights loſt in the time of the laſt War. This Confirmation is dated in the year 1359.

5. To him ſucceeded *Adam* Chancellor of the Kingdom, but it ſeemed he ſate few years.

6. Then *Patrick*, who was his ſucceſſor both in the Biſhoprick and in the office of Chancellary in the year 1372.

7. *Steven*, in the year 1384.

8. *Walter* ſurnamed *Forreſter*, in the year 1434.

9. *John*, who was likewiſe Chancellor, *Anno* 1434. In his time was the Church of *Cortoguhy* annexed to the Biſhoprick by *Walter Palatine* of *Strathern*, Earl of *Athol*, Lord *Brichen* and *Cortoguhy*.

10. *George Shoreſwood* ſucceeded him in both charges, *Anno* 1483. In his time was the Church of *Funeven* made one of the Chapter.

11. Another called *John* was made Biſhop in the year 1483.

12. *William Meldrum* ſucceeded in the year 1500.

13. And after his death *John Hepburn*, *Anno* 1552,

14. To him ſucceeded ------- *Sinclare*, Dean of *Reſtalrig*, a little before the Reformation.

The Biſhops of DUMBLANE.

The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Dumblane*.

The See of *Dumblane* was founded likewiſe by King *David*.

1. *Jonathus* was the firſt Biſhop. He died in the year 1200, or thereabout, and was buried at *Inchaffray*.

2. *Simon*

2. *Simon*, who ſucceeded him, lived not a year. *An.* 1210.

3. *Abraham*, Chaplain to *Gilbert* Earl of *Stratherne*, was conſecrated in the year 1210. This was the Earl who gave a third part of his lands to the See of *Dumblane*, and another third part to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

4. *William* called *Gulielmus de Boſco* was next preferred to the See, and ſhortly after created Chancellor.

5. *Osbert*, Abbot of *Cambuskenneth* ſucceeded. He died in the year 1231.

6. The ſixth Biſhop was *Clemens*, a Frier of the *Dominican* Order, conſecrated in the *Stowe* Church of *Weddal*, in the year 1233. This man was an excellent Preacher, learned above many of that time, and of ſingular integrity of converſation: he gave divers lands and rents to the Church of *Culroſs*, and reſtored the Cathedral Church of *Dumblane*, which was decayed. *Leander Bononienſis*, in his third Book *De viris illuſtribus Prædicatorum*, remembreth him with a ſpecial commendation. The like doth *Philippus Wolphius*, in his third Book *De vitis peritorum virorum*. He died in the year 1256.

7. *Robert* was after him elected. This is he who was ſent with *Richard* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* by the reſt of the Prelates in the year 1268, to proteſt againſt the proceedings of *Ottobon* the Popes Legate for the contribution impoſed by him upon the *Scottiſh* Clergy towards the charge of the Holy War.

8. *Alpin* after him governed the See ſome few years.

9. Then one *Nicolaus* was made Biſhop. He gave the half of the Church of *Strowan* to the Abby of *Inchaffray*.

10. After him ſucceeded *Maurice* Abbot of *Inchaffray*, a Prelate of great ſpirit, who gave great encouragement to his Countrey-men in that famous Battel of *Bonnockburn*, and was therefore choſen by King *Robert Bruce* to be his Confeſſor after that Battel. The See falling void, he was preferred to the ſame.

11. One *William* ſucceeded to him.

12. Then *Walter Cambuſlang* in the year 1363.

13. And after him was *Finlaw*, commonly called *Dermoch*, who built the Bridge of *Dumblane*, and died in the year 1419.

14. *William Stephen*, one of the firſt Profeſſors in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, was after him preferred.

15. Upon his death *Michael Ochiltrie* ſucceeded, a wealthy Prelate and well eſteemed. He purchaſed to his See a great part of the forfeited lands of *Stratherne*, adorned the Cathedral Church with many rich ornaments, built the Bridge of *Knaig* at *Machant*, with the Church of *Muthill*, and did in his time divers other good works.

16. After him ſucceeded *Robert Lawder*, who founded divers Prebendaries and Canonries in the Church of *Dumblane*.

17. *John Hepburn* ſucceeded in the year 1471. This Biſhop had a long contention with the Abbot of *Inchaffray* for certain Churches claimed by the Abbot, but the matter was afterwards pacified. He died in the year 1508, and was buried in the Quire of the Cathedral Church.

18. *James Chiſholme* obtained the Biſhoprick after his death by the Popes proviſion, and carried himſelf in his charge very commendably: a ſevere cenſour he was of the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and recovered many lands and poſſeſſions which were ſacrilegiouſly taken from the Church before his time. He died in the year 1534.

19. To whom ſucceeded *William Chiſholme* his brother, a wicked and vicious man, who, for hatred he bare to true Religion, made away all the lands of the Biſhoprick, and utterly ſpoiled the Benefice.

The Biſhops of Ross.

1. This See was alſo one of King *Davids* Foundations. The firſt Biſhop I find was one *Gregorius*. The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Roſs*.

An. 1066.

2. *Reynaldus*, a member of *Melroſs* who died in the year 1213.

3. *Andrew Murray* was choſen in his place, but he ſhortly after reſigned the ſame to

4. *Robert*, Chaplain to *Alexander* the Second.

5. After him one *Matthew* was elected and conſecrated by Pope *Gregory* the Tenth at *Viterbium*, in the year 1274.

Then ſucceed theſe in order.

6. *Thomas Dundie.*
7. *Roger.*
8. *Alexander.*
9. *Thomas Urwhart.*
10. *Alexander Kilbuines.*
11. *William Bullock.*
12. *Thomas Tullich.*
13. *Henry Cokborne.*
14. *James Woodmand.*
15. *Thomas Hay.*
16. *John Guthrye.*
17. *John Fraſer.*
18. *Robert Cokburn.*

19. *William Elphinſtone*, who was afterwards Biſhop of *Aberdene.*

20. *James Hay.*

21. *Robert Carncroſſe*, Abbot of *Halirudhouſe*, a man of great wealth, and preferred by King *James* the Fifth to this See about the 1534. year, and lived ten years Biſhop.

22. *David Panter*, Secretary to the Governor, was after his death elected in the year 1544, and immediately after imployed in a Legation to *France*, where he remained ſeven years. At his return he was ſolemnly conſecrated, the Governour and many of the Nobility being preſent. He was a man learned, and of great experience in publick affairs, and died about the year 1550.

23. To him ſucceeded *Henry Sinclar*, Dean of *Glaſgow*, and Vice-preſident in the College of Juſtice: a man of ſingular wiſdom and learning, eſpecially in the Laws; which place he diſcharged with good credit. By his advice many things were bettered in the form of Juſtice, and divers abuſes in the forms of proceſs amended. His death fell out ſhortly after the Reformation, and in his place Mr. *John Leſly* (of whom we ſhall have often occaſion to ſpeak) was preferred.

The Biſhops of CATHNES.

The ſucceſſion of the Biſhops of *Cathnes.*

1. This Biſhoprick was founded by *Malcolme* the Third, about the year 1066, who preferred thereto one *Darrus*, whom he favoured greatly. This man lived long and in a good reputation, and after his death was honoured for a Saint.

2. There ſucceeded to him one *Andrew*, of whom *Roger Hoveden* makes mention, ſaying that he came into *England* with *William* King of *Scots* in the year 1176, and ſhortly after his return home departed this life.

3. To him ſucceeded *John*, the Biſhop that *Harold* the Earl of *Orkney* and *Cathnes* uſed moſt cruelly, cutting forth his tongue, and pulling out his eyes: which King *William* (in whoſe Reign it happened) puniſhed exemplarily; for he cauſed the Earl his eyes firſt to be pulled out, then made him to be executed by the hands of the hangman, and all his male children to be gelded, to extinguiſh their ſucceſſion.

4. *Adam*, another Biſhop, whether his immediate ſucceſſor or not, I cannot ſay, was no leſs barbarouſly uſed; for in the year 1222, or much thereabout, ſome wicked people ſuborned by the Earl of *Cathnes* aſſailed him being private at home, and killing his chamber-boy, with a Monk of *Melroſs* that did ordinarily attend him (for he had been Abbot of that Monaſtery) drew him by force into his kitchin, and when they had ſcourged him with rods, ſet the kitchin on fire, and burnt him therein. King *Alexander* the Second was at that time upon his journy towards *England*, and upon notice of this cruel fact turned back, and went in haſte to *Cathnes*, where

where he put the offenders and their partakers to trial: 400. by publick ſentence were executed, and all their male-children gelded, that no ſucceſſion ſhould ſpring from ſo wicked a ſeed. The place where their Stones were caſt in a heap together is to this day known by the name of *Stony-hill*. The Earl for withholding his help, and becauſe he did not reſcue the Biſhop, was forfeited. And howbeit after ſome little time he found means to be reſtored, yet did he not eſcape the judgment of God, being murthered by ſome of his own ſervants who conſpired to kill him, and, to conceal the fact, ſet the houſe on fire, and burnt his body therein: ſo was he paid home in the ſame meaſure he had uſed the Biſhop. *An.* 1245.

5. To this *Adam* ſucceeded *Gilbert* the Canon, ſurnamed *Murray*, and Son to the Lord of *Duffus*, who was in great eſteem for the bold & couragious anſwer he made to the Pope's Legate at *Northampton*. He built the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes* upon his own charges, & lived to ſee the ſame finiſhed, & ſhortly after the dedication died at *Scraviſter* in the year 1245. The *Poſteri* gave him the reputation of a Saint

6. *William*, who ſucceeded, followed his ſteps, and did much good in his time. He died the the year 1261.

7. Then *Walter*, Doctor in the Canon Law, who lived ten years, and ended his days in the year 1271.

8. *Archibald*, a man much commended for his meek and tractable diſpoſition, ſucceeding, died in the year 1288.

9. *Andrew* a man skilled in the Laws, was preferred after his death, and lived Biſhop 13 years.

10. *Ferquhard* ſucceeded to him. This Biſhop was a ſtrong defender of the Liberties of the Church, and died in the year 1328.

11. *David* that followed lived 20 years Biſhop, and departed this life *an.* 1348.

12. *Thomas Fingask* was next Biſhop. He died in the Canonry of *Elgin an.* 1360, and lieth buried in S. *Maries* Iſle in a Tomb erected by *William* Earl of *Sutherland*, whom he left his Executor.

13. To him ſucceeded Biſhop *Alexander*, who lived many years in that See, and died in the year 1409.

Then theſe in order.

14. *Malcolm*, a zealous and devout man, who died *anno* 1421.

15. *Robert Strackbock* died *anno* 1440.

16. *John Innes*, Dean of *Roſſe*, in the year 1448.

17. *William Mudie* died *anno* 1460.

18. After whom one *Proſper* was elected, but he reſigned the place in favour of *John Sinclar*, Son to the Earl of *Cathnes*, who was never conſecrated, and ſo the See remained void the ſpace of 24 years; during which time Mr. *Adam Gordon* governed the affairs of that See.

After *Sinclar*'s death ſucceeded *Andrew Stewart* Commendatory of *Kelſo* and *Ferne*. He died in the year 1517 and was buried in the Cathedral-Church of *Cathnes*.

Andrew Stewart, Son to the Earl of *Athol*, was preferred after him, and died in the year 1542.

Then *Robert Stewart*, Brother to *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox*, was made Biſhop. He was afterwards made Prior of S. *Andrews*, and created Earl of *March*, upon his reſignation of the Earldom of *Lenox* to Duke *Eſme*. A man of noble diſpoſition, but much addicted to his ſervants, whom he rewarded with dilapidation of the Church-rents, whereto he was provided. He died at S. *Andrews* very old, in the year 1586.

The Biſhops of ORKNEY.

The Biſhops of *Orkney*.

The Iſlands of *Orkney* lying over againſt *Cathnes* have always ſince they were made Chriſtians been governed by Biſhops; but being poſſeſſed by the ..... whileſt that Kingdom ſtood, and for a long time in the hands of the *Norvegians*, from whom *Alexander* the Third King of *Scots* recovered the ſame by compoſition,

An. 1137. the first Bishops and their successors are utterly unknown: of the latter I have no intelligence, nor in the Records that remain is there any mention of them, only I read of six or seven that sate in this See before the Reformation.

1. One *William* that lived in the time of King *Robert* the Third, 1390.

2. *William Tullock*, who was translated to *Murray* in the reign of King *James* the Third, *anno* 1464.

3. To whom succeeded another *William*, who died about the year 1469.

4. After him we read of one *Andrew*.

5. Then *Edward*, who consecrated the Chappel of the Kings Colledge of *Aberdene*, about the year 1503.

6. After whom *Robert Maxwell* was Bishop in the time that King *James* the Fifth did visit the North and West Isles of *Scotland* 1536.

7. To him succeeded *Robert Reid*, a man of excellent wit and great experience, imployed in divers Legations, and selected amongst others by the Estates to assist the Marriage of Queen *Mary* with *Francis* the Dolphin of *France*. He died in his return at *Diep* in *Normandy*, much lamented, for he was of great integrity, and careful in the administration of justice, 1558.

The Bishops of GLASGOW.

The succession of the Bishops of *Glasgow*.

This City at first was made famous by *Kentigern*, commonly called S. *Mungho*, who is esteemed the first Bishop thereof. I spake of him before, and shewed how he was begotten by *Eugenius* the Third upon *Thametis* Daughter to the King of *Picts*. His Mother finding her self with child, out of shame and fear of her Fathers wrath stole privately away, and entering into a little Vessel that she found at the neerest coast, was by the wind and waves cast on land where the Town of *Culross* is now situated; there was delivered of her birth, and leaving the child with a nurse, returned home. His Parents being unknown, he was brought to *Servanus*, and baptized and bred up by him; yet it seems by the Hymn they did ordinarily sing in the Festivals, that his Father came afterwards to be known, for thus it begins.....

They report of him, that a Lady of good place in the country having lost a Ring which her Husband gave her, as she crossed the River of *Cluyd*, and her Husband waxing jealous, as if she had bestowed the same upon one of her Lovers, she did mean her self unto him, intreating his help for the safety of her honour; and that he going to the River, after he had used his Devotion, willed one who was making to fish, to bring him the first that he caught; which was done: in the mouth of that fish he found the Ring, and sending it to the Lady, she was thereby freed of her Husbands suspicion. The credit of this I believe upon the reporters; but howsoever it be, the See and City do both of them bear in their Arms a Fish with a Ring in the mouth even to this day. He was certainly a man of rare Piety, and to the poor exceeding bountiful, lived to a great age, beyond the ordinary course of men, as in the conclusion of the Hymn is said.

Cum octogenos centum quoque quinque vir annos
Complerat, sanctus est Glasgow *funere functus.*

After his death for many ages the See was in a manner desolate, upon the reign of *Malcolm* the Third, who restored the same to some integrity. The first Bishop I find named after the restitution was,

1. *John Achaian*, who took great pains in building the Cathedral, and having brought it to a reasonable perfection, did dedicate the same in the year 1137. King *David* being there in person, and bestowing upon the See the lands of *Patrick*, which the Bishops do yet enjoy. It was in his time that *Thurstan* Archbishop of *York* encroaching upon his Jurisdiction, (which at that time comprehended the Countrey of *Cumberland*) placed a new Bishop at *Carlisle*, by the instigation of *Henry* King of *England*. This the Bishop took so heavily, as, when he perceived his

his complaints not much regarded, he forſook his Charge, and went into *France*, incloſing himſelf in the Monaſtery of *Tours*, where he abode until the Pope, at the requeſt of King *Malcolm* the Fourth, compelled him to return; after which time he lived not long, for he died at *Glaſgow* in the year 1146, the twenty eighth of *May*. *An.* 1207.

2. To him ſucceeded another called *John*, who was greatly favoured by King *Alexander* the Firſt, and did counſel *Eadmerus*, becauſe of the Kings diſlike, to leave S. *Andrews*, and return unto *England*.

3. *Herbert* was his ſucceſſor, and in his time the controverſie with *York* was great, for the Superiority claimed by one *Roger* Archbiſhop of *York* over the Biſhops of *Scotland*. This contention drew *Angelramus* Archdeacon of *Glaſgow*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom for the time, to travel unto *Rome*, as was touched before; and *Herbert* dying whileſt he was there,

4. *Angelramus* by an uniform conſent of the Clergy and Laiety was elected in his place, and, upon notice given of the Election, conſecrated by Pope *Alexander* at *Rome*, from whom he obtained an exemption to the Church of *Scotland* from the Juriſdiction of the *Engliſh* and all others, the Apoſtolick See only excepted. Shortly after his return he died.

5. *Jocelin* Abbot of *Melroſſe* was his ſucceſſor. In his time the City of *Glaſgow* was erected into a Burgh Royal. He died at *Melroſſe*, and was interred in that Monaſtery.

6. *Eugenius* was choſen after his death, but how long he lived, I read not.

7. *Hugo* Chancellor of the Kingdom ſucceeded, and lived but a few years.

8. After him *William Malvoiſin* a *Frenchman* was elected, and conſecrated in *France* by the Popes direction. He was afterward tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, and preferred to the office of Chancellary.

9. *Florentius*, Son to the Count of *Holland*, was aſſumed in his place; and ſhortly after, upon licence obtained of the Pope, he reſigned the Office, and died at *Rome* in the year 1207.

10. And then *Walter* Chaplain to King *William*, was conſecrated Biſhop. He lived in the place 27 years.

11. *William Babington*, Chancellor of the Kingdom, was after his death elected Biſhop. In his time, as *Boeth.* writeth, the fabrick of the Church of *Glaſgow* was fully accompliſhed: his words are, *Abſolutum eſt ea tempeſtate templum Cathedrale Glaſguenſe, ſedes profecto magnifica, cujus haud exiguam partem Gulielmus ibidem Epiſcopus liberalitate ſua extruxerat, nec diu operi perfecto ſuperfuit.* He died the 25 of *January* 1261.

12. The Canons meeting to chuſe a Succeſſor, condeſcended upon *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Tevitdale*; yet ſhortly after forethinking their Election, they procured the ſame to be caſſed at *Rome*, whither he was gone to obtain Confirmation. Thereupon *John de Chyan* an *Engliſhman* was by the Pope provided to the See, whom King *Alexander* the Third admitted with great difficulty. This man is ſaid to have been learned, but very troubleſome to the Canons, upon whom he laid grievous impoſitions. The diſcord betwixt him and them waxing hot, he left the Country, and going to *France*, died there in the year 1268.

13. *Nicole Moffet* Archdeacon of *Teviotdale* was upon his death provided to the See, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the Canons: but he lived a ſhort time, and died at *Tunningham* of the Apoplexie. He was no leſs hated of his Clergy, whom he is ſaid to vex with many injuries.

14. *William Wiſhart*, Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*, and Chancellor of the Kingdom, was choſen of the Canons in the year 1270. But S. *Andrews* falling void by the death of *Gamelinus*, before his conſecration he was poſtulated thereto, and ſo returned to S. *Andrews*.

15. *Robert Wiſhart*, Archdeacon of *Lothian*, and Couſen to the ſaid *William*, was upon his change by the Kings recommendation admitted to the place. This is he who made that reply to King *Edward*, in the Conſultation held at *Norham* for the right of the Crown, whereof we ſpake in the life of *William Fraſer* Biſhop

An. 1325. ſhop of S. *Andrews*: a worthy man, and a great lover of his Country, for which he ſuffered much trouble, being made priſoner and ſent unto *London*, where he was kept ſome years; afterwards obtaining liberty, he returned to his See, and therein performed many good works. He died the 26 of *November*, 1316, and was buried in the Church of *Glaſgow* betwixt the Altars of S. *Peter* and S. *Andrew*.

16. *John Lindeſay* ſucceeded, a man given much to the adorning of his Church. He died the ninth of *April* 1325, and was buried in the Cathedral, nigh to the Altar of the Bleſſed Virgin.

17. Mr. *Stephen Dundy* was the ſame year elected Biſhop, and going to *Rome* to be confirmed, died by the way, not without ſuſpicion of poiſon given him at a Feaſt made by the Friers Predicant of *Glaſgow*.

18. In his place was choſen *John Wiſhart*, who in his return from *Rome* was taken priſoner by the *Engliſh*, and died ſome few days after.

19. *William Rae*, a good and zealous man, was after him choſen by the conſent of the whole Chapter. He redeemed the poſſeſſions of the Church which his predeceſſors had alienated, built the ſtone Bridge at *Glaſgow*, and, having done many good works, died in the year 1367.

20. After his death *Walter Wardlaw* ſucceeded. Pope *Urban* the Sixth did prefer him to be Cardinal in the year 1384; and in the third year after he died.

21. Then was Mr. *Matthew Glendouning* provided to the place. In his time the Steeple, which was all built of Timber, was burnt by Lightning; in place whereof he intended to build one of Stone, and made therefore great preparation, but was prevented by death in the year 1408.

22. His ſucceſſor *William Lawder* finiſhed the work. He was Chancellor of *Scotland*, and without the Chapters Election provided by the Pope of mere authority, which was never done in that See before.

23. After him *John Cameron* was Biſhop, a man given to Violence and Oppreſſion, who committing many deeds full of cruelty and covetouſneſs, eſpecially upon his own Tenants and Vaſſals, made (as the fame goeth) a fearful and unhappy end; for in the year 1446, the night before *Chriſtmas* day, as he lay aſleep in his houſe of *Lockwood*, ſome ſeven miles from the City of *Glaſgow*, he ſeemed to hear a voice ſummoning him to appear before the tribunal of Chriſt, and give an accompt of his doings. Thereupon he awak'd, and being greatly terrified, did call his ſervants to bring lights and ſit by him; he himſelf took a Book in his hand, and began to read: but the voice being again heard, ſtruck all the ſervants with amazement. The ſame voice calling the third time far louder and more fearfully, the Biſhop after a heavy groan was found dead in the bed, his tongue hanging out of his mouth. This, reported by *Buchanan* almoſt in the ſame words, I thought good to remember, as a notable example of Gods judgment againſt the crying ſin of Oppreſſion.

24. To *Cameron* ſucceeded *James Bruce*, who was tranſlated from *Dunkeld* to this See in the year 1446, and preferred to be Chancellor of the Kingdom.

25. After him Mr. *William Turnbull* (others called him *David*) was choſen Biſhop. He founded the College of *Glaſgow*.

26. Upon his death *Andrew Moorehead* was elected. The Hoſpital near the Caſtle was his Foundation.

27. To *Moorehead* ſucceeded *John Lang*, who was Chancellor of *Scotland*.

28. He dying, Mr. *George Carmighal* was promoved, but not conſecrated; for he died going to *Rome* for Confirmation.

29. *Robert Blacader*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, was after his death tranſlated to this See. In his time was the See of *Glaſgow* erected in an Archbiſhoprick, for which aroſe a great contention betwixt *Shevez* Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* and him, which after was ſome treaty pacified, and *Galloway*, *Argile* and *Iſles* appointed Suffragans to *Glaſgow*. He lived until the year 1500, at what time taking his journey toward *Jeruſalem*, he departed this life in the way thither.

30. Mr. *James*

30. Mr. *James Beaton* upon his death was preferred, and ſate Biſhop twenty two years; thereafter he was tranſlated to S. *Andrews*, of whom you may read. *An.* 631.

31. Mr. *Gawan Dumbar*, Tutour to the King, upon his Tranſlation was promoved; a good and learned man. He was afterwards made Chancellor of the Kingdom, and adminiſtred the Office with good commendation.

32. Mr. *James Beaton* ſucceeded after his death, in whoſe time the Reformation fell forth, and of him we ſhall have occaſion afterwards to ſpeak.

The Biſhops of GALLOWAY.

1. *Ninnian* had his chief abode in the Country of *Galloway*, and built there a Church all of white ſtone, which was therefore called *Candida caſa*, and to this day in the Country Language *Whitherne*, as you would ſay, *a white Houſe*. He is accompted the firſt Biſhop of this See. The Biſhops of *Galloway*.

2. In the year 631, one *Plechelmus* (*Beda* calleth him *Pectelmus*) was here Biſhop.

3. *Frithwoldus* ſucceeded to him, and died in the year 768.

4. After him *Pethumus*, who deceaſed *anno* 778.

5. Then *Ethelbert*.

6. And after him *Baldulphus*. Further mention I find not of any Biſhop in this See in thoſe firſt times; and it ſeems it hath been quite decayed, before *Malcolm* the Third reſtored the ſame.

In the latter times I read only of theſe following.

7. *John* Biſhop of *Galloway*, who reſigned his Charge, and became a Monk in the Abby of *Halirudhouſe*

8. *Thomas Spence*, tranſlated from *Galloway* to *Aberdene* in the year 1458.

9. *David*, who was alſo Dean of the Kings Chappel.

10. *Alexander*.

11. *Henry*.

12. *George*, unto whom ſucceeded *Andrew Dury*, who died at *Edinburgh anno* 1556.

13. And Biſhop *Alexander Gordon*, who lived at the Reformation, and embraced the Truth.

The Biſhops of ARGILE.

This Biſhoprick was part of the Dioceſe of *Dunkeld*, until *John Scot* Biſhop thereof obtained of *Clement* the Third a diviſion of the Biſhoprick, as you may read in the Catalogue of the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*. The Biſhops of *Argile*.

1. Then was *Evaldus* or *Harold* his Chaplain conſecrated Biſhop, and the Seat appointed to be at *Liſmore*, a ſmall Iſle in the Bay of *Inner-Lochy*, lying over againſt *Lorn*, whence the Biſhop of this See is ſtyled *Liſmorenſis Epiſcopus*. This erection was made in the year 1200.

2. To *Harold* ſucceeded *William*, who periſhed by a tempeſt at Sea, in the year 1240.

3. And to him another of the ſame name.

4. Then *David*, who was Biſhop in the year 1330.

5. In the year 1425, one *Finlaw* Biſhop of *Argile*, *Vir ordinis Dominicani*, as *Buchanan* ſaith, upon the apprehenſion of Duke *Murdach*, joyned with the Dukes youngeſt Son againſt King *James* the Firſt, and fled with him into *Ireland*. The King complaining of him to Pope *Martin* the Fifth, he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Dumblane* to call him before them, and finding him guilty, to depoſe him from the place; but he in the mean time died in *Ireland*.

6. So by the proviſion *George* Laird of *Balcomie* in *Fife*, was preferred to the See. How long he lived Biſhop, and who ſucceeded ſince his time, I have not learned.

The

An. 1289.

The Biſhops of the ISLES.

The Biſhops of the *Iſles.*

During the heat of the Tenth perſecution againſt the Primitive Chriſtians, under *Diocleſian* the *Roman* Emperour, many *Britains*, Clergy-men, Monks and others fled into *Scotland* for refuge, and were lovingly entertained by *Crathlinth*, who gave them the Iſle of *Man* to inhabit, and aſſigned to them ſufficient revenues for their maintenance. In this Iſle, *Crathlinth* built a ſtately Church to the honour of our Saviour, called *Sodorenſe Fanum*; hence the Biſhops of the Iſles were called *Sodorenſes Epiſcopi.*

1. The Firſt Biſhop was *Amphibalus* a *Britain* born, and a man of excellent piety, he lived very long, carefully inſtructing the *Scots* and *Picts*, in the Chriſtian Religion. He flouriſhed about the year 360.

2. The next Biſhop we read of, was *Machilla*, who confirmed S. *Bride* or *Brigida* in her purpoſe of ſingle life. He flouriſhed *anno* 516.

3. *Michael*, the time he lived in is uncertain.

4. After the Biſhoprick was erected by Pope *Gregory* the Fourth, we read of *Nicolas* who was Biſhop *anno* 1203.

5. Then *Reginald*, *anno* 1217.

6. Whether *Richard* (who dedicated the Church of S. *Maryes* in the *Caſtletown*) was his immediate ſucceſſor, I cannot tell. He flouriſhed *anno* 1257. During the times of theſe three laſt Biſhops the Iſles were ſometimes under the *Norvegians*, ſometimes under the *Scots*. But after that the Iſle of *Man* was made a member of the *Engliſh* Empire, the reſt of the Weſt Iſles did withdraw their obedience from the Biſhop thereof, and did chuſe a Biſhop of their own. The Seat was tranſlated to the Iſle of *Icolmkill*, and the Biſhop had his reſidence in the Abbey of Saint *Colme*. After the tranſlation of the See I read of

7. *Onacus* who is reported to have been a good and godly man. He flouriſhed *anno* 1289.

8. *Marcus*, who was Chancellor of *Scotland* in the time of the debate between *Robert Bruce* and *John Baliol* for the Crown.

9. Wether *Mauricius* (whom *Edward* the Firſt of *England*, carried priſoner to *London*) was the ſame man, or his ſucceſſor, I cannot tell.

10 I read of one of the Biſhops of the Iſles, who was ſlain with King *James* the Fourth at the unfortunate battel of *Flowdon anno* 1513. but I could never recover his name. And thus far of the ſucceſſion of Biſhops unto the time of the Reformation.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Third BOOK.

The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church, and how it is wrought.

THE Petitions put up to the Queen Regent for Reformation of the Church taking no effect, ſome Noblemen and Barons joyning in counſel did bind themſelves by Oaths and Subſcriptions to aſſiſt one another, and hazard their lives and ſubſtance, in advancing the cauſe of Religion. The principals were *Archibald* Earl of *Argile*, *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarne*, *James* Earl of *Morton*, *Archibald* Lord of *Lorne*, Sir *James Sandelands* of *Calder*, *John Erskin* of *Dun*, and *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger. They meeting together, after deliberation what ſhould be fitteſt firſt to do, concluded, *That in all Pariſhes the Curates ſhould be cauſed read the Prayers and Leſſons of the Old and New Teſtament on Sundays and other Feſtival days, according to the form ſet forth in the Book of Common Prayers; and if they ſhould refuſe, that the moſt qualified in every Pariſh ſhould do the ſame. But for Preaching and interpretation of Scripture, the ſame ſhould be uſed only in private houſes after a quiet manner, till God ſhould move the Queen to grant farther liberty.*

The Nobles and Barons reſolved upon a Reformation.

An. 1558.

An Act for publick Service.

Hiſtory of the Church.

This accordingly was performed in the parts where they had commandment, and by their example in divers Towns and Pariſhes of the Countrey the like was done, to the great offence of the Clergy, who complaining of that boldneſs to the Queen Regent were anſwered, that it was no fit time to enter into thoſe matters, and that ſhe ſhould find occaſion ere it were long to put order unto them. But the Clergy fearing delays did forthwith call a Provincial Council at *Edinburgh*; where profeſſing to make reformation of abuſes, they renewed ſome old Popiſh Conſtitutions, which they made to be imprinted and affixed upon the doors of all the Pariſh-Churches.

The Clergy complaining to the Queen Regent.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews*, advertiſed of the Reformation begun in *Argile*, ſent to the Earl Sir *David Hamilton* his Couſen, with a Letter, wherein after he had ſhewed the peril in which he caſt both himſelf and his Houſe by that open Defection from the Church, he deſired him in ſome honeſt faſhion to rid himſelf of that defamed and perjured Apoſtate who had ſeduced him; (this was one Mr. *John Dowglas* whom the Earl had taken to be his Miniſter) offering to provide him of a learned and wiſe Preacher, for whom he would lay his Soul in pawn that he ſhould teach no other but true Doctrine, and agreeable to the Catholick Faith. The Earl anſwered, 'That for peril he feared none either to himſelf or his Houſe, having 'reſolved to live in obedience to his Prince, and to ſerve God as well as he could 'according to his written Word: and for the Defection alledged, ſeeing it had 'pleaſed

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* letter to the Earl of *Argile*.

The Earl of *Argile* his anſwer.

An. 1558. 'pleaſed God to open his eyes and give him the knowledge of his Truth, which he 'took for a great argument of his favour, he would not relinquiſh or forſake it for 'fear of any inconveniences. As to the man he wrote of, he ſaid that he heard 'him teach the Doctrine of Chriſt, condemn Idolatry, Adultery, Fornication, 'and ſuch like wickedneſs, and that he ſhould make him give an accompt thereof 'whenſoever he ſhould be cited. But to call him defamed and perjured there was 'no reaſon ſeeing he was not declared to be ſuch by any Sentence; and if he had 'in former times made any unlawful oath, he had done much better in violating 'the ſame, than if he had obſerved it. Farther, whereas he made offer to provide 'him of ſome learned man, he gave him thanks, conſidering the neceſſity there 'was of labourers in the Lord's harveſt; but he underſtood what his meaning in 'that was, and minded not to be led with any ſuch Teachers. In end he wiſhed 'him not to begin the battel with him, whereof the event would be doubtful; for 'as to himſelf he knew God was God, and ſhould be God ſtill, whatſoever mans 'craft could work or deviſe.

The Feaſt of S. *Giles.*

The Biſhop receiving this anſwer did communicate the ſame with the chief of the Clergy, who thereby conceiving that there was ſome buſineſs in hand, began to think of other defences; and the Feaſt-day of S. *Giles*, or *Sanctus Egidius*, falling out about that time to be kept at *Edinburgh*, they intreated the Queen Regent to honor the ſolemnity with her preſence. The cuſtom was in that time of the year to carry the Image of the Saint in proceſſion through the Town, (for they had S. *Giles* to their Patron) with Drums, Trumpets, and all ſort of muſical inſtruments; neither was there any day kept more ſuperſtitiouſly than this. The Queen agreed the rather to accompany the proceſſion, for that ſome Tumult was feared, which ſhe thought her preſence would repreſs. But when the time of the Solemnity was come, the Saint was miſſing, for ſome had ſtoln the Image out of the place where it was kept. This made a ſtay, till another little Image was borrowed from the Gray Friers; which the vulgar in mockery called *young Saint Giles*. Herewith they ſet forward, the Regent accompanying the people till the Proceſſion was nigh ended; then withdrawing her ſelf to the lodging where ſhe was to dine, ſhe was no ſooner gone than ſome youths, provided for the purpoſe, drawing near unto the *Fertor*, and making a ſhew to carry it upon their ſhoulders, after they had walked ſome few paces, and perceived by the motion they made the Image was fixed to the *Fertor*, they threw all to the ground, and taking the Image by the heels, daſhed the ſame againſt the ſtones, ſo as head and hands were beaten off, and the Idol wholly defaced. The people hereupon fell a crying, the Prieſts and Church-men betook them to flight, and a great ſtir was in the ſtreets. Some hours the Fray continued, and being in end ſettled by the authority of the Magiſtrates, the whole Clergy that were in Town aſſembled themſelves; and making the beſt countenance they could, indicted a ſolemn meeting in the beginning of *November* next.

The Proceſſion diſturbed by a Tumult.

Paul Methven cited.

To this diet *Paul Methven* was ſummoned, and not appearing, was decerned for his contumacy to be baniſhed the Realm: a prohibition likewiſe was given to all the ſubjects, that none of them ſhould entertain or receive him in their houſes. Nottheleſs the Town of *Dundy*, where he abode, forbore not to hear his Sermons, and miniſter unto him all neceſſities. Meanwhile they who had combined for working a Reformation did ſend into all parts of the Realm to ſolicit perſons to joyn in that cauſe, and purchaſe the ſubſcriptions of thoſe that were willing unto a Bond which was framed to that effect. Some moved with a zeal to Religion, others out of a deſire to change, and the greateſt part longing to be relieved of the oppreſſions of the Church-men, were eaſily moved to conſent. So when they underſtood by the return of the Subſcriptions, that the Country for the moſt part was inclined that way, and that in force and power they were nothing inferiour to their adverſaries, they reſolved to begin and make an end of the work: yet leſt they ſhould ſeem to contemn Authority, they concluded to preſent a ſupplication to the Queen Regent and Council, to whom *the redreſs of all enormities both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil did orderly belong*; (theſe were the words of the Supplication:) and to this effect made choice of Sir *James Sandelands* of *Calder*, an honourable Baron, and of great accompt, to preſent the Petitions following.

Supplication to the Queen Regent for Reformation.

1. That

1. That their Miniſters might be permitted, in conceiving of publick Prayers and the adminiſtration of the Sacraments, to uſe the Vulgar language underſtood by the people. *An.* 1558. Petitions for Reformation.

2. That the Sacrament of the Supper might be miniſtred in both kinds, according to our Saviours inſtitution.

3. That the election of Miniſters ſhould be according to the manner uſed in the primitive Church, that thoſe who had the charge of election ſhould enquire diligently of the Life and Doctrine of ſuch as were admitted.

4. That ſeeing by corruption of time ignorant and ſcandalous perſons had been promoved to Eccleſiaſtical offices, they ſhould after trial be diſcharged, and other more ſufficient put in their places.

Theſe Petitions were no way pleaſing to the Queen Regent, yet becauſe the Parliament was approaching, wherein the matrimonial Crown and naturalization of the *French* were to be paſſed, ſhe thought beſt to keep them in hope, ſaying, *That all they could lawfully deſire ſhould be granted unto them; mean while they were licentiated to uſe their Prayers and Service in the vulgar language, providing they did keep no publick aſſemblies in* Edinburgh *or* Leith, *for eſchewing of Tumults.* The Queens anſwer.

The Prelates having notice of this were highly incenſed, and when their conſent was required (for the ſame Petitions were preſented to them) carrying themſelves more imperiouſly than before, anſwered, that *they would not depart a jot from the decrees of Trent.* Afterwards being a little calmed, they made offer to commit the cauſe to diſpute, which by theſe of the *Congregation* (this was the title given commonly to the Reformers) was accepted upon two conditions; one, that the controverſies in Religion might be decided by the Scripture; the other condition was, that ſuch of their brethren as were exiled or condemned might aſſiſt the diſpute, and have ſafe conduct given them to that effect. But both the conditions were denied; for neither would they admit any other Judge but the Canon Law and Council, nor would they diſpenſe with any ſentence by them pronounced. A diſpute offered by the Clergy, and accepted by the Congregation.

Some of them that affected quietneſs propounded other conditions of reconcilement; that if the Congregation would ſuffer the Maſs to be held in the wonted reverence, if they would acknowledge Purgatory, confeſs the invocation of Saints, and admit Prayers for the dead, they ſhould be allowed to pray and adminiſtrate the Sacraments in a known language. But thoſe conditions were held ſo ridiculous and abſurd, as they were not vouchſafed any anſwer. Ridiculous conditions offered to the Petitioners.

Soon after this the Parliament being aſſembled, the Articles following were preſented to the Queen Regent. Articles preſented by the Congregation to the Parliament.

1. That in regard the Controverſies in Religion, which had a long time continued betwixt the Proteſtants in *Germany* and the *Roman* Church, were not as yet decided by a lawful General Council, and that they themſelves upon the ſame grounds could not any longer communicate with Papiſts in their idolatrous Religion; the humble deſire of the Congregation was, that all ſuch Acts of Parliament as warranted Church-men to proceed againſt Hereticks might be abrogated, or at leaſt ſuſpended, till in a lawful General Council the Controverſies depending were determined.

2. And leſt it ſhould hereby ſeem that they deſired a liberty to profeſs what they pleaſed, they humbly required that all ſuch might be led before the temporal Judge, the Prelates and their officers being only permitted to accuſe; with this proviſo, that an authentick Copy of the accuſation ſhould be delivered to the perſon accuſed, and a competent term aſſigned him to anſwer.

3. That all lawful defences ſhould be received from Perſons accuſed of Hereſie, and they allowed to except againſt the Witneſſes according to Law.

4. That the party accuſed ſhould have liberty to expone his own mind, and that his Declaration might carry more faith than the depoſition of whatſoever Witneſſes; foraſmuch as no perſon ought to ſuffer for Religion, who is not known to be obſtinate in his wicked opinions.

5. That none of their profeſſion ſhould be condemned for Hereſie, unleſs they were firſt convinced by the Word of God to have erred from the Faith, which the holy Spirit witneſſeth to be neceſſary to Salvation.

The

An. 1558. The Queen receiving the Articles answered in effect as before, That it was not safe for her to utter her mind at that time; which if she should do, the spiritual Estate would not fail to oppose her in all business. But how soon the publick matters were passed, they should know what a good mind she bare unto them. Howbeit this answer did no way content the wiser sort, yet knowing that the Articles would not pass in an Act if she should dissent, they resolved to surcease from presenting them to the Estates, only desired they might be permitted to make a Protestation, which they did in this sort.

The Queen Regent stayeth the presenting of the Articles.

The Protestation made by those that desired Reformation.

It is not unknown to this honorable Parliament, what Controversie is of late arisen betwixt those that will be called Prelates and Rulers of the Church, and a great number of us the Nobility and Commonalty of this Realm for the true worshipping of God, the duty of Ministers, and the right administration of the holy Sacraments: and how we have complained to the Queen Regent, that our Consciences are burthened with unprofitable Ceremonies, and we compelled to endure many idolatrous abuses; that such as take upon them Offices Ecclesiastical do perform no part of the duty which is required of true Ministers, and that we and our brethren are most injustly oppressed by their usurped authority. As also we suppose it to be sufficiently known to your Honors, that we were of mind this present Parliament to seek redress of these enormities; but considering the troubles of the time do not suffer such a Reformation as we by the warrant of God's Word do require, we are enforced to delay that, which of all things most earnestly we desire; and yet lest our silence should give our adversaries occasion to think that we repent us of our former intentions, we cannot cease to protest for remedy against that injust Tyranny, which heretofore patiently we have sustained.

Therefore first we protest, that seeing we cannot obtain just Reformation according to Gods Word, that it may be lawful to us to use our selves in matters of Religion and Conscience, as we must answer unto God, until such time as our adversaries be able to prove themselves the true Ministers of Christs Church, and purge themselves of such crimes as we have already laid to their charge, offering our selves to prove the same, whensoever the sacred Authority shall please to give us audience.

Secondly, we protest, that neither we nor any other of the godly that please to joyn with us in the true Faith, which is grounded upon the word of God, shall incurr any danger of life or lands, or other political pains, for not observing such acts as have passed heretofore in favor of our adversaries, or for violating such Rites as have been invented by man without the Commandment of God.

We thirdly protest, that if any tumult or uproar shall arise amongst the members of the Realm for the diversity of Religion, and if it shall chance that abuses be violently reformed, the crime be not imputed to us, who now do most humbly seek that all things may be reformed by order: but that whatsoever inconvenience shall happen to ensue for lack of timely redress, the same may be imputed to those that will not as now hearken to our Petitions for reformation.

And last we protest, that these our requests, proceeding from Conscience, do tend to no other end but only to the reformation of abuses in religion; most humbly beseeching the sacred authority to think of us as faithful and obedient subjects, and take us in their protection, keeping that indifferency which becometh Gods Lieutenants to use towards those that in his name do call for defence against cruel oppressors and blood-thirsty tyrants.

The Protestation refused to be inserted in the Records.

These Protestations made in face of Parliament, were desired to be insert in the Books of publick Records; but the Queen Regent answering that she should remember what was protested, & put a good end to all things, the desire was rejected.

The Queens countenance changed towards the Congregation.

Yet how soon the Parliament brake up, and matters in it went to her contentment, it was observed that her countenance was quite altered upon those that favored the Reformation, and often she was heard say, *That being now freed of the vexations which most troubled her mind, she would labor to restore the Authority by some notable example to that reverend esteem which in the late times it had lost:* whereby divers did apprehend that a Tempest was breeding, albeit the same did not break forth until the next Spring; at which time taking up the names of all the Ministers in the Country, she caused summon them to appear at *Striveling* the tenth

tenth of *May*. Hereupon the Earl of *Glencarn* and Sir *Hugh Cambel* Sheriff of *Aire* were ſent to enquire the reaſon of that Citation, and to entreat her not to moleſt the Miniſters, unleſs they could be charged with preaching falſe doctrine, or behaving themſelves diſorderly. The Queen in paſſion replied, *That maugre their hearts, and all that would take part with them, theſe Miniſters ſhould be baniſhed* Scotland, *though they preached as ſoundly as ever S.* Paul *did.* *An.* 1559. Commiſſions directed to the Queen.

The Noblemen marvelling what ſhould move her to ſuch paſſion, beſought her in humble manner to think of the promiſes ſhe had made to them from time to time. Hereat growing into a greater choler ſhe ſaid, *That the promiſes of Princes ſhould be no further ſtrained than it ſeemed to them convenient to perform.* Then ſaid they, *If this be the concluſion which you have taken, that you will keep no promiſes to the Subjects, we cannot any longer acknowledge your Authority, and will henceforth renounce all obedience to you; what inconveniences may ariſe of this, you may bethink your ſelf.* This unexpected anſwer calming the Queen a little, after a few more words, ſhe ſaid, that ſhe would think how to remedy theſe evils in the beſt and moſt quiet ſort.

The ſame day at night advertiſement was brought to the Queen of the Reformation begun in the Town of *Perth*, wherewith ſhe was much diſturbed, and calling the Lord *Ruthven*, commanded him to go and ſuppreſs theſe Novations. He anſwering, *That he ſhould make their bodies and goods ſubject, but had no power over their minds and conſciences*, ſhe was ſo commoved, that ſhe avowed to make both him and them repent what they had done. Reformation begun at *Perth*.

The Diet appointed for the appearing of the Miniſters at *Striveling* drawing nigh, the Profeſſors in all parts of the Country prepared to accompany them. In the parts of *Angus* and *Mernis* ſuch was the zeal of the people as none would ſtay at home, all profeſſing to go and yield confeſſion of their Faith with their Miniſters.

The Queen advertiſed of this concourſe of people from all parts, employed *John Areskin* of *Dun* to cauſe them return home, promiſing that the Diet ſhould deſert, and nothing to be done to the prejudice of the Miniſters. This he ſignified by letters to the principals of the Congregation, adviſing them to diſmiſs the multitude. But they ſuſpecting (as it alſo came to paſs) that ſome advantage ſhould be taken of the Miniſters not appearing at the day, reſolved to make the Commons return to their houſes, the Barons and Gentlemen ſtaying at *Perth* in the mean while with the Preachers. When the day appointed came, notwithſtanding of the promiſes made, the Preachers not appearing were denounced Rebels. The Laird of *Dun* offending herewith, departed from Court, and coming to *Perth* excuſed himſelf of the advice he had given, declaring that they were not to expect any favour, and that they ſhould do wiſely to provide againſt the worſt. The Queen Regent dealeth with the Lord of *Dun* to ſtay the contentions of the people.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed, *John Knox* returned from *Geneva* into *Scotland*, and joyning with the Congregation did preach to them at *Perth*. In his Sermon he took occaſion to ſpeak againſt the Adoration of Images, ſhewed that the ſame tended to God's diſhonour, and that ſuch Idols and monuments of Superſtition as were erected in Churches ought to be pulled down, as being offenſive to good and godly people. The Sermon ended and the better ſort gone to dinner, a Prieſt, rather to try mens affections than out of any devotion, prepared to ſay Maſſe, opening a great caſe, wherein was the Hiſtory of divers Saints exquiſitely carved. A young boy that ſtood by ſaying that ſuch boldneſs was unſufferable, the Prieſt gave him a blow. The boy in an anger caſting a ſtone at the Prieſt, happened to break one of the Pictures: whereupon ſtir was preſently raiſed, ſome of the common ſort falling upon the Prieſt, others running to the Altar and breaking the Images, ſo as in a moment all was pulled down in the Church that carried any mark of Idolatry. The people upon the noiſe thereof aſſembled in great numbers, and invading the Cloiſters, made ſpoil of all they found therein. The *Franciſcans* had ſtore of proviſion both of victuals and houſhold-ſtuffe: amongſt the *Dominicans* the like wealth was not found, yet ſo much there was as might ſhew the profeſſion they made of Poverty to be feigned and counterfeit. The *Carthuſians*, who paſſed both theſe in wealth, were uſed in like manner; yet was the Prior permitted to take with him what he might carry of gold and ſilver plate. All the ſpoil was given to the poor, *John Knox* joyneth with the Congregation at *Perth*. The Monaſteries demoliſhed at *Perth*.

An. 1559. the rich ſort forbearing to meddle with any part thereof. But that which was moſt admired was, the ſpeed they made in demoliſhing theſe edifices. For the *Charterhouſe* (a building of exceeding coſt and largeneſs) was not only ruined, but the ſtones and timber ſo quickly taken away, as in leſs than two days ſpace a veſtige thereof was ſcarce remaining to be ſeen. They of *Couper* in *Fife*, hearing what was done at *Perth*, went in like manner to their Church, and defaced all the Images, Altars and other inſtruments of Idolatry; which the Curate took ſo heavily, as the night following he put violent hands in himſelf.

The Images pulled down at *Couper* in *Fife*.

The report of theſe things being brought to the Queen Regent, ſhe was greatly incenſed, eſpecially againſt thoſe of *Perth*, and preſently diſpatched letters to the Duke of *Chattellerault* (the Lord *Hamilton* was ſo ſtyled) and to the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol*, deſiring them to come to her with diligence. The *French* Garriſon were likewiſe called, her purpoſe being to ſurpriſe the Town at unawares. But they within the Town receiving advertiſement of her preparation, ſent meſſengers to all the parts of the Kingdom for aid and aſſiſtance. Many came to their ſuccours from *Angus*, *Mernis*, *Fife*, and the adjacent Shires; ſome alſo from *Lothian*. But the celerity which *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn* uſed was moſt admired; for he, upon warning given him of the danger wherein the Town ſtood, taking his way through the mountains, travelled night and day till he came to *Perth*, bringing with him two thouſand and five hundred men, a good and opportune ſupport; the Lord *Ruthven* having a little before fallen from them, and gone to the Queen, which bred a great diſcouragement to the reſt. The principals that came in *Glencarn*'s company were the Lords of *Boyde* and *Ochiltrie*, the Sheriff of *Aire*, the Lairds of *Cragie*, *Seſnok*, *Carnall*, *Bar* and *Garthgirth*.

The Queen Regent intendeth to ſurpriſe *Perth*.

The Earl of *Glencarn* cometh to aſſiſt the Town.

The Queen getting intelligence that the Earl of *Glencarn* was come to aſſiſt them, and that in the Town there was ſeven thouſand Gentlemen, beſides the Burgers, reſolute men all; ſent the Earl of *Argile* and the Prior of S. *Andrews*, called then Lord *James*, to enquire the reaſon of their Convocation, and mediate an Accord. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Laird of *Dun*, ſelected to treat with them, anſwered to the firſt Point, *That they were come thither to defend their friends, and ſave the Town from deſtruction.* As to the Accord they profeſſed to mediate, they ſaid, *That if the Queen Regent would ceaſe from troubling the Profeſſors of true Religion, and ſuffer the Reformation begun in the Town to proceed, they ſhould in all other things be obedient to her commandments.*

An Accord mediated by the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*.

The Noblemen employed in this Treaty were known to be well affected to the cauſe, which made them within the Town hearken to the Conditions proponed; and ſo much the rather, that the Noblemen did promiſe, if the Queen did either refuſe to accept reaſonable conditions, or the ſame being accepted did violate the leaſt jot thereof, they ſhould in that caſe joyn themſelves openly with the Congregation, and undergo the like hazard that they did. Thus at their perſwaſion the Articles following were drawn up and agreed unto by both parties.

The Conditions of the Accord.

1. That both the Armies diſſolving, the Town ſhould be left patent to the Queen.

2. That none of the Inhabitants ſhould be moleſted or called in queſtion for the alteration they had made in Religion.

3. That no *French-men* ſhould enter into the Town, nor approach to it by the ſpace of three miles; and that when the Queen retired, there ſhould no *French* Garriſon be left in the Town.

4. That all other controverſies ſhould be delayed unto the next Parliament, or meeting of the Eſtates.

This appointment was made the 29 of *May*, *Anno* 1559. After which publick thanks being given by *John Knox* for the good iſſue of the preſent Trouble, the Congregation departed forth of the Town, having firſt obliged themſelves one to another, that they ſhould all concur in maintaining the true Religion, and be ready at all occaſions to defend the Profeſſors thereof; for ſtill they feared that promiſes ſhould not be kept with them, and that the Queen would find occaſions to violate the

the Articles whenſoever ſhe pleaſed, as the ſucceſs alſo declared. *An.* 1559

For immediately upon their departing, ſhe entered into the Town with ſome *French* ſouldiers in her company, contrary to the Articles; one of whom marching by the houſe of *Patrick Murray*, a Citizen who was known to be moſt forward in the cauſe of Religion, whether caſually or of purpoſe, it is uncertain, killed with a ſhot his ſon, a boy of 13 years old, that was beholding the Queens entry. The child being brought and laid before the Queens lodging, ſhe asked whoſe ſon he was; anſwer made that he was the ſon of one *Patrick Murray*, ſhe ſaid that *the caſe was to be pitied; and the more, that it had fallen on the ſon, and not on the father: but ſhe could not help misfortune.* Before three days paſſed all the heads of the Capitulation were broken, ſome of the Citizens exiled, others fined in great ſums, the preſent Magiſtrates thruſt out of Office, new Rulers intruded, and four Companies of ſouldiers left in the town for a Gariſon, who were charged to permit no other Service but that of the *Roman* Church, which againſt promiſe ſhe had of new eſtabliſhed. Some that deſired matters ſhould be more peaceably carried, told her that the placing of a Gariſon would be interpreted a breach of the Articles. She anſwered, *That the promiſe was to leave no* French *ſouldiers in the Town, which ſhe had done, for they were all* Scottiſh *men that were there.* And it being replied, that all who took wages of the *French* King would be counted *French* ſouldiers: ſhe ſaid, *That promiſe was not to be kept to Hereticks, and if ſhe could make as honeſt an excuſe after the fact committed, ſhe would take upon her conſcience to kill and undo all that Sect.* But *Princes*, ſaid ſhe, *ought not to have their promiſes ſo ſtrictly urged.*

The Queen Regent entereth into *Perth.*

The Articles of Peace violated.

Theſe ſpeeches being divulged did procure to her much ill will. Some reaſon indeed ſhe had to aſſure the Town, it being the Town of all the Kingdom moſt commodious for the aſſembling of forces out of all quarters, and the people by nature bellicoſe, and at that time greatly inclined to thoſe of the Congregation: but the advantage ſhe made of this was little or nothing to the malice ſhe incurred by the breach of promiſes. Neither did ſhe after this time ever ſee a good day, but was of all ſorts of people deſpiſed and miſregarded.

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James*, thinking their honors touched by the breach of the Peace which they had mediated, did forſake her and went to the Congregation, whereupon they were charged to appear before the Council; but they anſwered, *That ſeeing the Queen had broken Conditions, which by warrant from her ſelf they had made with the Lords of the Congregation, they would have no more medling in ſuch diſhoneſt courſes, and do the beſt to repair things.*

The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* forſake the Regent.

The Noblemen remained at that time in S. *Andrews*; and becauſe they foreſaw this their anſwer would not be well accepted, and feared ſome ſudden attempt (for the Queen with her *Frenchmen* lay then at *Falkland*) they ſent to the Lords of *Dun* and *Pittarrow*, and others that favoured Religion in the Countrys of *Angus* and *Mernis*, and requeſted them to meet at S. *Andrews* the 4 day of *June*. Mean while they themſelves went to the town of *Craile*, whither all that had warning came, ſhewing great forwardneſs and reſolutions; and were not a little incouraged by *John Knox*, who in a Sermon made unto them at the ſame time put them in mind of that he foretold at *Perth*, how there was no ſincerity in the Queen Regents dealing, and that Conditions would not be kept, as they had found. Therefore did he exhort them not to be any longer deluded with fair promiſes, ſeeing there was no peace to be hoped for at their hands who took no regard of Contracts and Covenants ſolemnly ſworn. And becauſe there would be no quietneſs till one of the parties were maſters, and ſtrangers expulſed out of the Kingdom, he wiſhed them to prepare themſelves either to die as men, or to live victorious.

John Knox in a Sermon preached at *Craile* perſuadeth the expulſion of the *French.*

By this exhortation the hearers were ſo moved, as they fell immediately to the pulling down of Altars and Images, and deſtroyed all the Monuments which were abuſed to Idolatry in the Town. The like they did the next day in *Auſtruther*, and from thence came directly to S. *Andrews*. The Biſhop hearing what they had done in the Coaſt-towns, and ſuſpecting they would attempt the ſame Reformation in the City, came to it well accompanied, of purpoſe to withſtand them: but after he had tried the affections of the Towns-men, and found them all inclining to the Con-

Images pulled down at *Craile* and *Auſtruther.*

An. 1559.

gregation, he went away early the next morning towards *Falkland* to the Queen.

The Monasteries of S. *Andrews* demolished.

That day being Sunday, *John Knox* preached in the Parish-Church, taking for his theme the History of the Gospel touching our Saviours purging of the Temple; and applying the corruption which was at that time in *Jerusalem* to the present estate in the Church, and declaring what was the duty of those to whom God had given authority and power, he did so incite the Auditors, as, the Sermon being ended they went all and made spoil of the Churches, rasing the Monasteries of the Black and Gray Friers to the ground. The report of this carried to the Queen Regent, she was sore incensed, and presently gave order for the marching of the *French* Companies towards S. *Andrews*, directing Proclamations to all the parts about for meeting her in arms the next morning at *Couper*.

Proclamation to meet the Queen at *Couper*.

The Lords of the Congregation prevent her.

The Lords taking purpose to prevent her coming, went the same night thither accompanied with 100 horse only, and as many foot; but such was the readiness of men in that quarrel, as before 10 of the Clock on the next day their number grew to 3000. The Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Ruthven* brought with them many Gentlemen from *Lothian*: the Lairds of *Calder*, *Ormston*, *Halton*, *Restarig* and *Coalston* brought only a few; for the warning they got was late, yet their presence did greatly incourage the rest. The towns of *Dundy*, S. *Andrews* and *Couper* shewed great resolution and courage.

The meeting at *Couper* Moor.

In the morning early the Noblemen had drawn forth their Companies to the Moor on the West side of the town, and committed the direction of all things to Mr. *James Halleburton*, Provost of *Dundy*, a man of good experience, and much esteemed both for valour and counsel, who made choice of a plot of ground most convenient for defence; for it lay so, as the Munition might play on all sides upon the enemy, without receiving any annoyance from them, till it should come to handy-blows. A little River ran also between the Armies, which the enemies behoved pass before they gave the onset. The Lord *Ruthven* with the horsemen was placed in the vantguard; the other Lords with the Gentlemen of *Angus*, *Mernis*, *Fife* and *Lothian*, made the battel. The Towns-men of *Dundy*, S. *Andrews* and *Couper* were set in the rear, and a certain space from them were the serving-men and followers of the Camp appointed to stand, which made shew of an auxiliary force provided against all accidents.

The estate of the Queens Army.

In the Queen Regents Army the *French* were commanded by *Monsier de Offell*, and the Scots by the Duke of *Chattelerault*: the morning was dark, and the fields covered with a foggy mist, which hindered the Armies that they could not see one another. About noontide, when the air began to clear, the *French* sent some of their company to view the numbers and order kept by the Congregation; who beholding them from afar as they stood ranged in three battels, and perceiving behind them the multitude of serving people, which they took to be a supply of *Frenchmen*, affirmed at their return the numbers to be greater than in truth they were. Upon this a Post was directed to the Queen (who was not as yet come from *Falkland*) to inform her how matters went, and to shew that the Lords were much stronger than was supposed, and very forward to fight; as likewise that they perceived a secret muting in their own Army, some openly professing, that they would not fight against their friends and Countrymen for the pleasure of strangers. She hearing this, was content they should treat for Peace. So the Lord *Lindsey* and the Laird of *Waughton* were imployed by the Duke to confer with the Lords, who at first were not suffered to approach nigh to the Army, and had answer that they knew the Queen had sent those forces to pursue them, and if they would invade they should find them prepared to defend. But they professing all their desires to be for Peace, and that they were sent to that effect, were afterwards permitted to go to the Lords, who told them, *That they had been so often abused with the Queen Regents promises, as they could not trust her words any more; but if she would send back the* Frenchmen *that troubled the Country and give surety that no violence should be used to those that profess the true Religion, they should not be found unreasonable.* It was answered, *That for dimitting the* Frenchmen *she could say nothing till the* French *King was advertised; and for the security*

A Treaty for Peace.

The *French* required to be dimitted.

rity craved, ſhe could give no other but her own Word, nor ſtood it with her honour to do otherwiſe. Thus becauſe a preſent Peace could not be concluded, a Truce for eight days was made upon condition that the *French* ſouldiers ſhould be tranſported unto *Lothian*, and promiſe given, *That before the expiring of that time ſome indifferent men ſhould be ſent to S.* Andrews, *authorized with ſufficient power for making a firm and ſolid Peace.* This Truce, made at *Garlibank* the 13 of *June*, 1559. was ſigned by the Duke and *Monſieur de Oyſell* in name of the Queen. *An.* 1559. The Truce accorded.

This done the Lords of the Congregation departed, leaving the fields firſt at the Duke's requeſt, and returning to *Couper* gave publick thanks for that the enemies had failed of their purpoſe. The next day, diſmiſſing the multitude, they went to S. *Andrews*, where attending ſome days (but in vain) the coming of theſe indifferent perſons, who were promiſed to be ſent thither, for concluding a final Peace, complaints were daily brought unto them of the oppreſſions uſed by the Laird of *Kinfawns*, whom the Queen Regent had placed Provoſt in the Town of *Perth*. The Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* did hereupon write to the Queen, ſhewing how at her ſpecial deſire they had travelled with the Congregation then being at *Perth*, and brought them to accept of the conditions propounded by her ſelf: the breach whereof, chiefly in one point, that is the placing of a Garriſon of ſouldiers in the town of *Perth*, was no leſs diſhonourable to them who had given their promiſes to the contrary, than it was grievous to the people. Therefore they deſired the Garriſon might be removed, and the Town reſtored to the former liberty. The Town of *Perth* complaineth of their oppreſſions.

No anſwer returning, the Lords reſolved to expulſe the Garriſon by force, and coming to *Perth*, the 24 of *June*, they ſummoned the Provoſt, Captains and Souldiers to render, aſſuring them, if they held out, and that it happened any one to be killed in the aſſault, all their lives ſhould pay for it. The Provoſt and Captains anſwered, That they had promiſed to keep the town for the Queen Regent, and would to the laſt drop of their bloud defend the ſame. As theſe things were in doing, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lord *Areskin* and Mr. *James Bannatyne*, Juſtice Clerk, came by direction of the Queen to perſwade the Lords to delay the ſiege, at leaſt for ſome days: but they refuſed to defer it the ſpace of one hour, praying them, if they loved the ſafety of the beſieged, to adviſe them to render; for if any harm ſhould be done in the aſſault, their lives ſhould anſwer it. *Huntley* offending that his interceſſion availed not, left them without a farewel. The Lords beſiege *Perth*.

Then were the Provoſt and Captains again ſummoned. But they expected no ſudden aſſault, and being confident that the Queen would ſend relief, anſwered as before: whereupon the Lord *Ruthven*, that lay on the Weſt quarter, began to batter the walls with his munition. The men of *Dundy*, who lay upon the Eaſt-ſide, played upon the Town in like manner with their pieces, which put the beſieged in fear; ſo as conſidering their own weakneſs, and doubting the ſuccourſe ſhould come too late, they demanded a Parlee, wherein it was agreed, that if the Queen did not ſend relief within the ſpace of 12 hours, they ſhould depart and go forth of the Town with their weapons and Enſigns diſplayed. Thus was the Town yielded, *Kinfawnes* expulſed, and the Lord *Ruthven* repoſſeſſed in his charge, and the inhabitants reſtored to their Liberties. *Perth* yielded upon Compoſition.

The next day the Abbey of *Scone*, ſituate a mile above *Perth*, was burnt to aſhes by the Towns-men of *Dundy*. The Noblemen were earneſt to have the Church and Houſe ſaved from fire; but the people were in ſuch fury, becauſe one of their company was killed by a ſhot from the Houſe, as by no means could they be pacified. The Abbey of *Scone* demoliſhed.

Intelligence in the mean time coming to the Lords, that the Queen was of mind to place a Garriſon of *French* ſouldiers in *Striveling*, to ſtop that paſſage, and ſeclude the Profeſſors beyond the River of *Forth* from thoſe of the South, they made haſte to prevent her, and riſing at midnight came early in the morning to the Town, and immediately after their coming pulled all the Monaſteries to the ground. The Altars and Images in all the Churches within and about the Town were broken and defaced, and the Abbey of *Cambuskenneth* ruined and caſt down. Three days they abode at *Striveling*, and on the fourth marched towards *Edinburgh*, doing the like The Abbey of *Cambuskenneth* ruined.

An. 1559. at *Linlithgow*, which is in the way. The rumour of their approach, though they were but few in number, (for they passed not three hundred men in all) did so terrifie the Queen and the companies that were with her, as with all the haste they could make they fled to *Dunbar*. The Lord *Seaton*, who for the time was Provost of *Edinburgh*, and took upon him the protection of the Black and Gray Friers, abandoned the charge, and left all to the spoil of the multitude, who before the arriving of the Lords had demolished all the Monasteries within the Town, and carried away whatsoever they found in the same. It is strange to think how by so weak means in such a disorderly way those things should have been wrought, seeing upon the least shew of resistance the enterprisers would in all probability have left their attempt. But God put such a fear in the adversaries hearts, as they did flee none pursuing.

Images and Altars pulled down at *Linlithgow* and *Edinburgh*.

A Proclamation by the Queen Regent.

The Queen Regent not knowing how to redress these things, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein she declared, 'That having perceived a seditious Tumult to be 'raised by a part of the Lieges, who named themselves the *Congregation*, and un-'der pretence of Religion had taken Arms, She, by the advice of the Lords of the 'Privy-Council, for satisfying every mans Conscience, and pacifying the present 'Troubles, had made offer to call a Parliament in *January* next, or sooner if they 'were pleased, for establishing an universal order in matters of Religion by the 'advice of the Estates, and in the mean time to suffer every man live at liberty, 'serving their Conscience without any trouble, until farther order were taken. 'And because much appeared to consist upon the state of the Town of *Edinburgh*, 'she in like manner had offered to permit the inhabitants to use what manner of 'Religion they would during that time, to the end none might have just cause to 'say that they were forced to any thing against their minds. But that they of the 'Congregation, rejecting all reasonable offers, had by their actions clearly shew-'ed, that it is not Religion, nor any thing pertaining thereto, that they seek, but 'only the subversion of Authority, and the usurpation of the Crown. In testimony 'whereof they daily brought *English* men into their houses, that came with messa-'ges unto them, and returned answers back to *England*, and of late had violently 'possessed the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, and intromitted with the Irons of the Mint-'house, one of the chief things that concerned the Crown. Wherefore she com-'manded all persons belonging to the said Congregation, (the inhabitants of the 'Burgh excepted) to depart forth of the Town of *Edinburgh* within six hours af-'ter the charge, as likewise all that were of their society to forsake them, and live 'obedient to the Authority, except they would be reputed and holden Traitors 'to the Crown, *&c.*

Rumours dispersed to the prejudice of the Congregation.

Together with this Proclamation rumors were dispersed, that the Lords of the Congregation had conspired to deprive the Queen Regent of her Authority, and to disinherit the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his heir of their succession and title to the Crown. These rumors were believed of divers, and prevailed so far, as many that assisted the Congregation began to shrink and fall away: in regard whereof it was thought needful they should clear themselves both by their Letters to the Queen, and open Proclamation to the people; which they did in manner following.

The Lords purge themselves to the Queen.

First in the Letters directed to the Queen they said, *That they had notice given them of a Proclamation lately made, wherein they were traduced as usurpers of their Sovereigns Authority, and Invaders of her Person, who in absence of their Sovereigns governed the Realm, which they esteemed to proceed of a sinistrous information made by their enemies, and was an imputation most false and odious; their intentions being no other but to abolish Idolatry and superstitious abuses, that did not agree with the Word of God, and maintain the true Preachers thereof from the violence of wicked men. They did therefore beseech her to use her Authority to that effect, and for other matters she should find them as obedient as any subjects within the Realm; whereof they promised to give testimony and assurance, so as they might have safe access to her Highness.* This was the substance of the Letter which was sent by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Ochiltry* unto her.

The Proclamation of the Lords.

In the Proclamation they did call God to witness, *That such crimes as they were charged with never entered into their hearts, and that their only intention was to*

banish

baniſh Idolatry, and advance true Religion, and defend the Preachers thereof; promiſing to continue in all duty towards their Sovereign and her Mother their Regent, provided they might enjoy the liberty of their Conſciences. As to the intromiſſion with the Irons of the Mint-houſe, they ſaid, *That they being born Counſellors of the Realm, and ſworn to procure the profit thereof, when they underſtood the ſubjects to be greatly hurt by the baſeneſs of the money, which increaſed the dearth of all neceſſary wares, they could do no leſs of their duties than ſtay the coyning of more lay mony, until the Nobility and Council had taken further deliberation therein. And where it was given out, that they had ſpoiled the Mint-houſe of great ſums, in that point they did remit themſelves to the Declaration of Mr.* Robert Richardſon, *Maſter of the Mint, in whoſe hands they delivered all the gold and ſilver, both coined and uncoined, which there was found,* &c. For the intelligence with *England* nothing was replied: whereby it ſeemed there was ſome dealing that way for expelling the *French-men*; which they did not deny, and thought not convenient as then openly to profeſs. *An.* 1559

The Queen taking hold of the laſt words of the Letter ſent unto her ſelf, and deſiring to know what they would ſay, as likewiſe truſting to gain ſomewhat by conference with them, did offer a ſafe-conduct to any that pleaſed: whereupon the Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cunningham-head* were ſent in the name of the Congregation, to declare *that their intent and purpoſe was no other, but that they might enjoy the liberty of their Conſciences, and unable Miniſters be removed from all Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration; Chriſt* Jeſus *might be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly adminiſtred; and that their Preachers might be licenſed to do their offices without moleſtation, until ſuch time as by a general Council lawfully convened, or by a Parliament within the Realm, the controverſies of Religion ſhould be decided. Which things being granted, they did faithfully promiſe in all other things dutiful obedience. Only, to be aſſured of ſincere dealing, they deſired that the* French *companies which were to the countrey a burthen, & fearful to them, might be ſent home to their native Countrey.* The Lairds of *Pittarrow* and *Cunningham-head*, ſent to the Queen.

Theſe Propoſitions were not pleaſing, yet made ſhe no ſhew of any diſlike, but uſing gracious words, ſaid, *That if ſhe could be aſſured of their honeſt and dutiful meaning to her Daughter and her ſelf, their demands ſeemed not unreaſonable. But ſhe longed to ſpeak with ſome of their number who were of greater Authority,* meaning, as afterwards ſhe uttered, that her deſire was the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *James* ſhould come unto her; for when ſhe ſaw the Lord *Ruthven* and *Ochiltry* returned not unto her with the Laird of *Pittarrow*, ſhe fell a-complaining that ſhe was not ſought in a courteous manner, and that they in whom ſhe put her moſt confidence had left her in her greateſt need. In end ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe could not be ſatisfied till ſhe ſpake with the Earl of* Argile *and Lord* James, *for ſtill ſhe ſuſpected that there was ſome higher purpoſe amongſt them than Religion.* The Queens deſire to ſpeak with the Earl of *Argile* and the Lord *James*.

This reported to the Lords, they would not by any means condeſcend that theſe Noblemen ſhould go unto her, doubting ſome practice againſt them; for ſhe was heard ſay, *That if the means could be found out to divide theſe two from the reſt, ſhe was ſure to prevail:* one likewiſe of her chief attendants was ſaid to have bragged, that before *Michaelmas* next both theſe Noblemen ſhould loſe their heads. This not ſucceeding, it was agreed that the Duke, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Lords *Erskin* and *Summervaile*, with the Abbot of *Kilwining* and Juſtice Clerk ſhould meet for the Queen with ſuch as the Congregation did appoint, for treating of the beſt means to ſettle a conſtant and ſolid Peace; and for the part of the Congregation were named the Earls of *Argile* and *Glencarn*, the Lord *Ruthven*, *Boyde* and *Ochiltry*, the Lord *James*, and the Lairds of *Dun* and *Pittarrow*. The Lords ſuſpecting ſome practice, refuſe to ſend the Noblemen.

Theſe meeting at *Preſton*, to the number of an hundred on each ſide, (as was appointed) conferred together a whole day, but without any concluſion; for the Queen ſeeming to yield unto the free exerciſe of Religion, would have it provided, that in what place ſhe happened to come, the Miniſters ſhould ceaſe from preaching, and the Maſs only be uſed. The Lords anſwered, *That this were to leave them no Church; for when the Queen pleaſed, ſhe might change the place of her reſidence, and ſo there could not be any certain exerciſe of Religion, which were all alike as to overthrow it.* In theſe terms they parted that night; yet the Lords named for the Congregation A meeting at *Preſton*.

An. 1559. gation, unwilling to break off the Conference, ſaid, they would think more of the buſineſs, and advertiſe what would be yielded unto.

The anſwer of the Lords to the condition proponed.

After ſome deliberation, the Lord *Ruthven* and *Pittarrow* were remitted with this anſwer, *That as they could not impede her to uſe what exerciſe of Religion ſhe pleaſed, ſo could they not agree that the Miniſters of Chriſt ſhould be ſilenced upon any occaſion, much leſs that the true ſervice of God ſhould give place to Superſtition and Idolatry. Wherefore they humbly requeſted (as often they had done) liberty to ſerve God according to their Conſciences, and did beſeech her to remove the* French *ſouldiers, otherwiſe there could be no firm and ſolid Peace.* The Queen hearing all, replied only that ſhe wiſhed there might be Peace; but to none of the points proponed made ſhe any direct anſwer. Whereupon the Noblemen reſolved to bide together at *Edinburgh*, and not depart till matters were fully compoſed.

News of the *French* Kings death.

News in this time were brought of the *French* King *Henry* the Second his death, which put the Lords in ſome better hopes, but withal made them more careleſs; for divers, as though nothing was now to be feared, did ſlide away to attend their private affairs; and they who remained, expecting no invaſion, lived ſecure, keeping neither watch nor ward, as if there had been no enemy to fear. The Queen on the other ſide became more watchful, obſerving all occaſions whereby ſhe might weaken the Faction, and aſſure her ſelf: ſo getting notice of the ſolitude which was at *Edinburgh*, ſhe haſted thither with the Companies ſhe had. The Lords advertiſed of her coming, grew doubtful what to do; for howſoever they might ſave themſelves by flight, they ſaw the Town by their retiring ſhould be loſt, and the Church, which in ſome good faſhion was then eſtabliſhed, be utterly caſt down: therefore with the ſmall number they had they iſſued forth of the Town, and putting themſelves in order, ſtood on the Eaſt ſide of *Craigingate*, to impede the approach of the *French*. The Duke and Earl of *Morton*, who were gone that morning to meet the Queen and give her the convoy, laboured to compoſe things, but prevailed not; only that day they kept the parties from falling into an open conflict. The next day when the Queen, which lay all that night at *Leith*, prepared to enter into the Town by the Weſt port, and that the Lords were advanced to ſtop her in the way, the Lord *Areskin*, who until that time had carried himſelf a neuter, threatened to play upon them with the Cannon, unleſs they ſuffered the Queen to enter peaceably and without trouble. This it was ſuppoſed he did to make them accept the Conditions of Truce offered the day before, which they ſeeing no better way were content to yield unto. The Articles were as followeth.

The Queen prepareth to enter into *Edinburgh*.

The Articles of the Truce.

1. That the Congregation and their adherents (the inhabitants of *Edinburgh* only excepted) ſhould depart forth of the Town within the ſpace of twenty four hours, to the end the Queen Regent and her Companies may enter peaceably in the ſame.

2. That the Congregation ſhould render the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, with all the furniſhing they found therein, redeliver the Mint-houſe and Printing Irons the next morning before ten of the Clock: and for obſerving this and the former Articles, the Lord *Ruthven* and Laird of *Pittarrow* ſhould enter as pledges to the Queen.

3. That the Lords of the Congregation and all the members thereof ſhould remain obedient ſubjects to the King and Queens Authority, and to the Queen Regent, as governing in their place, obſerving the Laws and cuſtoms of the Realm, as they were uſed before the raiſing of this Tumult, in all things, (the cauſe of Religion excepted) wherein the order after ſpecified ſhould be followed.

4. That the Congregation ſhould not trouble nor moleſt any Church man by way of deed, nor make them any impediment in the peaceable enjoying and uplifting their Rents; and that it ſhould be lawful for them to diſpone and uſe their benefices and rents according to the Laws and cuſtoms of the Realm, until the tenth of *January* next.

5. That the Congregation ſhould uſe no force nor violence in caſting down of Churches, Religious places, or defacing the Ornaments thereof, but the ſame ſhould be harmleſs at their hands until the tenth of *January* next.

6. That the town of *Edinburgh* ſhould uſe what Religion they pleaſed, until

until the ſaid day, and none of the Subjects in other parts of the Country be conſtrained againſt their minds in matters of that kind. *An.* 1559

7. That the Queen ſhould not interpone her authority to moleſt the Preachers of the Congregation, nor any other their members, in their bodies, lands, poſſeſſions, penſions, or whatſoever other kind of goods they enjoyed; nor yet ſhould any ſpiritual or temporal Judges trouble them for the cauſe of Religion, or other action depending thereupon; until the ſaid tenth of *January*, but that every man ſhould live in the mean time according to Conſcience.

8. That no man of War, *French* or *Scottiſh*, ſhould be put in Garriſon within the Town of *Edinburgh*: only it ſhould be lawful to the Souldiers to repair thither for doing their lawful affairs; which done, they ſhould retire themſelves to their proper Garriſons.

The Lords depart to *Striveling*.

This Truce and the heads thereof publiſhed, the Lords departed towards *Striveling*, leaving *John Willock* Miniſter to ſerve in the Church of *Edinburgh*. As they departed, the Duke and Earl of *Huntley* met with them at the Quarry-holes, promiſing if any part of the appointment ſhould be violated, to joyn all their forces for expulſing the *French* out of the Realm: and indeed the Queen was then more careful than in former times ſhe had been to ſee that no breach ſhould be made; howbeit many ways ſhe went about to re-eſtabliſh the Maſs, and bring the favourers of Religion in contempt. In *Edinburgh* ſhe employed the Duke, the Earl of *Huntley*, and Lord *Seaton*, to deal with the Magiſtrates and Council of the Town, that they would appoint ſome other Chuch than S. *Giles* where their Miniſter might preach, reſerving that Church to her uſe, and for the exerciſe of the Maſs. The Magiſtrates anſwered, *That S.* Giles *Church had been the ordinary place of their meeting to Sermon and other Religious Exerciſes, and could not be taken from them without a manifeſt breach of the Truce; ſeeing by one of the Articles it was provided, that the Preachers of the Congregation ſhould not be moleſted in any thing they poſſeſſed at the making of the appointment.* *Huntley* replying, That the Queen meant to keep all Conditions, and deſired this only of their favour; or if they would not change the place of their preaching, that at leaſt they would permit Maſs to be ſaid either before or after Sermon in the Church of S. *Giles*: they anſwered, *That they were in poſſeſſion of that Church, and would never conſent that Idolatry ſhould be there again erected; or if men would do it violently, they behoved to ſuffer, and would uſe the next remedy.*

The Queen deſireth the Church of S. *Giles* for the exerciſe of Maſs.

The Magiſtrates anſwer.

The *French* Captains and ſouldiers trouble the people in hearing the Sermon.

This being refuſed, another device was invented, that the *French* Captains with their ſouldiers ſhould in time of Sermon and Prayers keep their walks in the Church, and trouble the exerciſe ſo much as they could. This they thought would enforce them to make choice of a more retired place for their Sermons, or then irritate the people, and breed an occaſion of ſome diſorder, ſo as the breach of the peace ſhould proceed from them. The inſolence was great they committed in this kind, for they did laugh and talk ſo loud all the time as the preacher could not be heard; yet was it patiently digeſted, knowing that an occaſion of trouble was only ſought. In other places their behaviour was no better, for at *Leith* they did cut in pieces the Pulpit erected for the Preachers, and ſet up the Maſs, which had been ſuppreſſed before in that Town. The like they did in the Abbey-Church, forcibly aboliſhing the ſervice of Common Prayers, which there was ordinarily uſed. And in what place ſoever they came, ſome one diſturbance or other they wrought to the profeſſors of the Truth. Herewith a rumour was diſperſed amongſt the vulgar, *That it was not Religion, as the Congregation pretended, but an open Rebellion they went about; and that their purpoſe was to diſinherit their lawful Queen, and ſet up Lord* James *her baſe brother in her place*: which by divers was apprehended as truth, and wrought a great alienation of minds from the cauſe.

About the ſame time came Monſieur *Crook* a *French* Gentleman with Letters from the Queen and King *Francis* her husband to Lord *James*, full of exprobrations and menacings, as appeareth by the Copies here inſert.

FRANCIS

An. 1559.

FRANCIS King of *France*, to *James* Prior of S. *Andrews*.

A Letter to Lord *James* from King *Francis*.

'COuſin, when I underſtood as well by Letters as common report the Tumults 'raiſed at this time in *Scotland*, I was much commoved, eſpecially when it 'was ſaid that you, to whom my dear wife, my father deceaſed, and my ſelf have 'given ſo many benefices, ſhould be the head and principal foſterer of the ſame. 'That you ſhould be ſo forgetful of our love, and of the duty you have at all times 'profeſſed unto the Queen, I would not believe; or if it was ſo as the fame com-'monly reporteth, I did think that you were induced by the promiſes and flatter-'ing perſuaſions of others to take the fault upon you whereof they were the cauſe, 'ſuppoſing the offence would be eſteemed either none or very ſmall in your per-'ſon. This my conceit of you, if it be true, ſhall be as joyful to me as that which 'ſhould be moſt joyful; for I ſhould wiſh by this mean ſome part of my diſplea-'ſure mitigated into which you are worthily fallen, having deceived the hope 'which I had of your Piety towards God, and your faithful ſervice towards my 'ſelf. Therefore ſince nothing can be more acceptable to me than to hear that 'controverſies are compoſed, and all things compacted without tumult, according 'to Law and good order; and ſince I am perſwaded this may be eaſily done by 'your credit, I thought meet to advertiſe you by theſe Letters, and, for the good 'will I bear you, I do earneſtly requeſt, that you will return to the Obedience from 'which you have foully fallen, that ſo I may ſee you carry another mind than that 'which your fooliſh actions have manifeſted. This will appear to be ſo, if that you 'apply your diligence to bring thoſe things which now are out of order in thoſe 'parts back again to the ancient and ſound form of Obedience, which you know is 'due to God and me. Otherwiſe I would have you, and all thoſe that adhere unto 'you perſuaded, that ere it be long I ſhall take ſuch puniſhment of you and them as 'your wickedneſs deſerveth, which I have given the Bearer charge to make known 'unto you at more length, whom I will you to credit as my ſelf, praying God, my 'Couſin, to have you in his protection. *Paris* the 17 day of *July*. 1559.

The Letter ſent by the Queen, was of the tenor following.

MARY, Queen of *Scotland* and *France*, to *James* Prior of the Monaſtery of S. *Andrews*.

Another Letter from the Queen of *Scots* to Lord *James*.

'I Cannot, my Couſin, wonder enough how you, that are higheſt us in bloud, and 'greatly benefited by our liberality, as your ſelf knoweth, ſhould be ſo pre-'ſumptuous and wickedly diſpoſed, as by one and the ſame fact to violate the 'Majeſty of God, and the Authority belonging to me and my Husband; for to me 'it is a wonder that you, who being with me did complain of the Duke of *Chattel-'lerault* and divers others for diſmiſſing my Authority, ſhould now be the leader of 'a Faction in matters of greateſt weight, wherein not only the Honour of God 'is touched, but my Authority all utterly taken away: which I would have more 'eaſily believed of any other of my ſubjects than of you, for I had a ſpecial hope 'of your fidelity, and am not a little grieved that you ſhould have deceived me. 'Though yet I can ſcarce be perſuaded that you are gone ſo far from Truth, and 'Reaſon, as to be carried away with ſuch blind Errours which I wiſh were not, as 'any in the world elſe; beſeeching God to illuminate you with his light, that re-'turning into the right way you may ſhew your ſelf (by doing things contrary to 'that you have already performed) a good man, and obedient to our Laws: where-'of by theſe Letters I thought good to admoniſh you, and withal earneſtly to in-'treat you to amend your by-gone faults with better deeds in time coming, that 'the anger which I and my Husband have conceived againſt you may by that means 'be mitigated. Otherwiſe I would have you underſtand that we will take ſuch 'puniſhment of you, that you ſhall ever remember us, which ſhall be to me a moſt 'grievous thing. God I beſeech to keep you from all danger.

Paris the 24th of *July*. 1559.

Lord

An. 1559.

Lord *James* having peruſed the Letters, and conferred a ſpace with the Gentleman, who was commanded to ſay unto him, *That the King would rather ſpend the Crown of* France, *than not to be revenged of the ſeditious Tumults raiſed in* Scotland, made anſwer in writing as followeth. 'That he was no way conſcious to himſelf 'of any undutifulneſs either in word or deed againſt his Soveraign's Laws. That 'it was true he had joyned himſelf with theſe of the Nobility who went about the 'reforming of Religion, and would not deny it; but this he did not eſteem a fault 'againſt the King or Queen, for thereby nothing is ſought but the advance-'ment of God's honour and the Goſpel of *Jeſus* Chriſt, from which if he ſhould 'deſiſt it were in effect to renounce his Lord and Saviour. Then this cauſe only 'excepted, he and the reſt who were charged with the crime of Rebellion ſhould 'in all other things be moſt obſequent. This writing he delivered to Monſieur *Crook*, who gave it to the Queen Regent. She opening the ſame and reading it, ſaid, *That ſuch a proud and rebellious Anſwer was never given to a King and Queen.*

The anſwer given by Lord *James.*

Some few days after this arrived a *French* Captain called *Octavian* with a Regiment of ſouldiers, who brought with him great ſums of money, and other neceſſary proviſions for war. But the Queen did incontinent ſend him back, to intreat the *French* King for other four companies to make up the number of twenty Enſigns, with an hundred horſemen, and four ſhips well appointed, to keep the Haven of *Leith*; truſting therewith, as ſhe ſaid, and with the aſſiſtance ſhe promiſed her ſelf in the Countrey, to daunt all the Rebels, and bring them to obedience. Meanwhile ſhe began to fortifie the Town of *Iſith*, as being a Port fit to receive freſh ſupplies, and a place that might ſerve the *French* companies for a refuge, if they ſhould happen to be redacted to any neceſſity.

A *French* Captain, called *Octavian*, arriveth with a regiment of ſouldiers.

The Queen maketh to fortifie *Iſith.*

The Lords of the Congregation kept at that time a Convention in *Striveling*, and thither came the Earl of *Arran*, (the Duke his eldeſt ſon) having left *France* upon this occaſion. Being one day in conference with the Duke of *Guiſe*, (who then ruled all things in the *French* Court) and falling in ſpeech of thoſe that profeſſed the Reformed Religion, he did utter his mind too freely in their favours; which was ſo ill taken, as it was reſolved to call him in queſtion. Of this, and other ſpeeches that had eſcaped the Cardinal of *Lorain* in the Court of Parliament, he was advertiſed, and thereupon retired quickly from Court, and went to *Geneva*. There he became acquainted with Mr. *Randolph* an *Engliſh*-man, (who was afterwards imployed in many honourable Legations to *Scotland*) and came with him into *England*, where he was much graced by Queen *Elizabeth*, and by her perſwaſions induced to promiſe, that at his return he ſhould joyn himſelf with thoſe that ſought to expel the *French* forth of *Scotland*, and move his Father, ſo far as in him lay, to take part in that cauſe. Both which he truly performed; for immediately upon his return he came to the Noblemen at *Striveling*, and made offer of his aſſiſtance in the common quarrel both of Religion and the liberty of the Countrey. Then going to viſit his Father at *Hamilton*, he won him to their ſide, and reconciling ſome old grudges betwixt his Father and certain Noblemen, brought them all to meet together at *Hamilton*, and to write a common Letter to the Queen Regent, which was to this effect. 'That it was to 'them a marvel how ſhe, not provoked by any injury, could go ſo ſoon from the 'late appointment, as to expulſe the ancient inhabitants of the Town of *Iſith*, 'and place therein a Colony of ſtrangers, as minding to keep the Country under 'a Tyrannical ſubjection. This they ſaid was againſt her promiſe, againſt the 'publick weal, and againſt the Laws and liberties of the Kingdom. Wherefore 'they intreated her to deſiſt from that courſe, and not to drive them into a ne-'ceſſity of ſeeking the concurrence of the Subjects for reſiſting the miſchief in-'tended againſt the whole. This Letter dated at *Hamilton* the 29 of *September*, was ſubſcribed by the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Arran*, *Argile*, *Glencarn* and *Mentieth*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyde* and *Ochiltrie*, and divers other Barons and Gentlemen.

The Earl of *Arran* joyns with the Lords at *Striveling.*

A Letter directed to the Queen from the Lords.

They

An. 1559.

A Letter ſent by them to the Lord *Ereſkin.*

They wrote alſo to the Lord *Ereskin* keeper of the Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling*; 'Deſiring him, as a Nobleman and a Member with them of the ſame 'Commonwealth, to look circumſpectly to his own perſon, and to the ſtrengths 'committed to his truſt, and not to ſuffer himſelf to be abuſed with the promiſes 'and policies which they knew would be uſed. Hereof they did think it needful, as 'they ſaid, to give him warning, not that they ſtood in doubt of his fidelity, but 'that they eſteemed it their duty to advertiſe him of the common danger, and to 'aſſure him, if by violence any ſhould go about to bereave him of thoſe Forts, their 'aſſiſtance ſhould not be lacking.

Sir *Robert Carnagie* and Mr. *David Borthwick* directed to the Duke.

The Queen Regent not liking to make an anſwer to the Lords in writing, ſent Sir *Robert Carnagie* and Mr. *David Borthwick* with a Letter of credit to the Duke. That which they had in credit to ſay was, *That ſhe wondred much at his joyning with the Lords, or that he ſhould have permitted the Earl of* Arrane *his ſon take that courſe; and to adviſe him to come and ſtay with her at Court; or if they could not obtain that point, that they ſhould diſſwade him from taking part with them.* The Duke asking what the Queen meant to do concerning the Fortification at *Leith*, and diſpatch of the French-men; they ſaid, *If all things were put in the Queens will, ſhe would be gracious enough.* Whereupon he replied, *That both he and the reſt of the Lords would moſt willingly ſerve her, ſo as ſhe would be ruled by the counſel of natural* Scottiſh-men; *but ſo long as ſhe kept about her ſtrangers, who were a trouble and great burthen to the Country, he believed no wiſe man would give either him or them advice to put themſelves in her hands.*

A Proclamation given forth by the Queen.

This anſwer reported to the Queen, becauſe ſhe perceived the arriving of the *French* ſouldiers to be generally ill taken, ſhe gave forth a Proclamation; 'Where-'in complaining of the Calumnies diſperſed againſt her by wicked people, eſpeci-'ally that ſhe had broken the Appointment made with the Congregation at *Leith*, '(which ſhe ſaid was only to entertain diviſion in the Realm) by receiving of '*French* forces, which they aggredged ſo far againſt all reaſon, it not being an Ar-'ticle of the Appointment; That albeit for every *French*-man that was in *Scotland* 'there were a hundred at her command, there ſhould not a jot that was promiſed 'be broken, nor the leaſt alteration be made in any thing, if the Congregation 'did in like manner faithfully keep their part. Therefore willed all good ſubjects 'not to give ear to ſuch informations, nor ſuffer themſelves to be led thereby from 'their due obedience, aſſuring them that they ſhould ever find with her truth in 'promiſe, and a motherly love towards all loyal ſubjects.

The Queen ſeeketh to diſunite the Lords.

The perſwaſions uſed.

Beſides the Proclamation, whereof this was the ſubſtance, ſhe imployed in the Country ſome whom ſhe eſpecially truſted, to inform the Subjects of her good meaning: the principals were, Mr. *James Balfoure* Official of *Lothian*, Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *William Scot*, ſons to the Laird of *Balwery*, Sir *Robert Carnagy* and ſome others. Neither did ſhe omit to deal with the ſpecials of the Congregation, ſending Sir *John Bannatyne* Juſtice Clerk to the Lord *Ruthven*, with many liberal promiſes if he would leave the Faction, and M. *John Spence* of *Condy* to Lord *James* with a Letter bearing this effect; 'That having underſtood the cauſe of his de-'parting from her to be the love he bare to Religion, albeit ſhe did miſlike the 'ſame, yet knowing his mind and the minds of other Noblemen to be ſo far bent 'that way as there was no poſſibility to reclaim them, ſhe had now reſolved to to-'lerate their Profeſſion, and at their own ſights to grant ſuch liberty as might ſtand 'with the common policy of the Realm and their Sovereign's honour. As for 'the men of War and Fortification at *Leith* ſo much complained of, ſhe ſaid, that 'ſome had given her to underſtand, that it was not the advancement of Religion 'which was ſought, but that the ſame was made a pretext to overthrow the Autho-'rity of his Siſter, (whereof ſhe believed he would never be participant) and this 'was the true cauſe of inbringing the ſaid forces; whereas, if Suſpicions and Jea-'louſie could be removed, ſhe would be well pleaſed to dimit them: for it grieved 'her much to ſee the Troubles that were in the Country, neither deſired ſhe any 'thing more than a perfect Peace and Reconciliation, wherein ſhe requeſted his aſ-'ſiſtance; praying him to keep faith and kindneſs to his Siſter, (who truſted more in

'him

'him than any man living) and to ſhew her what he deſired for his own Particular, 'and ſhe would faithfully promiſe the ſame ſhould be performed to his contentment. *An.* 1559. Lord *James* his Anſwer.

By ſuch policies as theſe ſhe laboured to diſunite the Lords: but the love of the cauſe, and their own ſafeties, which they apprehended to conſiſt in their faſtneſs and fidelity to others, kept them together. The many breaches they had alſo found begat in them ſuch a diſtruſt, as nothing, though never ſo truly meant, could be believed. His anſwer therefore was; 'That in the matter proponed to him he could 'ſay nothing by himſelf, for they had all taken oath to have no private dealing with 'her, or to make any ſeveral addreſs for themſelves, which for his own part he 'would keep unviolate: and how ſoon the Noblemen were convened, he would 'ſhew what was written unto him, and leave nothing undone that ſerved to eſta-'bliſh Peace in the Realm, provided the glory of God was not intereſſed: neither 'doubted he, if ſhe were found as tractable as by her Letter ſhe profeſſed, but ſhe 'would obtain of the reſt that which might in reaſon content her. Farther he ſaid, 'that he had communicated to her ſervant ſome things that miſliked him in her pro-'ceedings, with a true heart, which he wiſhed of God ſhe and all men knew.

When as the Queen Regent perceived theſe means could not divide them, ſhe gave forth a new Proclamation of this tenor: 'That whereas the Duke of *Chattelle-'rault* had directed his miſſives unto all the parts of the Realm, informing that the '*French*-men lately arrived were begun to plant in *Leith* for the ruine of the Com-'monwealth, and that the Fortification made there was a-purpoſe deviſed in *France* 'to bring the ſubjects under ſervitude, which he and his partakers could not pati-'ently endure, ſhe eſteemed it needful for the manifeſtation of her proceeding 'ſince the laſt appointment, to make the Declaration following. Firſt, that divers 'of the Congregation, and thoſe not of the meaneſt ſort, had violated the ſaid Ap-'pointment in ſundry heads; yet ſhe, in hope that they would have returned to 'their duties, did connive at many things, and took no notice of their doings, till 'of late (having perceived by their frequent meſſages to and from *England*, and 'by the defection of many great perſonages from her obedience, that there was 'ſome other purpoſe in hand than the eſtabliſhing of Religion) ſhe was forced to 'have her recourſe to the law of Nature, and as a bird that is purſued will provide a 'neſt for her ſelf, and for her followers: for which cauſe ſhe had made choice of the 'town of *Leith* as a place moſt convenient, being her Daughter's property, where-'unto no perſon could lay claim; a place fortified of old, and ſuch as made beſt 'for her ſafety. Farther ſhe ſaid, that it was not Religion that they ſought, but a 'mere Rebellion they were entred into againſt their Sovereigns, as appeared by 'many evidences. Firſt, by the taking of *Broughty* Caſtle, and expulſing the keep-'ers thereof, by ſome of the Congregation. Next, by the contempt of the offer 'made by her ſelf unto the Lord Duke, when he complained of the Fortification of '*Leith*, that if they would cauſe amend the wrongs committed againſt the Laws 'of the Realm, ſhe would do what in reaſon they could require. Thirdly, by the 'charges he had ſent to the free Burghs, to chuſe ſuch Magiſtrates as they thought 'would aſſiſt them in their purpoſe. And fourthly, by the withholding of proviſion, 'againſt all humanity, from Her and from her Family. All which things, to thoſe 'that had any eyes, made more than manifeſt that it was no other but a plain Uſur-'pation of Authority they went about; the particulars whereof ſhe had certainly 'underſtood, it being detected unto her, that the Earl of *Arrane* had joyned with the 'congregation for no other end, and that the Crown was promiſed by them unto 'him: yet ſhe no way doubting of the ſubjects good affection, and that they would 'when need ſhould be ſtand in defence of their Soveraign's right againſt all preten-'ders, thought meet to give them warning of theſe practices, and prohibit the Leiges 'to put themſelves in Arms, or take part with the Duke and his aſſiſters, *&c.* A Proclamation by the Queen, declaring her purpoſe in the fortifying of *Leith*.

Monſieur *Pellence*, Biſhop of *Amiens*, (he was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Sens*, and created Cardinal) arrived about this time at *Leith*, accompanied with three Doctors of *Sorbon*, Doctor *Furmer*, Doctor *Brochet* and Doctor *Feretier*. Monſieur *le Broche* a *French* Knight gave them the convoy with two thouſand foot. The Doctors gave out, that they were come to diſpute with the Preachers of the Congrega- The Biſhop of *Amiens* and ſome Doctors of *Sorbon* arrive at *Leith*.

An. 1559. tion. The other two pretended a Legation, and ſent to ſome of the Nobility reſident at that time in *Edinburgh*, to deſire a hearing. It was anſwered, *That they came not as Ambaſſadours, but as enemies, to brag and threaten them with Arms, otherwiſe they needed not have brought ſo many armed ſouldiers in their company. If they meant to treat with weapons in their hands they would likewiſe fortifie themſelves, and make it ſeen that they were not moved to any thing by compulſion, but guided by Reaſon: nor would they have them think they were ſo rude and ignorant as to fall in reaſoning with adverſaries, that might force them to Conditions at their pleaſure. Wherefore if they deſired Peace and quietneſs, as was pretended, it ſhould be fitteſt to dimit theſe foreign ſouldiers, and ſeek to have matters compoſed according to Reaſon and Juſtice.* This anſwer given, there was no more heard of the Legation, nor of the Doctors Diſputes.

A Declaration publiſhed by the Lords.

The Lords in the mean time publiſhed a Declaration, anſwering the other lately made by the Queen Regent, wherein firſt they declared, 'That as they had often 'complained of the inbringing of *French* ſouldiers, and the manifold oppreſſions 'done by them, ſo they could not but ſeek redreſs thereof by all means, in regard 'the ſame tended to an open Conqueſt of the Countrey, and the laying upon 'their necks an intolerable Servitude: for whereas the Queen did pretend the de-'fection of divers great perſonages from her obedience, and the frequent meſſages 'to and from *England*, to be the cauſe of their inbringing; it is well known that be-'fore the arrival of theſe ſtrangers there was no ſuch defection, but all lived peace-'able and obedient, according to the Appointment made by her ſelf. And for the 'Meſſages to *England*, time will make manifeſt that the ſupport craved was to no 'other end but to maintain Religion, and ſuppreſs Idolatry; wherein they think 'they have done nothing againſt their duties, it being lawful for them, where their 'own power faileth, to ſeek help and aſſiſtence whereſoever they may have it. 'Next, touching the convenience of *Leith* for a place of Fortification; they grant 'it is a Port very fit to receive ſtrangers: but had the Queen intended no more 'than her own ſecurity, *Dumbar*, *Blackneſs*, and other Forts already built, would 'have better ſerved to that uſe. And where ſhe called *Leith* her Daughters property, 'they anſwered that it was notoure, the ſums payed to the Laird of *Reſtalrig* Superi-'our of *Leith* were diſburſed by the inhabitants, and a large Taxation given to her 'ſelf upon promiſe that their Town ſhould be erected into a Burgh-royal; in place 'of which, ſome of the indwellers were expulſed from their own houſes, others 'robbed of their ſubſtance, and all that chuſed to remain there kept in ſuch fear 'and terrour, as in effect they eſteemed nothing their own. Neither was this only 'done to thoſe that profeſſed themſelves Reformed, but to all the inhabitants in-'differently; which ſhew clearly, that the *French* did mind nothing leſs than to 'ſubdue the whole Nation, if it lay in their power. And where it was ſaid, that the 'Town of *Leith* was fortified of old; the ſame was never done without the conſent 'of the Nobility and Eſtates of the Realm, whereas the preſent fortification was 'made expreſly againſt their wills ſignified to her in writing. Concerning the Earl 'of *Arrane*, and their purpoſe to place him in Authority, they took God to witneſs, 'that the ſame never entered into their hearts; and that neither the ſaid Earl, nor 'any appertaining unto him, did ever move them in ſuch a matter: which if they had 'done, they were not ſo fooliſh as to promiſe that which afterwards they muſt 'needs have repented. Then for the particulars adduced to qualifie their intended 'Rebellion, they anſwered, that the taking of *Bronghty* was to prevent the danger 'that might have enſued, if the *French* ſhould have planted in that place as they 'had done at *Leith*, whereof the conjectures were not obſcure. As to the Duke's 'miſregard of her offer, they did remit the truth of that to the report of the per-'ſons imployed by her ſelf. Farther it was ſaid, that they had directed charges to 'the free Burghs to elect Magiſtrates at their appetites: The truth was, that ſome 'Towns ask'd their advice in this buſineſs, and that the anſwer given them was, that 'if they elected ſuch as feared God, and loved equity and juſtice, they could not err 'in their choice. But that ſhe ſhould object, this ſeemed ſtrange, ſeeing it was 'known, that ſhe her ſelf did force the Town of *Edinburgh* to take Magiſtrates of 'her appointment, and againſt their own liking. Laſtly, for the impeding of ne-

'ceſſary

'ceſſary proviſions to her and her Family, they utterly denied the ſame; only they 'had taken order to ſtay the furniſhing of ſtrangers (that oppreſſed the Country) 'with victuals, and did forthink the ſame was not ſooner and more ſtrictly done: 'concluding, that ſeeing nature did oblige them to love their Country, and the oath 'they had given to be true to the Commonwealth forced them to hazard whatſo- 'ever God had given them in defence thereof; they, being Counſellors of the Realm 'by birth, could not forbear to ſeek that by force of Arms which hitherto had been 'denied them. Therefore required all natural *Scottiſhmen* to judge between the 'Queen and them, and not to abſtract their juſt and dutiful ſupport from their na- 'tive Country in ſo needful a time; aſſuring them who did otherwiſe, that they 'ſhould be eſteemed betrayers of the Kingdom into the hands of ſtrangers. *An.* 1559.

The Lords come to *Edinburgh*, and write unto the Queen.

This Declaration made, the Lords aſſembling their forces came to *Edinburgh* the eighteenth of *October*, and on the ſame day the Queen Regent by the counſel of the *French-men* entered into *Leith*, with the Biſhops of S. *Andrews*, *Glaſgow*, *Dunkeld*, the Lord *Seaton* and ſome others. The day following they ſent a Letter to the Queen declaring how they were convened to ſee a redreſs made of the great diſorders that were in the Realm, eſpecially to have the Town of *Leith* made patent for the free traffick of the Subjects; and deſiring her to command all the ſtrangers and mercenary ſouldiers to depart forth of the ſame, and to cauſe the Forts to be demoliſhed which were newly erected; otherwiſe they would take it for an argument that her meaning was to bring the Kingdom into ſervitude, againſt which miſchief they would provide by the beſt means they could. The meſſenger who carried this Letter, after he had been detained a whole day, was diſmiſſed without anſwer.

The Duke purgeth himſelf and his Son of any aſpiring.

Meanwhile the rumour increaſing of the Duke his Uſurpation of the Authority, he thought it neceſſary to make a publick purgation, as he did at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, by ſound of Trumpet, proteſting both for himſelf, and for his ſon the Earl of *Arrane*, that none of them did ſeek any preeminence, nor meant to uſurp the Authority Royal, but that they were convened with the reſt of the Nobility to maintain the cauſe of Religion, and Liberty of their native Country invaded by Strangers; which he deſired all men to believe, and not to be carried with the falſe and malicious reports of enemies, deviſed only to withdraw the hearts of natural *Scottiſhmen* from the ſuccor they owed to their opreſſed Country.

The Herald directed to the Lords.

Two days after *Robert Forman*, Lion Herald, was directed by the Queen Regent to the Lords with this writing: *After commendations, we received your letter of the date at* Edinburgh *the* 19 *of this inſtant, which to us appeareth rather to have come from a Prince to his ſubjects, than from ſubjects to thoſe that bear the Authority. For anſwer whereof we have ſent unto you this bearer, the Lion Herald King of Arms, ſufficiently inſtructed with our mind, to whom you ſhall give credit. At* Leith, *the* 21 *of* Obober, 1559.

The credit given to the Herald by the Queen.

The credit, as the Herald related the ſame, was this. Firſt, he ſhewed the Queen did *think it ſtrange there ſhould be any other to command within the Realm beſides her Daughter and her Husband: in former times had been given juſt cauſes of ſuſpicion, ſo now ſhe perceived clearly by the contents of the laſt Letters, that they did not acknowledge any Authority ſuperior to themſelves in the Kingdom.* Next he was deſired to ask the Duke of *Chatterault how his doings did agree with his words and writing, whereby he promiſed not only to obey the King himſelf, but alſo to keep his Son the Earl of* Arrane *from medling with the preſent Broils and Tumults of the Countrey.* Thirdly, in anſwer to their Letters, he was willed to ſay, *That it never came in her mind to overthrow the Liberty and Laws of the Realm, much leſs to make a conqueſt of it; for to whom ſhould ſhe ſeek the ſame, it being her Daughters by right, and ſhe already poſſeſſed thereof? nor could they think her ſo unnatural as to bereave her own Child of the Crown, and acquire it to another.* As to the Fortification of *Leith* and entertaining of Strangers, he was bidden ask *if any thing in that kind was by her attempted before they did ſhew themſelves manifeſt contemners of the Authority, by ſurpriſing Towns, and making Bonds both amongſt themſelves and with the ancient enemies of the Kingdom*; and to omit other things, *Could they think it lawful to them to keep an Army at* Edinburgh, *for purſuing her who was*

An. 1559. *their Regent, and her Council, and that it ſhould not be lawful to her to entertain a few Companies at* Leith *for her own ſafety? Belike they would have her to flee from place to place, as hitherto ſhe hath done, declining their fury. In their whole Letters was there a word ſounding to obedience, any overture of Peace, or ſo much as an intimation of willingneſs in them to have debates compoſed, and all things reduced to their former eſtate? They might cover it as they pleaſed with the pretexts of the Commonwealth, and their care of the good and quiet thereof, but nothing leſs was meaned by them. For if they deſired Peace, ſhe hath often ſhewed the way unto it. Neither could they be ignorant, that the* French *ſouldiers would long before that time have been recalled by the command of their King, if they themſelves had not been a let and hinderance thereto.* Farther he was required to ſay, *That if as yet they would live obedient to their Sovereigns, ſhe for her own part would refuſe no means of Concord, nor ſhould ſhe omit any thing that made for the good of the Commonwealth. Neither was this her mind alone, but the mind likewiſe of their Sovereigns, who had ſent two chief men, one of the Church eſtate, and the other an honourable Knight, to ſignifie ſo much unto them; whom they ſo far deſpiſed, as they would not vouchſafe them either anſwer or audience.* Laſtly, the ſaid Herald, as he was enjoined, did charge the Duke, the Noblemen and others their aſſiſters and partakers, to depart forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and diſſolve their forces, under the pain of *leſe Majeſtie*.

The Lords deliberate upon diſcharging the Queen of her Regency.

The Herald having in this ſort delivered his credit, the Lords convened in Council with a number of Barons and Burgeſſes, whom they called to aſſiſt. In this meeting the Lord *Ruthven* preſiding, declared how the Queen had refuſed their Petitions, and that there was no expectation of the yielding up the Town of *Leith*, or dimitting the *French* Companies by a peaceable treaty, ſo as now they were to think of the next courſe. The reverence of Authority (which as yet was in the perſon of the Queen Regent) deterred many at firſt from uttering their minds; yet after ſome ſhort ſilence, they began to ſpeak of diſcharging the Queen of her Regencie. The motion ſeemed dangerous to ſome, as wanting example, at leaſt for a long time. *The like*, they ſaid, *had been ſometimes done, but it was always carried under the ſhew of Authority; they in whoſe hands the King was at that time taking upon them in his name to ſuſpend the preſent Government: But that the Nobility and Eſtates without, and againſt, the Princes conſent ſhould aſſume that power to themſelves, was never heard, and would be thought ſtrange.* Others held, *That ſhe being a Regent only, might very well be prohibited to uſe the name of the King and Queen for authoriſing of her proceedings, eſpecially when they were known to be hurtful and pernicious to the whole Kingdom.* In this variation of judgments it was thought meet to take the opinion of the Preachers; and to that effect Mr. *John Willock* and *John Knox* being called, they delivered their minds one after another in this ſort. Mr. *John Willock* firſt ſpeaking, ſaid,

The opinion of the Preachers required.

Maſter *Willock* his opinion.

That albeit Magiſtracy be Gods Ordinance, that they who bear rule have their authority from him, yet their power is not ſo largely extended, but that the ſame is bounded and limited by God in his Word. And albeit God had appointed Magiſtrates his Lieutenants on earth, honoring them with his own title, and calling them Gods; *yet did he never ſo eſtabliſh any, but for juſt cauſes they might be deprived: For even as Subjects,* ſaid he, *are commanded to obey their Magiſtrates, ſo Magiſtrates have directions given them for their behavior towards thoſe they rule; and God in his Word hath defined the Duties both of the one and the other. In depoſing Princes and thoſe that have born Authority, God did not always uſe his immediate power, but ſometimes he uſed other means, ſuch as in his wiſdom he thought good. As by* Aſa *he removed* Maacha *his own Mother from the honor and authority which before ſhe did exerce; by* Jehu *he deſtroyed* Joram *and the whole poſterity of* Achab; *and by divers others he depoſed from the Government thoſe whom he eſtabliſhed before by his own word.* Of theſe enſamples he inferred, *That ſince the Queen Regent had denied her chief Duty to the Subjects of the Realm, which was to miniſter Juſtice indifferently, to preſerve them from the invaſion of Strangers, and to ſuffer the Word of God to be freely preached; ſeeing alſo ſhe was a maintainer of Superſtition, and deſpiſed the counſel of the Nobility; he did think they might juſtly deprive her from all Regiment and Authority over them.*

John

John Knox being next desired to speak, after he had approved all which his brother had said, did add this more; *That the iniquity of the Queen Regent ought not to withdraw their hearts from the obedience due to their Sovereign; nor did he wish any such sentence to be pronounced against her, but that when she should change her course, and submit her self to good counsel, there should be place left unto her of regress to the same honors, from which for just causes she ought now to be deprived.* *An.* 1559. *John Knox* his sentence.

It had been a better and wiser part in these Preachers, to have excused themselves from giving any opinion in these matters, for they might be sure to have it cast in their teeth, to the scandal of their Profession. Neither was the opinion they gave sound in it self, nor had it any warrant in the Word of God: for howbeit the power of the Magistrates be limited, and their office prescribed by God, and that they may likewise fall into great offences; yet it is no where permitted to Subjects to call their Princes in question, or to make insurrections against them, God having reserved the punishment of Princes to himself. The Preachers ought not to have meddled in that business.

And for the ensamples they alledged, they are nothing to the purpose. For *Asa* was King of *Judah*, and in possession of the Crown, and *Maacha*, though in nature his *Mother*, was by condition his Subject, and might lawfully be discharged from the Authority (which by his favor she enjoyed) after she fell to the erecting and worshipping of Idols. As to the ensample of *Jehu*, it is nothing better, seeing what he did was by Gods express commandment, who giveth and taketh away kingdoms as he pleaseth; but no man hath this power, and they that presume otherwise go expressly against the Commandment of God, and the duty of Christian profession. The examples they brought did not warrant their opinion.

Always the Lords and others then assembled, as having now their determination sufficiently warranted, fell to gather the voices of such as were present, who all uniformly consented to her Deprivation. So by an Act and Decree of Council, (wherein were reckoned out all the Enormities alledged to have been committed by the Queen Regent; namely the pursuing of the Barons and Burgesses of the Realm with open Hostility, no process nor order of Law being first used, nor they called and convict of any crime in lawful judgment; the thrusting in of Magistrates upon people within the Burghs against their liking, and without any order of election: the inbringing of Foreiners into the Realm, without the advice and counsel of the Nobility; the laying of Garrisons in some Towns, to the oppression of peaceable subjects; the coyning of base Mony, to the impoverishing of the Country; the placing of a stranger in one of the greatest offices within the Realm, as the office of Chancellary, which she had conferred to Monsieur *Rubie* a *Frenchman*; the sending of the great seal forth of the Realm, against the advice of the Council; the altering of the Laws and Customs of the Realm, especially in Graces and Pardons granted to the Lieges, and the obstinate refusing of the Nobility and Barons their request, when they sought redress of these evils) they in name and by the authority of their Sovereigns did suspend the Commission granted to the Queen Regent, discharging her of all Authority until the next Parliament that should be caled by their advice and consent: Prohibiting likewise the officers and others serving her, under colour of the said Authority, to exerce their offices from henceforth, and to coyn either gold or silver, without express consent of the Council and Nobility, conform to the Laws of the Realm. This Act, ordained to be published in all the head Burghs of the Kingdom, was subscribed in this manner, *By us the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of* Scotland. Act depriving the Queen Regent of her Government.

As soon as this Act was by sound of Trumpet proclaimed, the Herald, whom they had detained two daies, was dismissed with an answer conceived in this form: 'By the Letters and Instructions you have sent by the Herald unto us, we take up 'how ill you are set against Gods Truth, the Liberty of this our native Country, 'and the common good of all. To defend these, as in duty we are bound, we in 'the name of our Sovereign Lord and Lady suspend your Commission, and all 'Administration publick which you thereby may pretend, as being assured that 'your proceedings are direct contrary to their minds, which we know are in-'clined to the weal and common good of the Country. And seeing you refuse us. The Herald dimitted, and the Act intimated to the Queen by Letters from the Lords.

An. 1559. 'who are natural born ſubjects of the Realm to be your Counſellors, we will 'no longer acknowledge you for our Regent and lawful Magiſtrate, conſidering 'the Authority (if any you have committed unto you by our Sovereigns) is for 'moſt juſt and weighty reaſons ſuſpended by us in their name, whoſe Counſel- 'lors we are by birth, in theſe matters chiefly that concern the ſafety of the Com- 'monwealth.

'And howbeit we have determined with the hazard of our lives to ſet that 'Town at liberty wherein you have moſt unjuſtly planted your mercenary ſoul- 'diers and ſtrangers, yet for the reverence we bear unto you, as being the Mother 'of our Queen, we earneſtly beſeech you to depart thence at this time, when we 'conſtrained by publick neceſſity are by force of Arms to recover it. We farther 'requeſt you to bring forth of the Town with your ſelf all that carry themſelves 'as Ambaſſadors, and are come unto the Country either for taking up of contro- 'verſies, or aſſiſting the government of publick affairs, within the ſpace of Twen- 'ty four hours; and to cauſe the Captains, Lieutenants and ſouldiers (whoſe 'bloud we would gladly ſpare, becauſe of the old amity and friendſhip betwixt us 'and the Realm of *France*, which the marriage of our Soveraign Lady to that King 'ought rather to encreaſe than diminiſh) to remove themſelves within the ſame 'ſpace. This Letter was ſubſcribed, *By all the Nobility and Barons preſent the twenty third of* October, 1559.

The Town of *Leith* ſummoned.

The 25 day of the ſame moneth was the Town ſummoned, and all the *Scots* and *French*-men, of whatſoever ſtate and degree, commanded to leave the ſame within the ſpace of 12 hours. This denied, and defiance given on both ſides, there followed ſome light skirmiſhes, without any great ſlaughter. The Lords had reſolved to enter the Town by ſcalade, and were preparing Ladders for that uſe, which being dreſſed in S. *Giles* Church, did impede the ordinary meetings to Sermon and Prayer, to the great offence of the Preachers, who in their Sermons did ſharply reprove that intermiſſion of Religious exerciſes, foretelling that *the enterpriſe could have no good ſucceſs, which brought with it in the beginning ſuch a neglect of God his Service.* And ſo indeed it proved, for upon the ſudden they became ſo terrified, as not only was that purpoſe of the ſcalade broken, but very nigh they were to have uterly forſaken the cauſe. The Duke grew fearful by the falling away of ſome to the Queen, the ſouldiers mutinied in default of their pay; they found their moſt ſecret counſels alſo diſcloſed, and had lately intercepted Letters with a ſervant of *James Balfour*, as he was going to *Leith*, giving intelligence of all their purpoſes. Theſe things with ſome others more did caſt them in a great diffidence one of another.

Monys failing, they ſent to borrow from *England*.

But ſuch as were of better courage, taking counſel how to remedy thoſe evils, made it their firſt care to content the ſouldiers. And becauſe there was no way to do this but by preſent mony, it was deviſed that a Collection ſhould be made amongſt the Lords and Barons; by whom, ſome being unprovided, others niggardly diſpoſed, the ſum could not be made up which was required. Thereupon it was agreed that every Nobleman ſhould give his ſilver-plate to be coined for ſupply of the preſent neceſſity. But when that came to be done, the Irons and inſtruments of the Mint-houſe could not be found. This failing, their only hope of relief was from *England*, and that they conſidered would not come in due time; whereupon they reſolved to uſe their private credit with Sir *Ralph Sadler* and Sir *James Crofts* (who had the charge of the Town of *Barwick*) and borrow of them ſome moneys.

The Laird of *Ormſton* ſurpriſed by *Bothwel*, and ſpoiled of his mony.

In this buſineſs Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormſton* was employed, whoſe journey was not ſo cloſely carried, but the Queen had notice both of it and his errand. Thereupon ſhe dealeth with the Earl of *Bothwell* to lie in *Ormſton* his way, and ſurpriſe him with the money at his return. The Earl had but a few daies before ſworn ſolemnly to be no enemy to the Lords, and had given hopes to joyn with them, ſo as no danger was ſuſpected from him: yet, not regarding his oath, he came upon the Gentleman at unawares, and after ſome wounds given him took him priſoner, and robbed him of four thouſand Crowns, which he had received in loan. The rumor

mor hereof coming to the Lords, the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James* taking ſome companies of horſe with them, made towards *Creichton*, whither *Bothwel* (as they were advertiſed) was gone. But finding that he was eſcap'd, they ſeiſed upon the Houſe, and gave it in keeping to Captain *Forbes*. *An.* 1559. The houſe of *Creichton* taken.

The ſame day that this happened, the Provoſt of *Dundy* with the Townſmen and a few mercenary ſouldiers went down towards *Leith*, carrying with them ſome pieces of Artillery, which he planted on a hill near unto the Town. The *French* had warning that moſt of the horſemen were gone about other buſineſs, and knowing the footmen to be few, made a ſalley upon them with ſome Companies. The Townſmen of *Dundy* ſuſtained the fight for a while, truſting to be ſeconded by the ſouldiers; but they turning backs in the very beginning of the conflict, the Townſmen were forced to retire, keeping ſtill their ranks, till a cry was raiſed that the *French* were entring by *Leith* Winde to cut them off from the Town. This cauſed ſuch a perturbation, as every man took the way he held beſt for his ſafety; and in the flight (as commonly it falleth) one hindring another, many were overthrown, ſome ten ſouldiers were killed, Captain *Mowat* taken priſoner, and Mr. *Charles Geddes*, ſervant to the Maſter of *Maxwell*. The flight held to the midſt of the Canon-gate, where the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Robert* Abbot of *Halirudhouſe* turned the Chaſe, and purſuing the *French*, made them flie as faſt as they followed. This little advantage of the *Freneh*, made *Bothwel* ſo inſolent, as he ſimply refuſed to reſtore the monys he had taken. And thus all hopes of money failing, and the ſouldiers refuſing to ſerve, ſome not of the meaneſt ſort ſtole away ſecretly; the few that remained were diſtracted in opinions among themſelves, and grew doubtful what to do. The Provoſt of *Dundy* put to flight by the ſouldiers at *Leith*.

The fifth of *November*, upon advertiſement that the *French* were iſſued forth of *Leith*, to intercept the proviſion that was carrying to *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James*, with their domeſticks, went out to defend the Careers, and were followed with divers of the Citizens: theſe giving the onſet upon the *French* with more courage than foreſight, advanced ſo far, as they were almoſt encompaſſed by the enemy, and cut off from the Town. For the *French* had divided their companies in two: one part took the way directly from *Leith* to *Halirudhouſe*, the other marched ſomewhat more Eaſtward and nearer the Sea. The Lords, who were gone as far as *Reſtalrig*, beholding the *French* to march towards *Edinburgh*, returned with expedition, fearing the caſe of the Citizens, and that they themſelves ſhould be cut off; which in all appearance had been done, if the Laird of *Grange* and *Alexander Whitlaw* with a few horſemen had not kept them in skirmiſh for a little time. The other *French* Companies that came by *Reſtalrig*, beholding the Lords retire, made after them and purſued ſo hotly, as the Earl of *Arrane*, and Lord *James* were forced to quit their horſes for ſafety of the foot, who were in great diſorder, Captain *Alexander Halyburton*, a man of good ſpirit, and forward in the cauſe of Religion, ſtaying behind to hold off the *French*, received divers wounds, whereof the ſame night he died. In this conflict there fell ſome 25 or 30 men. The Maſter of *Buchan*, with the Lairds of *Pitmilly*, *Fairnay*, and ſome others of ſmaller note, were taken priſoners. A Conflict betwixt the *Scots* and *French*.

A little before this time *William Maitland* of *Lethington*, Secretary to the Queen perceiving that he was hated of the *French* for the freedom he uſed in his counſel, did ſecretly withdraw himſelf, and joyned with the Lords. He was earneſt to have them abide together, laying before them the dangers that might enſue upon their diſſolving. But few or none conſenting, concluſion was taken to leave the Town, and after midnight to depart towards *Striveling*. Secretary *Lethington* forſaketh the Queen Regent.

The day after the Lords departing, the *French* went up to *Edinburgh*, and took poſſeſſion of the Town. All that profeſſed the Religion were compelled to flie, and ſeek their refuge in other places. Mr. *Willock* the Miniſter went unto *England*, and immediately was the *Roman* Service reſtored. The Church of S. *Giles* (as if infected with ſome contagion by Sermons preached therein) was of new hallowed by the Biſhop of *Amiens*, with a number of Ceremonies; and ſuch triumphing was amongſt the Popiſh ſort, as they thought the game to be theirs. The Queen The Lords leave *Edinburgh*, and the *French* poſſeſs the Town.

ſent

An. 1559. The Queen ſendeth for new forces from *France.*

ſent advertiſement to *France*, requiring new forces with expedition to make the Victory abſolute. Whereupon the Marqueſs *D' Elbeuf* and Count *Martiques* a young Nobleman were directed with ſome Companies both of foot and horſe; but they imbarking at *Deip* were diſperſed by tempeſt, 18 Enſigns caſt away upon the coaſt of *Holland*, and the reſt driven back into *France*. A while after the Marqueſs putting to Sea arrived at *Leith* about the beginning of the Spring, with a thouſand foot and ſome few horſemen.

The Lords ſend to *England* for a ſupply.

The Lords at their coming to *Striveling* were in great heavineſs, and doubtful what courſe to take, till encouraged by a Sermon that *John Knox* made unto them they gathered new ſpirits, reſolving to ſend unto *England* for ſupply, and till anſwer ſhould come to divide their Companies. The Duke and Earl of *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Boyde*, *Ochiltry*, and their friends, were appointed to remain at *Glaſgow*; the Earls of *Arrane* and *Rothes*, Lord *James*, the Maſter of *Lindeſay*, and their friendſhip, to ſtay together in *Fife*: and for making intelligence one to the other, Mr. *Henry Balnaves* was ordained to attend the Noblemen at *Glaſgow*, and *John Knox* thoſe of *Fife*.

Altars and Images demoliſhed at *Glaſgow*. The Biſhop recovereth the Caſtle.

The Duke at his coming to *Glaſgow* cauſed all the Images and Altars to be pulled down, and took the Caſtle pertaining to the Biſhop. Upon the report of this, the Biſhop taking with him a number of *Frenchmen*, and aſſiſted by the Lords *Semple*, *Seaton* and *Roſſe*, marched haſtily thither, recovered the Caſtle (for the Lords advertiſed of their coming had left the Town) and ſtaying there one only night returned to *Edinburgh*. In *Fife* there was more quietneſs, all things continuing peaceable, till a little before Chriſtmas, at which time anſwer was returned from *England*, and hopes given of ſupport from thence.

Commiſſions ſent unto *England*.

William Maitland younger of *Lethington*, and *Robert Melvil* brother of the Laird of *Raith*, had been intruſted with that buſineſs. They at their coming to the Court of *England* did inform the Queen of the Troubles of the Country, the difficulties whereunto it was reduced, and the danger that *England* ſhould fall into if *Scotland* were once ſubdued by the *French*, entreating her aid and aſſiſtance for their expulſion. She remitting the matter to the Council, it was long debated whether or no any ſupply ſhould be granted: ſome maintaining that it was a thing of ill example to aſſiſt the ſubjects of another Prince in their Rebellion, and that the ſame might draw upon themſelves a dangerous War; others holding that they were obliged in Conſcience to defend their neighbours from the oppreſſion of Strangers, and that to ſuffer the *French*, who were naturally enemies to the *Engliſh*, fortifie themſelves in *Scotland*, would prove a hurtful and prepoſterous courſe. In end the Queen enclining that way, it was concluded that a ſupply ſhould be granted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to *Barwick* to treat of the conditions withthe Commiſſioners of the *Scottiſh* Nobility.

A ſupply granted, and the Duke of *Norfolk* ſent to treat of the conditions.

The *French* reſolve to make an end of the War before the *Engliſh* be prepared.

The *French* advertiſed of this concluſion taken, reſolved to make an end of the War before the *Engliſh* ſupport could be in readineſs, and to begin with the Lords reſiding at *Fife*. Thereupon taking their journey to *Striveling*, they ſpoiled *Linlithgow* in the way, with the lands of *Kinneil*, and all that they underſtood belonged to the Duke in thoſe parts. The like pillage they made in *Striveling*, and paſſing the Bridge they kept the ſide of the River, robbing all the Villages and Coaſt-towns which were in their way. It was their purpoſe to have kept the coaſt ſtill till they came to S. *Andrews*, and then to have fortified the Caſtle and City: but the Earl of *Arrane* and Lord *James* hearing that they were paſt *Striveling*, ſent ſome forces under the charge of the Lord *Ruthven*, a Nobleman of good experience and courage, to withſtand their attempts. In his company was the Earl of *Sutherland*, who was come to the Lords ſome daies before, directed, as he gave out, by the Earl of *Huntley* to make offer of his aſſiſtence; howbeit his principal Commiſſion was unto the Queen Regent, as afterwards was known.

An encounter with the *French* at *Pitticurre*.

The firſt encounter with the *French* was at *Pitticurre* (ſo they call the Haven on the Weſt of *Kingorne*) by occaſion of ſome ſmall veſſels that were eſpied to come from *Leith*, which as the Lord *Ruthven* did ſtop from landing, the *French* that were farther advanced than he ſuppoſed did charge him on the back, and forced him to flie.

flie. Six or seven souldiers were killed in this conflict, and a *Dutchman* called *Paul Lambird*, with a *French* boy, taken and hanged upon the Steeple of *Kingorne*. The Earl of *Sutherland*, wounded a little in the Arm with the shot of an Harquebuse, returned the same day to *Couper*. *An.* 1559.

The Lords, to stay the farther progress of the *French*, drew all the forces they could make in these parts to the Town of *Dysert*, where they remained 20 days together, keeping the *French* souldiers (that were numbred to be 4000) in such work, that the Country was generally saved from spoil, and the hurt and damage that was done falling for the greatest part upon their friends and confederates: For of all that were professed enemies to the *French*, the Laird of *Grange* only had his house blown up with Gunpowder; whereas the Laird of *Weimes*, *Seafield*, *Balmuto*, *Balwery*, *Balgony*, *Dury* and others of the *French* faction; were forced to furnish them with corns, cattel, and what else they stood in need of; or if the souldiers lacked any thing, the readiest goods upon their ground were taken to provide them. Hereof divers complaints being made to the *French* Captains, the poor owners were scornfully answered, that their goods were of the Congregation: and if they made faith that the same were their own proper goods, they were railed upon, and called cowards and unworthy niggards, that made more account of their goods than of their friends. Such as professed Religion, and expected the worst, putting their goods out of the way, or standing to their defence, were in a much better condition; and *Grange*, who had his house cast down as I have said, avenged himself sufficiently a few days after. The Lords came to *Dysert*, to stay the progress of the *French*.

For knowing that the *French* used to send forth some souldiers into the country every day to bring in provision, he laid an Ambush near to *Kingorne*, and as Captain *le Batu* with an hundred souldiers came forth, after they were passed a mile from the Town, he brake upon them with a number that he had selected to that purpose; the Captain with his souldiers retiring to a little country house, defended themselves a while with their shot, and dangerou slywounded *David Kircaldy* brother to the Laird of *Grange*, and a Gentleman called *Robert Hamilton*, who were both at first supposed to be slain. The *French* had the advantage, for they were within ditches, and *le Batu* having taken a little house, kept the gate with some Harquebuses. *Grange* and his company carried spears only, yet in that heat of valour, which ordinarily at such occasions he shewed, he rushed in upon the *French*, and was followed by the Master of *Lindesay* and others whom his example did animate. The Captain refusing to render himself with fifty of his company was slain; the rest were all taken and sent prisoners to *Dundy*. The Laird of *Grange* defeats a company of the *French*.

By this time the Lords that remained in the West parts being advertised of the answer returned from *England*, and how the Duke of *Norfolk* was coming to *Berwick* to attend the *Scottish* Commissioners that should be chosen to treat of the conditions of the supply, they sent of their number some to assist the Noblemen of *Fife* in making that choice. The meeting was at *Couper*, where by common consent choice was made of Lord *James*, the Lord *Ruthven*, the Masters of *Maxwel* and *Lindesay*, the Laird *Lethington* younger, and Laird of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*; and power given them by the Duke and remnant Lords to contract and agree with the Queen of *England* and her Lieutenant upon all such things as might serve for the good and conjunction of the two Kingdoms, and particularly for expelling the *French* souldiers out of the Realm of *Scotland*. These taking journey by Sea came about the middest of *February* to *Berwick*, and after some short Treaty, a Contract was formed betwixt *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolk*, Earl *Marshal* of *England*, and Lieutenant to the Queens Majesty in the North, in name and behalf of her Highness on the one part, and Lord *James Stewart*, *Patrick* Lord *Ruthven*, Sir *John Maxwel* of *Torreglis* Knight, *William Maitland* of *Lethington* younger, *John Wishart* of *Pittarrow*, and Mr. *Henry Balnaves* of *Halhil*, in name and behalf of the noble and mighty Prince *James* Duke of *Chattellerault*, second person of the Realm of *Scotland*, and the remnant Lords joyned with him for maintenance and defence of the ancient Rights and Liberties of the Country, on the other part, to the effect following. Commissioners sent to treat with *Norfolk*.

'1. That

An. 1559. The Contract with *England.*

1. 'That the Queens Majeſty having ſufficiently underſtood, as well by information from the Nobility of *Scotland*, as by the proceedings of the *French*, that 'they did intend to conquer the Realm of *Scotland*, ſuppreſs the Nobility thereof, 'and unite the ſame to the Crown of *France* perpetually, contrary to the Laws of 'the ſame Realm, and the pactions, oaths and promiſes of *France*; and being moſt 'humbly and earneſtly requeſted by the ſaid Nobility, for and in the name of the 'whole Realm, to receive the Kingdom of *Scotland*, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, 'declared Heir to the Crown thereof, with the Nobility and other ſubjects, into 'her protection and maintenance, only for preſervation of the *Scots* in their own 'Freedoms and Liberties, during the time that the Marriage did continue be-'twixt the Queen of *Scots* and the *French* King, and a year after; ſhould employ 'her beſt means for and in their defence.

1. 'That her Majeſty ſhould ſend with all convenient diligence into *Scotland* 'a ſufficient aid of men of War, horſe and foot, with artillery, munition, and other 'inſtruments of war, as well by ſea as by land, to joyn with the forces of *Scotland*, 'for the expelling the *French* forces preſently within that Realm, and ſtopping ſo 'far as may be all others to enter therein in time coming.

3. 'That her Majeſty ſhould continue her aid to the Nobility and Subjects of '*Scotland*, until ſuch time as the *French* (enemies to the ſaid Realm) ſhould be 'utterly expelled thence, and ſhouldnot tranſact, agree, nor concludeany League 'with the *French*, except the *Scots* and *French* ſhould be alſo agreed, and the Realm 'of *Scotland* left in freedom; neither ſhould ſheleave the maintenance of the ſaid 'Nobility and other ſubjects, whereby they might fall as a prey into their enemies 'hands, ſo long as they did acknowledge their Sovereign Lady and Queen, and 'ſhould endeavour themſelves to maintain their own Liberty, and the eſtate of the 'Crown of *Scotland*.

4. 'If in caſe any Forts or Strengths within the Realm ſhall be recovered out of 'the hands of the *French* by her Majeſties aid, the ſame ſhould be immediately 'demoliſhed, or delivered to the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his partakers at their 'election; neither ſhould the power of *England* fortifie within the ground of *Scot-'land*, but by the advice of the ſaid Duke, Nobility and Eſtates of *Scotland*.

5. 'That the ſaid Duke and Nobility, as well ſuch as be already joyned, as ſuch 'as hereafter ſhall joyn with him for defence of the Liberty of the Realm, ſhould 'to the uttermoſt of their power aid and ſupport her Majeſties Army againſt the '*French* and their aſſiſters with horſe and foot, and all manner of other aid they 'poſſibly can make, and ſhall provide victuals to the Army by land and ſea, and 'continue ſo doing, during the time her Majeſties Army ſhall remain in *Scot-'land*.

6. 'That they ſhould be enemies to all ſuch *Scottiſhmen* and *French* as ſhall in any 'ways ſhew themſelves enemies to the Realm of *England*, for the aiding and ſup-'porting of the ſaid Duke and Nobility, and ſhould never aſſent nor permit the 'Realm of *Scotland* to be conquered or otherwiſe united to the Crown of *France* 'than it is at the preſent, only by the marriage of the Queen their Sovereign to the '*French* King, and as the Laws and Liberties of the Realm do allow.

7. 'That if it ſhould happen the *French-men* at any time thereafter to invade or 'cauſe the Realm of *England* to be invaded, they ſhould furniſh the number of '1000 Horſemen and 2000 Footmen at leaſt, or ſuch part of either of them as 'ſhould be required, at the charge of the Queen of *England*, and ſhould conduct 'the ſame to any part of the Realm of *England* that ſhould be appointed, upon the 'charges always of the Queen of *England*. And in caſe the Invaſion ſhould be made 'on the North part of *England*, either upon the North of the water of *Tine* to-'wards *Scotland*, or againſt *Berwick* on the North-ſide of the water of *Twede*, they 'ſhould convene and gather their whole forces upon their own charges, and ſhould 'joyn with the *Engliſh* power and continue in an earneſt purſuit of the quarrel of '*England* during the ſpace of 30 days, or ſo much longer, as they are accuſtomed 'to abide in the fields for defence of *Scotland*.

8. 'That the Earl of *Argile*, Lord Juſtice of *Scotland*, being preſently joyned 'with

'with the ſaid Duke, ſhould employ his force and good will, when he ſhould be 'required by the Queen of *England*, for reducing the North parts of *Ireland* to 'her obedience, conform to a mutual Contract which ſhould be made betwixt her 'Majeſties Deputy of *Ireland* for the time and the ſaid Earl, wherein ſhould be 'expreſſed what each of them ſhould do for ſupport of others, in caſe either of 'them had buſineſs with *Mac-Oneal*, or any other of the Iſles of *Scotland*, or Realm 'of *Ireland*. *An.* 1559.

9. 'That the *Scots*, for performance and ſure keeping of their part of this Con-'tract, ſhould deliver ſuch Pledges to the Duke of *Norfolk*, before the entry of her 'Majeſties Army in *Scottiſh* ground, as the ſaid Duke did preſently name, who 'ſhould remain in *England* for the ſpace of ſix moneths, and be exchanged by deli-'verance of new Hoſtages, for ſix moneths to ſix moneths, or four moneths to 'four moneths, at the pleaſure of *Scotland*; the Pledges always being of the like 'or as good condition as the former, and the lawful ſons, brethren or heirs of 'ſome of the Earls or Barons of the Parliament, and the time of the continuance 'of the ſaid Hoſtages ſhould be during the marriage of the Queen of *Scots* to the 'French King, and a year after the diſſolution of the ſame, till farther order may 'be had betwixt both the Realms for Peace and concord.

10. 'That the Duke and Nobility joyned with him, being Earls and Barons of 'Parliament, ſhould ſubſcribe and ſeal theſe Articles within the ſpace of twenty 'or thirty days at the fartheſt after the delivering of the ſaid Hoſtages; and 'ſhould procure and perſuade all others of the Nobility that ſhould joyn them-'ſelves thereafter with the ſaid Duke for the cauſe above ſpecified, to ſubſcribe 'and ſeal the ſame Articles within the ſpace of twenty days after their conjuncti-'on, upon requiſition made by them of *England*.

11. 'That the ſaid Duke and Nobility joyned with him, certainly underſtand-'ing that the Queens Majeſty of *England* was moved to grant the preſent ſupport 'only upon reſpect of Princely honour and neighbourhood, for defence of the 'Freedom of *Scotland* from Conqueſt, and not of any ſiniſter intent, did by theſe 'preſents teſtifie and declare, that neither they nor any of them do mean by this 'Contract to withdraw their due obedience from their Sovereign Lady the Queen, 'or yet to withſtand the *French* King her Husband in any lawful thing which tend-'eth not to the ſubverſion of the juſt and ancient Liberties of *Scotland*, for the 'preſervation whereof they acknowledge themſelves bound to ſpend their goods, 'lands and lives.

This Contract of the date at *Berwick* the 27 of *February* 1559 was confirmed by the Queen of *England*, and a Patent thereof delivered under the great Seal of *England* to the Duke and Nobility: the Lords of *Scotland* did in like manner ratifie the ſame by their Subſcriptions at the Camp before *Leith* the tenth of *May* following.

The *French* ſouldiers upon ſight of the Navy return to *Leith*.

How ſoon the *French* heard that the Lords were removed from *Dyſert*, they marched forward according to their firſt purpoſe towards S. *Andrews*, and kept the Coaſt, partly becauſe of the ſhips which carried their victuals, partly by reaſon of a great ſnow which then was fallen, and made the neareſt ways unpaſſable. After that they had croſſed the water of *Leven*, and were come unto *Kincraige*, they eſpied a fleet of ſhips bearing up the *Firth*, which they did apprehend to be a ſupply ſent unto them: but when they ſaw them fall upon the ſhips that carried their victuals, they became doubtful, and ſhortly after were aſſured by a boat which had ſpoken them, that it was an *Engliſh* Navy ſent to the ſupport of the Congregation, and that a land Army was alſo prepared to come into *Scotland*. Theſe news troubled them, not a little, and made them doubtful what courſe to take; for to return by *Striveling* was a long way, and to tranſport the ſouldiers to the other coaſt, there were no veſſels; ſo as they feared to be kept from joyning with their fellows at *Leith*. Their reſolution therefore was to make the longer journeys, as they did; and ſetting to the way the ſame night, they came on the third day to *Leith*, having loſt divers of their company by the way.

Divers Houſes in *Fife* taken by the Lords.

Fife thus delivered from their oppreſſions, publick thanks were given to God in the Church of S. *Andrews*. This done, the Lords took purpoſe to beſiege the Houſes of

An. 1560. of *Weimes*, *Slafield*, *Balgony* and *Dury*, which were taken without reſiſtance, and the Lords thereof made priſoners; but ſhortly after they were dimitted, and the Houſes reſtored, upon condition not to aſſiſt the *French* any more. The Earl of *Huntley* at the ſame time being advertiſed that the Barons of *Mernis* were come to *Aberdene* to make reformation in that City, haſtened thither to withſtand their proceedings, and by his coming ſaved the Cathedral Church; the houſes of the *Dominicans*, *Carmelites* and other Religious being already demoliſhed and caſt down. Yet when he heard that the *Engliſh* forces were advancing, he ſent to the Lords, and made offer to joyn with them. A meeting to this effect was appointed at *Perth*, whither he came, and ſtaying ſome three days, departed homewards upon promiſe to return unto the Army in the beginning of *April*; for Proclamations were gone through the Country, charging all the ſubjects to meet in Arms at *Linlithgow* the laſt of *March*, and from thence to paſs forwards in purſuit of the *French* that had fortified at *Leith*.

The Cathedral of *Aberdene* ſaved by the Earl of *Huntley*.

For fulfilling the Article whereby the Lords were tied to ſend pledges unto *England*, *Colin Campbel* Couſin to the Earl of *Argile*, *Robert Douglas* brother to the Laird of *Lochleven*, and..... *Ruthven* ſon to the Lord *Ruthven*, were delivered to the *Engliſh* Admiral, and by ſea conveyed to the Town of *Newcaſtle*.

Pledges ſent to the Admiral of *England*.

After which the *Engliſh* forces, conſiſting of 2000 horſe and ſix thouſand foot, entered into *Scotland*, conducted by the Lord *Gray*, under whom commanded the Lord *Scroop*, Sir *James Crofts*, Sir *Henry Percy* and Sir *Francis Lake*. The *Scottiſh* Army joyned with them at *Preſton* the fourth of *April*, whereof the principal leaders were the Duke of *Chatterlerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencarn* and *Menteith*, Lord *James*, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd* and *Ochiltry*, who were aſſiſted by all the Barons and Gentlemen profeſſing Religion in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernis* and the Weſt countries. The ſame day the Queen Regent removed her family to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and was received by the Lord *Areſkin*, a Nobleman of approved honeſty and wiſdom. He was not ignorant of the Queen's intentions, and the deſire ſhe had to have the *French* Maſters of that ſtrength; yet he would not at that time deny her entry, but uſed ſuch circumſpection, as ſhe and the Houſe both were ſtill in his power.

The *Engliſh* forces enter into *Scotland*.

The Queen Regent entereth into the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Noblemen reſolving to fall preſently to work, did yet think to move the Queen of new for diſmiſſing the *French* Companies, and to that effect they directed a Letter of this tenor. *Madam, We have before this time by Letters and Meſſages been inſtant with you to remove the* French *ſouldiers out of the Realm, who now the ſpace of a year and more have oppreſſed the poor people with evils intolerable, and threaten to bring this Kingdom under a miſerable ſervitude. But ſeeing we could not prevail by our lawful requeſts, we were forced to mean our eſtate to the Queen of* England *our neareſt neighbour, and intreat her ſupport for expulſing theſe ſtrangers by Arms, (if otherwiſe we cannot obtain it.) And now albeit ſhe pitying our diſtreſſes hath taken us and our cauſe in her protection, yet for the duty we owe unto you as the Mother of our Queen, and the deſire we have to eſchew the ſhedding of Chriſtian bloud, we have adviſed once again to intreat the diſmiſſion of theſe* French-*men with their Captains & Commanders, for whoſe commodious tranſport the Queen of* England *will be pleaſed to lend her Navy, and give to others of them a ſafe paſſage by land. If this condition ſhall be rejected, we take God and men to record, that it is not malice nor hatred which moveth us to take Arms, but that we are driven by neceſſity to uſe extreme remedies for preſerving the Commonwealth, and ſaving our ſelves, our eſtates and poſterities from utter ruine: neither ſhall we for any peril that can happen (howſoever we ſuffer many wrongs and indignites, and are daily in expectation of worſe) forſake that dutiful obedience which we owe to our Queen, or yet reſiſt the King her Husband, in any thing that ſhall not tend to the ſubverſion of the ancient Liberties of this Kingdom. Therefore, moſt gracious Queen, we beſeech you again and again to weigh the equity of our Petition, the inconveniences of war, & to conſider how needful it is that this your Daughters afflicted Kingdom ſhould be put to ſome reſt & quietneſs. If ſo you do, you ſhall give to all nations a teſtimony of your moderation, & procure the peace of the greateſt part of Chriſtendom.*

A Letter from the Lords to the Queen Regent.

This Letter, dated at *Dalkeith* the fifth of *April*, was ſubſcribed by all the Noblemen

blemen that were preſent. The *Engliſh* General did in like manner direct Sir *George Howard* and Sir *James Crofts* to make offer, that if the *French* would peaceably depart forth of *Scotland*, they likewiſe ſhould return into their Country without moleſting any perſon. Her anſwer was, that ſhe would think of what was propounded, and give anſwer the next day. But the Army not liking to admit theſe delays, advanced the next day, which was Saturday, towards *Leith*, keeping along the ſea-coaſt, till they came to *Reſtalrig*. The *French* iſſuing forth of *Leith* to the number of 1300, or thereby, and planting themſelves upon a little hill called the *Hawkhill* (where they knew the *Engliſh* Army would encamp) for the ſpace of five hours continued in fight, the one ſtriving to make good the place, the other to carry it. At laſt the *Scottiſh* horſemen did charge the *French* with ſuch a fury, that they, not able to maintain it any longer, took the flight and retired to the Town, from which they had been quite cut off, if the *Engliſh* horſe had ſeconded the *Scots*, as was appointed. In this conflict three hundred of the *French* were killed, and ſome few of the *Engliſh*.

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The *Engliſh* General intreateth the Queen to diſmit the *French*.

The firſt Conflict of the ſiege of *Leith*.

Then begun the Army of *England* to place their Pavilions betwixt the Town of *Leith* and *Reſtalrig*. The Lord *Gray* lodging in the Deans houſe in *Reſtalrig*, and the moſt part of his horſemen in the ſame village, the foot lay all in the tents, upon the South and South-eaſt ſide of *Leith*; and near unto them were the *Scots* Noblemen encamped, trenches caſt, and a little mount erected, which was called *Mount Pellain*, from the name of the Captain, whereupon eight Cannons were placed to play upon S. *Antonies* Steeple, on which the *French* had planted ſome Ordinance. Theſe thundring night and day battered the Steeple, and forced the *French* to diſmount their artillery. The *Engliſh* after this growing negligent, and ſuppoſing the *French* would make no more ſallies, followed their ſports, ſome of the Captains going to *Edinburgh*, and the ſouldiers falling to play at Dice and Cards, as though there had been no enemies to fear: whereof the *French* getting intelligence, they iſſued forth, and entring the *Engliſh* trenches before they were perceived, put many to the ſword. The ſlaughter was great, and eſteemed to exceed the loſs of the *French* in the firſt encounter.

The ſituation of the *Scotiſh* and *Engliſh* Camp.

The *French* entred into the *Engliſh* trenches where divers were killed.

This accident taught them to be more watchful all the time that the ſiege continued; and becauſe their numbers were ſo few for beſieging the Town in all parts, they deviſed to raiſe certain mounts in every quarter, and to remove the Cannon to the Weſt ſide of the water of *Leith*, more near the walls than before. The laſt of *April* a ſudden fire kindling within the Town, burnt all that night, which deſtroyed many houſes, and conſumed a great part of the Souldiers proviſion. During this burning, the *Engliſh* playing continually with the Cannon upon the places where they ſaw the flames riſing, to ſtop the quenching of the fire, and entering the ditches, did in the mean time meaſure the height of the walls, to provide ladders for the ſcaling which they intended.

A fire in the town of *Leith*.

The ſeventh of *May* having reſolved to give an aſſault, they brought the ladders a little before day towards the walls; but they proved too ſhort, and ſo that purpoſe failed. The *Engliſh* loſt 160 at this enterpriſe. Such as were affected to the *French* did hereupon take courage, truſting the ſiege would riſe, and the *Engliſh* Army depart: but the accident did no way diſmay either the *Engliſh* or *Scots*, every man animating another to conſtancy and continuance; and about the time came Letters from the Duke of *Norfolk*, which greatly confirmed their minds. Thereby he charged them not to break up the ſiege by any means, aſſuring they ſhould not lack men, ſo long as any could be had betwen *Twede* and *Trent* (for in thoſe bounds he commanded as Lieutenant) and giving hopes to come in perſon to the Camp, he cauſed his Pavilion to be ſet up, and ſent thither his officers and proviſion. Shortly after a freſh ſupply came from *England* of 2000 men, which made all former loſſes to be forgotten. The *French* for ſome daies made divers ſallies, but were ever put to the worſt; for all the hurt which fell either to *Scottiſh* or *Engliſh* from that time until the rendring of the Town, was only the loſs of two men, *Robert Colvil* of *Cleiſh*, Maſter houſhold to Lord *James*, a Gentleman much commended both for wiſdom and valour (he was wounded in the thigh by the ſhot of a great piece from

The *Engliſh* thinking to ſcale the walls are repulſed.

An. 1560. the Town, and died of it within two hours) and *Alexander Lokhart*, brother to the Laird of *Barre*, who lying too open in the Trenches was discovered by the enemy, and shot in the head.

The offer of the *French* King to the Queen of *England*.

The *French* King hearing in what distress the companies at *Leith* were, and by reason of other affairs not able to supply them in time, sent Count *Randon* and Monsieur *Monluck* Bishop of *Valence* Ambassadors to the Queen of *England*, desiring her to retire her Army out of *Scotland*, with offers to restore the Town of *Callais* if she would call them back.

The Queens answer.

Her answer was, *that she did not value that fisher-Town so much, as to hazard for it the state of* Britain.

The *French* perceiving that Peace could not otherwise be made but by calling back the *French* Souldiers, and thinking it dishonorable for the King and Queen of *France* to treat with their own subjects, they intreated the Queen of *England* to send her Ambassadors to mediate an Agreement: which was easily assented unto, and Mr. *William Cecill* principal Secretary of *England*, with Doctor *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*, appointed to go with the *French* Ambassadors into *Scotland*, and use their best means for pacifying the present Troubles.

Sir *William Cecil* and Doctor *Wotton* sent to mediate an Agreement.

The Queen Regent sickneth and dieth. She conferreth with the Lords before her death.

Whilest they were in their journey, the Queen Regent, partly out of sickness, and partly of displeasure, died in the Castle of *Edinburgh* the tenth of *June* 1560. Before her death she desired to speak with the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Marshall*, and Lord *James*; to whom she expressed her grief for the Troubles of the Realm, commending earnestly the study of Peace unto them, advising them to send both *French* and *English* forth of the Country, and beseeching them to continue in the obedience of the Queen their Sovereign, and to entertain the old amity with the King and Realm of *France*. After some speeches to this purpose, bursting forth in tears she asked pardon of them all whom any way she had offended, professing that she did forgive those who had injured her in any sort, and imbracing all the Nobles one by one, kissing them, she took her farewel. To others of meaner sort that stood by she gave her hand, and so they departed. Afterwards, disposing her self for another world, she sent for *John Willock* the Preacher, who was then returned from *England*, and conferring with him a reasonable space, openly professed, that *she did trust to be saved only by the death and merits of Jesus Christ*: and thus ended her life most Christianly.

The Queen Regent her just commendations.

She was a Lady of honest and honorable conditions, of singular judgment, and full of humanity, a great lover of justice, helpful to the poor, especially to those that she knew to be indigent, but for shame could not beg; compassionate of women in travel, whom she did often visit in her own person, and help both with her skill and counsel. In her Court she kept a wonderful gravity, tolerating no licentiousness; her maids were always busied in some vertuous exercise, and to them she was an ensample every way of modesty, chastity, and the best Vertues. A great dexterity she had in Government, which appeared in the composing the Tumults in the North, and in pacifying the Isles, which by her wisdom were reduced to perfect obedience. As to those Wars which afflicted the Kingdom in her last days, it is not to be doubted but the same happened much against her will; neither had they fallen out at all, if affairs had been carried according to her mind. But she was to govern by direction, and in all matters of weight must needs attend responses from the *French* Court, which were the Oracles whereby all affairs at those times were framed. This made her in matters of Religion more severe than of her own nature she was, and led her into many errours of State, neglecting the Natives and born Noblemen of the Country, and following the counsels of the *French* that attended her, who making no conscience of their promises, and minding nothing but the bringing of *Scotland* in subjection to *France*, as they conceived things to serve unto their ends, moved her to follow courses unsure and dishonorable. Otherwise she was of a most mild disposition, and was heard often to say, *That if her own counsel might take place, she doubted nothing to compose all the Dissensions within the Realm, and settle the same upon good conditions in a perfect tranquillity.*

The malice of the Author of the story called *John Knox* his History.

The Author of the Story ascribed to *John Knox* in his whole discourse sheweth a bitter and hateful spite against her, forging dishonest things, which was never so

so much as suspected by any, setting down his own conjectures as certain truths, and misinterpreting all her words and actions; yea the least syllable that did escape her in passion, he maketh it an argument of her cruel and inhumane disposition: but when he cometh to speak of her end, he will have all her Sickness and Death (though in none of the two there was any thing extraordinary) to be the Judgment of God inflicted upon her, as if Death and the ordinary visitations which bring death were not common to Princes as well as others. Then for her Burial, because by direction of her friends, and (as some say) at her own desire, order was taken to carry her Corps to the Abbey of *Rhemes* in *Campaigne*, where her sister was Abbess, which of all necessity required a protraction of time; he construed the delay to be the punishment of her inhumanity, and the want of sepulchre in this Kingdom a prognostick of the short continuance of her race and the *Guisian* blood (as he speaks) in this Realm. Pardon me good Reader, for this digression. To detract from the fame of Princes, and miscensure their words and actions, savoureth of malice, and no way becometh a Christian, much less a Minister of Christ. *An.* 1560.

A truce taken upon the death of the Queen Regent.

Shortly after the death of the Queen Regent Truce was taken for hearing the Ambassadors sent from *France* and *England*, who coming to *Edinburgh*, entered into consultation first amongst themselves upon the best and easiest means to compose the present Quarrels. Then calling to them certain of the *Scottish* Nobility, began to treat of the sending of the *French* Souldiers forth of the Realm. Wherein two difficulties occurred. One was, that the Commissioners of *France* did urge the retaining of a number of men of war in some Forts of the Country for the King and Queen, after Peace was concluded. The other, that the Companies that should be broken might depart unchallenged with all their baggage. The *Scottish* Noblemen did oppose these desires, esteeming it unreasonable that they should be suffered to depart before they gave satisfaction to those they had wronged; and to place strangers in Forts, they thought it could not but breed trouble, and occasion a new War more dangerous than the present. This contention held some days; at last both parties wearying, they were brought to agree upon the Conditions following.

Conditions of the Peace.

1. That the *Frenchmen* of war in the Town of *Leith* should be sent home within the space of twenty days with bag and baggage; and, for their better transport, should be furnished with Ships of *England*, they giving pledges for the safe return of the same.

2. That *Leith* being rendred to the Lords of *Scotland*, the walls thereof should be demolished, as likewise the Fortifications of *Dumbar*, if so it should seem good to the Lords, after they had viewed the same; and that the King and Queen should make no new Forts within the Realm, nor augment those that were already made, nor yet repair these that were demolished, without counsel and consent of the Estates.

3. That a Garrison of threescore *Frenchmen* should be permitted to remain in the Castle of *Dumbar*, and as many in the Isle of *Inchkeeth*, until the Estates should find means to maintain the said Forts upon their own charges from all peril of forein invasion; the said souldiers in the mean time living obedient to the Laws of the Realm, and taking nothing from the subjects without payment of ready money.

4. That an Act of Oblivion should be made for abolishing the memory of all injuries and wrongs attempted or committed against the Laws of the Realm, since the sixth day of *March* 1558, until the first of *August* 1560. which Act should be ratified in the next Parliament, and confirmed by the Queen with consent of her Husband.

5. That a general Peace and Reconciliation should be made amongst the Lords and subjects of the Realm, so as they who were called of the Congregation, and they who were not of the same, should bear no quarrel to others for any thing done since the sixth of *March*, 1558.

6. That the King and Queen should not pursue, revenge, or suffer to be revenged, any violence or injury that had been done since the said time, nor should deprive or seek any color to dispossess the subjects, or any of them, of the benefices, houses,

An. 1560. and eſtates which they have enjoyed before, they alwaies continuing in the due obedience of their Sovereigns. And that it might be known that the King and Queen were not willing to keep any remembrance of the Troubles paſt, it was accorded the Duke of *Chattellerault* and all other Noblemen of *Scotland* ſhould be repoſſeſſed in their livings and benefices within *France*, after the manner that they did enjoy the ſame before the ſaid ſixth day of *March*; and that all Capitulations agreed upon in times paſt ſhould be obſerved as well for the part of their Majeſties, as the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland*.

7. That where any Biſhops, Abbots, or other Churchmen, ſhould alledge themſelves to have received any injuries either in their perſons or goods, the ſame ſhould be conſidered by the Eſtates of Parliament, and redreſs made according to reaſon; and in the mean time, that no man ſhould ſtop them to enjoy their rents, nor do any hurt or violence to their perſons: and if any ſhould do contrary to this Article, he ſhould be purſued by the Lords as a perturber of the Commonwealth.

8. That in time coming the King and Queen ſhould depute no ſtrangers in the adminiſtration of Civil and Common Juſtice, nor beſtow the Offices of Chancellary, Theſaurer, Comptrollary, and the like upon others than born ſubjects of the Realm: as likewiſe that it ſhould not be lawful to give the office of Theſaurary or Comptrollary to any Church-men or other perſon that is not able to adminiſtrate the ſame. Farther, that the Theſaurer and Comptroller appointed by them, and inſtructed with ſufficient commiſſion, ſhould do nothing in diſpoſing of caſualties without the conſent of the Council, to the effect all things may be done for the profit of the King and Queen: yet ſhould it not be thought that this Article did either bind the King or Queen, but that they may give where and when they ſhould think expedient.

9. That the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould convene and hold a Parliament in the month of *Auguſt* next, for which a Commiſſion ſhould be ſent from the *French* King and the Queen of *Scotland*, and that the ſaid Convention ſhould be as lawful in all reſpects, as if the ſame had been ordained by the expreſs Commandment of their Majeſties: providing all Tumults of war be diſcharged, and they who ought by their places to be preſent may come without fear.

10. That for the better government of this Realm, choice ſhould be made of a Council which ſhould conſiſt of twelve worthy men of the Kingdom, of which number the Queen ſhould chuſe ſeven and the Eſtates five; which twelve in their Majeſties abſence ſhould take order with the affairs of Government, and without their authority and conſent nothing ſhould be done in the adminiſtration of publick buſineſs. And that the ſaid Council ſhould convene as oft as they might conveniently, but no fewer than ſix together; or if any matter of importance occurred, they ſhould all be called, or the moſt part of them: providing it ſhould not be prejudicial to the King and Queen, and to the Rights of the Crown.

11. That the King and Queen ſhould neither make Peace nor War in theſe parts but by the counſel and advice of the Eſtates, according to the cuſtome of the Country, as it was obſerved by their predeceſſors.

12. That none of the Lords of the Nobility of *Scotland* ſhould make convocation of men of war, except in ordinary caſes approved by the Laws and cuſtome of the Realm, nor ſhould any of them cauſe men of war ſtrangers to come into theſe parts, much leſs attempt to do any thing againſt the King and Queen, or againſt the authority of the Council, and other Magiſtrates of the Realm: and in caſe any of them had occaſion to take Arms, the ſame being firſt communicated to the Council, their Majeſties likewiſe ſhould be made acquainted therewith, and nothing to be done by them that ought not to be done by good and faithful ſubjects, that love the quietneſs of the Realm, and will abide in the obedience of their Sovereigns.

13. That Lord *David* Son to the Duke of *Chattellerault*, detained priſoner at *Bois de Vincennes*, ſhould be put to liberty, and ſuffered to return into *Scotland* at his pleaſure.

14. That with the *Frenchmen* no Artillery ſhould be tranſported forth of the Realm,

Realm, but thoſe which were ſent and brought in ſince the deceaſe of *Francis* the Firſt; and that all other Artillery and Munition, eſpecially that which hath the Arms of *Scotland*, ſhould be put into the places out of which they were taken. *An.* 1560.

15. That the Army of *England* ſhould return home immediately after the embarking of the *French*, and that all the *Scottiſh* men of war ſhould be broken, and licenced to depart.

16. That for the Articles concerning Religion preſented for the part of the Nobility and people of *Scotland* (which the Commiſſioners would not touch, but referred to their Majeſties) it was promiſed that a certain number of Noblemen ſhould be choſen in the next Convention and Parliament to be ſent to their Majeſties, to expone unto them the things that ſhould be thought needful for the eſtate thereof; and for the Articles preſently decided, they ſhould carry with them the Ratification of the ſame by the Eſtates, and return a Confirmation thereof from their Majeſties.

Laſtly, that the Queen of *Scotland* and King of *France* ſhould not hereafter uſurp the Titles of *England* and *Ireland*, and ſhould delete the Arms of *England* and *Ireland* out of their ſcutcheons and whole houſhold-ſtuff.

The *French* embark, and the Army of *England* departeth.

This Accord made, the *French* prepared to depart; and for returning the Ships of *England* that were lent to tranſport them, the Biſhop of *Amiens* and *Monſieur le Broche* remained Hoſtages. On the ſixteenth day of *July* the *French* embarked, and the ſame day did the *Engliſh* Army depart towards *Berwick*. The third day after their parting, a ſolemn Thankſgiving was kept in the Church of S. *Giles* by the Lords and others profeſſing true Religion, and then were the Miniſters by common advice diſtributed among the Burghs. *John Knox* was appointed to ſerve at *Edinburgh*, *Chriſtopher Goodman* at S. *Andrews*, *Adam Heriote* at *Aberdene*, *John Row* at *Perth*, *William Chriſteſon* at *Dundy*, *David Ferguſon* at *Dunfermlin*, *Paul Methven* at *Jedburgh*, and Mr. *David Lindeſay* at *Leith*. Beſides theſe they did nominate for the direction of Church-affairs ſome to be Superintendents, as Mr. *John Spotſwood* for *Lothian* and *Mers*, Mr. *John Winram* for *Fife*, and *John Areskin* of *Dun* for *Angus* and *Mernis*, Mr. *John Willock* for *Glaſgow*, and Mr. *John Kerſwel* for *Argile* and *Iſles*. With this ſmall number was the plantation of the Church at firſt undertaken.

The Miniſters diſtributed amongſt the Burghs.

A Parliament, and the lawfulneſs thereof queſtioned.

The time appointed for the Parliament approaching, warning was made to all ſuch as by Law or ancient Cuſtome had any voice therein to be preſent, and at the day the meeting was frequent. In the beginning there was great altercation. Divers holding that *no Parliament could be kept, ſeeing their Sovereigns had ſent no Commiſſion, nor authoriſed any to repreſent their perſons.* Others (alledging that Article of the Peace whereby it was agreed, *That a Parliament ſhould be kept in the month of* Auguſt, *and that the ſame ſhould be as lawful in all reſpects, as if it were ordained by the expreſs commandments of their Majeſties*) maintained that *the ſaid Article was a warrant ſufficient for their preſent meeting:* and this opinion by voices prevailed. So after ſome eight days ſpent in theſe contentions, they began to treat of affairs; but as they had no Commiſſion, ſo the ſolemnities accuſtomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, which are in uſe to be carried at theſe times, were neglected. There were preſent of the Spiritual Eſtate, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, *Galloway*, *Argile*, and *Iſles*, the Prior of S. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Couper*, *Lundors*, *Culroſs*, S. *Colmes Inch*, *Newbottle*, *Halirudhouſe*, *Kinloſe*, *Deire* and *New-Abby*, with the Priors of *Coldingham* and S. *Mary Iſle*; of the Nobility, the Lord Duke, the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Marſhal*, *Caſſils*, *Cathnes*, *Athol*, *Glencarne*, *Morton*, and *Rothes*; the Lords *Ruthven*, *Glammis*, *Areskin*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltrie*, *Cathcart*, *Levingſton*, *Ogilvy*, and *Somervil*, with many of the inferiour Barons; and of the Commiſſioners of Burghs none were abſent. In electing the Lords of the Articles, the Noblemen that had the nomination of the Clergy, paſſing by ſuch amongſt them as they knew to be Popiſhly affected, made choice of the Biſhops of *Galloway* and *Argile*, the Prior of S. *Andrews*, the Abbots of *Abberbrothock*, *Kilwining*, *Lundors*, *Newbottle*, and *Culroſs*: at which the Prelates ſtormed mightily, alledging that ſome of them were mere Laicks, and all of them Apo-

The Clergy offended with the election of the Lords of the Articles.

An. 1560. ſtates (for they had openly renounced Popery, and joyned themſelves with the Profeſſors of the Truth:) but there was no remedy, the courſe was changed; and now it behoved them to take law, who formerly had given it to others.

Petitions proponed in favor of the Reformers.

The firſt thing they moved in the Articles was a Supplication of the Barons, Gentlemen, Burgeſſes and other Subjects concerning Religion; wherein three things were petitioned. Firſt, *That the Doctrine of the Roman Church, profeſſed and tyrannouſly maintained by the Clergy, ſhould be condemned, and by Act of Parliament aboliſhed.* Some particulars they named, ſuch as *the Doctrine of Tranſubſtantiation, the Adoration of Chriſts Body under the form of Bread, the Merit of Works, Papiſtical Indulgences, Purgatory, Pilgrimage, and praying to Saints departed.* Theſe they reckoned to be peſtilent Errors, ſuch as could not but bring damnation to the Souls of thoſe who were therewith infected: therefore deſired a puniſhment to be appointed for the Teachers and maintainers of ſuch Doctrines. Next, *That a remedy ſhould be found againſt the prophaning the holy Sacraments by men of that profeſſion, and the true Diſcipline of the ancient Church revived and reſtored.* Thirdly, *That the Pope of* Rome *his uſurped Authority ſhould be diſcharged, and the Patrimony of the Church imployed to the ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery, the proviſion of Schools, and intertainment of the poor, of a long time neglected.*

This laſt clauſe was not very pleaſing to divers of the Nobility, who, though they liked well to have the Pope his Authority and Doctrine condemned, had no will to quit the Church Patrimony, wherewith in that ſtirring time they had poſſeſſed themſelves. So making no anſwer to the laſt Point, the Miniſters were deſired to draw into ſeveral heads the ſum of the Doctrine they craved to be eſtabliſhed, that the ſame might be ſeen and conſidered by the Parliament. This accordingly was done, and the fourth day after (which was the 17. of *Auguſt*) exhibited to the Eſtates under this Title (*The Confeſſion of the Faith and Doctrine believed and profeſſed by the Proteſtants of* Scotland.) It is the ſame Confeſſion word by word that you have regiſtred in the firſt Parliament of King *James* the Sixth, which (that the Story may on with an uninterrupted delivery) I thought it not needful here to inſert.

The Confeſſion of Faith put in form and preſented.

The Confeſſion approved.

The Confeſſion read in open Parliament and put to voices, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Sommervill* and *Borthwick* only of all the Temporal Eſtate diſaſſented, ſaying, *They would believe as their fathers before them had believed.* The Popiſh Prelates were ſilent, and anſwered nothing: whereupon the Earl *Marſhal* brake forth into theſe ſpeeches, *It is long ſince I carried ſome favour unto the Truth, and was ſomewhat jealous of the* Roman *Religion; but this day hath fully reſolved me of the truth of the one, and falſhood of the other: for ſeeing my Lords the Biſhops (who by their learning can, and for the zeal they ſhould have to the Truth would, as I ſuppoſe, gainſay any thing repugnant unto it) ſay nothing againſt the Confeſſion we have heard, I cannot think but it is the very Truth of God, and the contrary of it falſe and deceiveable Doctrine.* Thus was the Confeſſion of Faith approved, and by publick voices of the Eſtates authorized. At the ſame time there paſſed three other Acts in favour of the Profeſſors; One for aboliſhing the Popes Juriſdiction and Authority within the Realm; a Second annulling all Statutes made in preceding times for maintenance of Idolatry; and a Third for puniſhment of the ſayers and hearers of Maſs.

The Popes Authority aboliſhed.

The Lord *Torpichen* directed to *France*.

With theſe Acts Sir *James Sandelands* Knight of *Rhodes*, a Gentleman of good account (who had carried himſelf as neuter in all theſe Broils) was directed to *France*, for obtaining a Ratification of the ſame from the Queen and the King her Husband; and therewith was deſired to clear the Noblemen and other Subjects from imputations of Diſloyalty caſt upon them, and to pacifie the minds of their Sovereigns (whom they underſtood to be much exaſperated) by all the good ways he could uſe. But he found his Ambaſſage and himſelf both contemned; the *Guiſians* (who were the only men then in account with the King) checking him bitterly at his firſt Audience, for that he, being a Knight of the holy Order, ſhould have taken a Commiſſion from Rebels to ſollicite a ratification of execrable Hereſies. The Gentleman did what he could to mitigate their wrath, but nothing could avail. So was he diſmiſſed without anſwer; whereof the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the

the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and the Lord *Seaton*, who went from *Leith* with the company of *French*, were generally blamed. *An.* 1560.

The cold entertainment he found in that Court was ſoon advertiſed; which troubled greatly the minds of the Profeſſors, for they were ſenſible of their own weakneſs, and doubtful of ſupport from *England*, if *France* ſhould again invade, becauſe of the loſs the *Engliſh* had received in the late Expedition: neither had the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn* (who upon the breaking up of the Parliament were ſent into *England* to render thanks to the Queen, and to intreat the continuance of her favor) given any advertiſement of their acceptance. But whileſt they ſtood thus fearful, news was brought of the *French* Kings death, which raiſed their hearts not a little, neither were they more glad than the *French* faction were ſorrowful. The Earls *Morton* and *Glencarn* ſent into *England*. The *French* King dieth.

Theſe meeting in the moſt ſecret manner they could, took counſel to ſend Mr. *John Leſley* (afterwards Biſhop of *Roſſe*) with Letters to the Queen, intreating her to return into *Scotland*; withal to ſhew her that the beſt courſe ſhe could take was to land at *Aberdene*, where ſhe ſhould be honorably received, and find ſuch aſſiſtance of the Noblemen in theſe quarters, as at her firſt coming ſhe might reeſtabliſh the Catholick Religion. He was alſo deſired to warn the Queen not to give ear to the Counſels of her Brother, who (as they ſaid) was of an aſpiring mind, and aimed at no leſs than the Government of the Realm; whom ſhe ſhould do wiſely to cauſe be detained in *France*, till matters at home were fully ſetled. The Letter he carried was ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Aberdene*, *Murray* and *Roſſe*, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford*, *Athol*, *Sutherland*, and *Cathneſſe*. Mr. *John Leſley* ſent from the *French* Faction to perſwade the Queens return.

On the other ſide, the Noblemen that had aſſiſted the expulſion of the *French*, how ſoon they heard of the death of King *Francis*, convened at *Edinburgh*, and after counſel taken directed Lord *James* to the Queen, to perſuade her in like manner to return. But *Leſley* uſing greater diligence came to her ſome days before him, and finding her at *Vitrie* in *Champaigne* (whither ſhe was gone to ſeek a ſecret place for her ſorrow) delivered the Letters and credit he was truſted with. The Queen hearing all, anſwered, that the Prelates and Noblemen by whom he was employed ſhould reſt aſſured of her favour, willing him to advertiſe ſo much, and to attend till ſhe could reſolve upon her return. Incontinent after *Leſley*'s coming the Queens Uncles did enter in deliberation what courſe was beſt for her to take, and whether or not ſhe ſhould return to *Scotland*; for they conceived the paſſage by Sea would be dangerous (ſhe not being aſſured of the Queen of *Englands* friendſhip) and in her own Kingdom the late Troubles not being fully appeaſed, they conſidered her peril would be great, and that ſhe ſhould be caſt into many difficulties: yet finding her own mind to incline that way, and hoping to have her more ſubject to their counſels whileſt ſhe lived at home than if ſhe remained in *France*, they reſolved to give way to her return, and to provide a Fleet for her ſafe tranſport. Lord *James* at his coming, though he was advertiſed of the concluſion taken, yet diſſembling his knowledge thereof, did ſignify the great deſire that the ſubjects had to enjoy her preſence, and their longing for her return, uſing the beſt reaſons he could to perſuade her unto it. Hereby ſhe was much confirmed in her purpoſe; and after a day or two imparting to him her reſolution, willed him to return with diligence, and making advertiſement of her journey, take care that nothing ſhould be attempted againſt the Pacification made at *Leith* before her coming. Lord *James* by the Noblemen of the Reformation to the ſame end. The Queen reſolveth to return.

In *March* following there arrived at *Leith* one *Noalius*, a Senator of *Bordeaux*, bringing a Commiſſion from the King that had now ſucceeded his Brother, whereby three things were craved. 1. *That the old League betwixt* France *and* Scotland *ſhould be renewed.* 2. *That the late confederacy with* England *ſhould be diſſolved.* 3. *That the Church-men ſhould be reſtored to their places from which they had been thruſt.* The Council not willing to meddle with matters of that importance delayed his anſwer to the Convention appointed in *May*, at which time Lord *James* returned. He had audience, and anſwer given him to this effect: *That the* Scots *were no way conſcious to themſelves of any breach of the ancient League, but contrariwiſe* *the* An Ambaſſage from *France*. The anſwer of the Convention.

An. 1560. *the* French *had broken to them, ſeeking of late to deprive them of their ancient Liberties, and under the profeſſion of friendſhip to bring them into a miſerable ſervitude. That they could not violate the Contract made with* England, *except they would be accompted of all men living the moſt ingrate; for having received the greateſt kindneſs and benefit at the hands of the* Engliſh *which one neighbor Nation could poſſibly do unto another, if they ſhould requite them with ſuch ingratitude they would bring upon themſelves a perpetual and everlaſting ſhame. And for the repairing the Church-men in their places, they ſaid that they did not acknowledge thoſe whom they ſo ſtyled to be Office-bearers in the Church, and that* Scotland, *having renounced the Pope, would maintain no longer his Prieſts and vaſſals.*

Morton and *Glencarn* return from *England.*

Noalius diſmiſſed with this anſwer, the Earls of *Morton* and *Glencarn*, who a little before this time were returned from *England*, did relate the good acceptance they received from the Queen, and the promiſes ſhe made to aſſiſt them in the defence of the Liberties of the Kingdom, if they ſhould ſtand in need at any time of her help; which was heard with great content. They had been truſted with a more private buſineſs; this was to try if the Queen might be pleaſed to take the Earl of *Arrane* to her Husband, and that way to unite the Kingdoms in a more firm amity. But to this ſhe did in fair terms anſwer, *That ſhe was not as yet wearied of the ſingle life, and profeſſing her ſelf adepted to the Noblemans good affection, ſaid that if he ſhould try her kindneſs in any other matter, he ſhould find his love not ill beſtowed.*. The Earl took the repulſe more patiently becauſe of the *French* Kings death, and truſting he ſhould gain the favour of his own Queen, whom he greatly affected: but of this he was likewiſe diſappointed, as we will hear.

A form of Church-policy.

IN the Convention kept at *Edinburgh* in *January* preceding a Form of Church-policy was preſented, and deſired to be ratified. Becauſe this will fall to be often mentioned, and ſerveth to the clearing of many queſtions which were afterward agitated in the Church; I thought meet word by word here to inſert the ſame, that the Reader may ſee what were the Grounds laid down at firſt for the Government of the Church, ſo we ſhall the better decern of the Changes that followed.

The Firſt Head, of Doctrine.

SEeing that Chriſt *Jeſus* is he whom God the Father hath commended only to be heard and followed of his Sheep; we judge it neceſſary that his Goſpel be truly and openly preached in every Church and Aſſembly of this Realm, and that all Doctrine repugning to the ſame be utterly ſuppreſſed as damnable to mans Salvation.

The Explication of the Firſt Head.

Leſt that upon this our Generality ungodly men take occaſion to cavil, this we add for Explication. By *preaching of the Goſpel* we underſtand not only the Scriptures of the New Teſtament, but alſo the Old; to wit, the Law, the Prophets and Hiſtories, in which Chriſt *Jeſus* is no leſs contained in Figure, than we have him now expreſſed in Virtue: And therefore with the Apoſtle we affirm, that *all Scripture inſpired of God is profitable to inſtruct, to reprove, and to exhort.* In which Books of Old and New Teſtaments we affirm that all things neceſſary for the inſtruction of the Church, and to make the man of God perfect, are contained and ſufficiently expreſſed.

By *the contrary Doctrine* we underſtand whatſoever men by Laws, Councils or Conſtitutions have impoſed upon the Conſciences of men without the expreſs commandment of Gods Word. Such as are the Vows of Chaſtity, Forſwearing of Marriage, binding of men and women to a ſeveral and diſguiſed Apparel, to the ſuperſtitious

perſtitious obſerving of Faſting-days, Difference of Meats for conſcience ſake, Prayer for the dead, and keeping of Holy-days of certain Saints commanded by man; ſuch as be all theſe the Papiſts have invented, as the Feaſts (ſo as they term them) of the Apoſtles; Martyrs, Virgins; of Chriſtmas, Circumciſion, Epiphany, Purification, and other ſaid Feaſts of our Lady: which things becauſe in the Scriptures of God they neither have commandment, nor aſſurance, we judge them utterly to be aboliſhed from this Realm. Affirming farther, that the obſtinate maintainers and teachers of ſuch abominations ought not to eſcape the puniſhment of the Civil Magiſtrate. *An.* 1560.

The Second head, of Sacraments.

TO Chriſt *Jeſus* his holy Goſpel truly preached of neceſſity it is that his holy Sacraments be annexed and truly miniſtred, as Seals and viſible Confirmations of the ſpiritual Promiſes contained in the words. Theſe Sacraments are two, to wit, Baptiſm, and the holy Supper of the Lord *Jeſus*; which are then rightly miniſtred, when by a lawful Miniſter the people before the adminiſtration of the ſame are plainly inſtructed and put in mind of Gods free Grace and mercy offered unto the penitent in Chriſt *Jeſus*, when Gods Promiſes are reherſed, the end and uſe of the Sacraments preached and declared in ſuch a language as the people do underſtand; when alſo to them nothing is added, and from them nothing diminiſhed, and in their adminiſtration all things done according to the inſtitution of the Lord *Jeſus*, and practice of his holy Apoſtles. And albeit the order of *Geneva*, which now is uſed in ſome of our Churches, is ſufficient to inſtruct the diligent Reader how that both theſe Sacraments may be rightly miniſtred; yet for an Uniformity to be kept, we thought good to add this as ſuperabundant.

In Baptiſm we acknowledge nothing to be uſed except the element of Water only, and that the word and declaration of the Promiſes (as we ſaid before) ought to precede: therefore whoſoever preſumeth in Baptiſm to uſe oyl, ſalt, wax, ſpittle, conjuration and croſſing, as they accuſe the inſtitution of Chriſt of imperfection, (for it was void of all theſe inventions) ſo for altering Chriſts perfect Ordinance they ought to be ſeverely puniſhed.

The Table of the Lord is then moſt rightly miniſtred, when it approacheth moſt nigh to Chriſts own action. But plain it is that at the Supper Chriſt *Jeſus* ſate with his Diſciples, and therefore do we judge that ſitting at Table is moſt convenient to that holy action; that Bread and Wine ought to be given, diſtribution of the ſame made, that the Bread ſhould be taken and eaten, and likewiſe that all ſhould drink of the Cup, with declaration what both the one and the other is. For touching the damnable error of the Papiſts, who defraud the people of the Cup of the Lords Blood, their error is ſo manifeſt as it needeth no confutation.

That the Miniſter break the Bread, and diſtribute the ſame to thoſe that be next unto him, commanding the reſt every one with reverence and ſobriety to break with other, we think it neareſt to Chriſts action, and to the perfect practice of the Apoſtles, as we read in Saint *Paul*. During which action we think it neceſſary that ſome comfortable places of Scripture be read, which may bring in mind the Death of the Lord *Jeſus*, and the benefit of the ſame: for ſeeing in that Action we ought chiefly to remember the Lords Death, we judge the Scriptures making mention of the ſame moſt apt to ſtir up our dull minds then, and at all times. The Miniſters at their diſcretion may appoint the places to be read as they think good; but what times we think moſt convenient for miniſtration of the one and other Sacrament, ſhall be declared when we come to the Policy of the Church.

The Third Head, touching the aboliſhing of Idolatry.

AS we require Chriſt *Jeſus* to be truly preached, and his holy Sacraments rightly miniſtred; ſo we cannot ceaſe to require Idolatry, with all Monuments and places of the ſame, as Abbeys, Chappels, Monkeries, Frieries, Nunneries, Chantries. Cathedral-

An. 1560. Cathedral-Churches, Canonries, Colleges, other than preſently are Pariſh-Churches or Schools, to be utterly ſuppreſſed in all places of this Realm; Palaces, Manſions and dwelling-houſes, with their Orchards and Gardens, only excepted. As alſo we deſire that no perſons, of what eſtate or condition ſoever they be, be permitted to uſe idolatrous Service; for that whereſoever Idolatry is maintained, if ſo it may be ſuppreſſed, the wrath of God ſhall reign both upon the blind and obſtinate idolaters, and thoſe that negligently ſuffer the ſame.

By *Idolatry* we underſtand the Maſs, Invocation of Saints, Adoration of Images, and the keeping and retaining of the ſame; finally, all honouring of God not contained in his holy Word.

The Fourth Head, concerning Miniſters and their lawful Election.

IN a Church reformed or tending to Reformation none ought to preſume either to preach, or yet miniſter the Sacraments, until they be called orderly to the ſame. Ordinary Vocation conſiſteth in Election, Examination and Admiſſion; and becauſe the Election of Miniſters in Papiſtry hath been altogether abuſed, we think expedient to intreat of it more largely.

It appertaineth to the People and to every ſeveral Congregation to elect their Miniſter, and in caſe they be found negligent therein the ſpace of forty days, the beſt reformed Church, to wit, the Church of the Superintendent with his Council, may preſent unto them a man that they judge apt to feed the flock of Chriſt *Jeſus*, who muſt be examined as well in life and manners, as in Doctrine and knowledge.

That this may be done with more exact diligence, the perſons who are to be examined muſt be commanded to appear before men of ſoundeſt judgement, remaining in ſome principal Town next adjacent unto them. As they that be in *Fife*, *Angus*, *Mernis*, or *Stratherne*, to preſent themſelves in S. *Andrews*; thoſe that be in *Lothian*, *Mers*, or *Tiveotdale*, in *Edinburgh*; and likewiſe thoſe that be in other Countries, muſt reſort to the beſt reformed Cities and Towns, that is, to the Town of the Superintendent, where firſt in the Schools, or failing thereof in open Aſſembly and before the Congregation, they muſt give declaration of their Gifts, utterance and knowledge by interpreting ſome place of Scripture to be appointed by the Miniſtery; which being ended, the perſon that is preſented, or that offereth himſelf to the ſervice of the Church, muſt be examined by the Miniſters and Elders of the Church openly before all that liſt to hear, in all the chief Points that be now in controverſie betwixt us and the *Papiſts*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Arrians*, and other ſuch enemies to the Chriſtian Religion: in which if he be ſound and able to perſuade by wholſome Doctrine, and to convince the gain-ſayers, then muſt he be directed to the Church and Congregation where he would ſerve; that there in open audience of the flock he may preach and deliver his knowledge in the Article of Juſtification, the Offices of Chriſt *Jeſus*, the number, effect and uſe of the Sacraments, and, finally, the whole Religion which heretofore hath been corrupted by Papiſts.

If his Doctrine be found wholſome and able to inſtruct the ſimple, and if the Church can juſtly reprehend nothing in his life, doctrine or utterance, then we judge the Church, which before was deſtitute, unreaſonable if they refuſe him whom the Church doth offer, and that they ſhould be compelled by the cenſure of the Council and Church to receive the perſon appointed and approved by the judgment of the Godly and Learned; unleſs that the ſame Church hath preſented a man better or as well qualified to examination, before that the foreſaid trial was taken of the perſon preſented by the Council of the whole Church. As for example, The Council of the Church preſents a man unto a Church to be their Miniſter, not knowing that they are otherwiſe provided; in the mean time the Church hath another ſufficient in their judgment for that charge, whom they preſent to the learned Miniſters, and next reformed Church to be examined. In this caſe the preſentation of the people to whom he ſhould be appointed Paſtor muſt be preferred to the Preſentation of the Council or greater Church, unleſs the perſon

preſented

preſented by the inferiour Church be judged unable for the regiment by the learned. For this is alwaies to be avoided, that no man be intruded or thruſt in upon any Congregation: but this liberty with all care muſt be reſerved for every ſeveral Church, to have their voices and ſuffrages in election of their Miniſters. Yet we do not call that violent Intruſion, when the Council of the Church in the fear of God, regarding only the Salvation of the people, offereth unto them a man ſufficient to inſtruct them, whom they ſhall not be forced to admit before juſt examination, as is aforeſaid. *An.* 1560.

What may unable any Perſon that he may not be admitted to the Miniſtery of the Church.

It is to be obſerved, that no perſon noted with publick infamy, or being unable to edifie the Church by wholſome Doctrine, or being known of corrupt judgment, be either promoted to the regiment of the Church, or yet retained in Eccleſiaſtical adminiſtration.

Explication.

By *publick infamy* we underſtand not common ſins and offences which any hath committed in time of blindneſs by frailty, if he have declared himſelf truly penitent thereof by a more ſober and better converſation; but ſuch capital crimes as the Civil ſword ought and may puniſh with death by the word of God: for beſides that the Apoſtle requireth the life of Miniſters to be *irreprehenſible*, that they may have *a good teſtimony from thoſe who be without*; we eſteem it a thing unſeemly and dangerous, that he ſhall have publick authority to preach to others everlaſting life, from whom the Civil Magiſtrate may take the life temporal for a crime publickly committed. And if any will object, that the Prince hath pardoned his offence, and that he hath publickly repented the ſame; we ſay, that neither doth repentance take away the temporal puniſhment of the Law, nor the pardon of the Prince remove the infamy before.

That the life and converſation of the perſon preſented or to be elected may be more clearly known, publick Edicts may be directed to all parts, at leaſt to thoſe parts where he hath been moſt converſant, as where he was educated in Letters, or continued ſince the years of his infancy and childhood were paſſed. Strict commandment would alſo be given, that if any capital crime hath been committed by him, the ſame ſhould be notified; and if he hath committed wilful Murther and Adultery, if he hath been a common Fornicator, Thief, Drunkard, Fighter, a Brawler or contentious perſon; theſe Edicts ought to be publiſhed in the chief Cities, with declaration that ſuch as conceal his known ſins, do ſo far as in them lieth deceive and betray the Church of God, and communicate with the ſins of the wicked perſon.

Admiſſion.

The Admiſſion of Miniſters to their Offices muſt conſiſt in the conſent of the people and Church whereunto they ſhall be appointed, and in the approbation of the learned Miniſters appointed for their Examination.

We judge it expedient that the admiſſion of Miniſters be in open audience, where ſome ſpecial Miniſter ſhall make a Sermon touching the duty and office of Miniſters, their manners, converſation and life, as alſo touching the obedience which the Church oweth to their Miniſters; and warning made to the Miniſter that he attend carefully upon the flock over which he is placed, and walk in the preſence of God ſo ſincerely, as the Graces of the holy Spirit may be multiplyed upon him, and in the preſence of men ſo ſoberly and uprightly, that by his exemplary life the word which he teacheth may be confirmed. The people likewiſe ought to be exhorted to reverence and honour the Miniſter as the *Servant* and *Ambaſſador* of the Lord *Jeſus*, obeying the Doctrine delivered by him out of the Word, even

as

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Other *Ceremonies* than the publick approbation of the people, and the Declaration of the chief Miniſter, that the perſon there preſented is appointed to ſerve that Church, we cannot approve: for albeit the Apoſtles uſed the Impoſition of hands, yet ſeeing the Miracle is ceaſed, the uſing of the Ceremony we judge not to be neceſſary.

The Miniſter once publickly admitted may not leave the flock at his pleaſure, to which he hath promiſed his fidelity and labors: nor yet may the Flock reject and change him at their appetite, unleſs they be able to convict him of ſuch crimes as deſerve Depoſition. We mean not but that the whole Church, or moſt part thereof, for juſt conſiderations, may tranſlate a Miniſter from one Church to another; neither yet mean we that men who ſerve now as it were of benevolence, may not be appointed to other places: but they being once ſolemnly admitted, we think they ſhould not change at their own pleaſure.

We are not ignorant that the rarity of learned and godly men will ſeem a juſt reaſon to ſome, why that ſo ſtrict and ſharp Examination ſhould not be taken univerſally; for ſo it would appear that the moſt part of Churches ſhall have no Miniſter at all. But let theſe men underſtand, that the lack of able men will not excuſe us before God, if by our conſent unable men be placed over the Flock of Chriſt. As alſo that amongſt the Gentiles godly and learned men were as rare as they be now amongſt us, when the Apoſtles gave the ſame rule of examining Miniſters, which we now follow.

Laſtly, let them underſtand, that it is alike to have no Miniſter at all, and to have an Idol in the place of a true Miniſter, yea in ſome ſort it is worſe; for they that be utterly deſtitute of Miniſters will make diligent ſearch for them, but ſuch as have a vain ſhadow content themſelves commonly with the ſame, without any farther care, and they remain deceived, thinking that they have a Miniſter, when in very deed they have none: for he is not to be thought a Miniſter, that cannot break the Bread of Life to fainting and hungry Souls; neither can the Sacraments be rightly miniſtred by him in whoſe mouth God hath not put the word of Exhortation.

The chiefeſt remedy in this rarity of true Miniſters is fervent Prayer unto God, that it may pleaſe him to thruſt forth faithful laborers into this his harveſt. Next, the Council of their authority compel ſuch men as have Gifts and Graces able to edifie the Church of God, to beſtow them where greateſt neceſſity is known. For no man may be permitted to live idle, nor as themſelves liſt, but muſt be appointed to travel where the Church and Council ſhall think it moſt expedient. We cannot preſcribe certain Rules how the Miniſters ſhould be diſtributed, and ſuch learned men as God hath already ſent unto us: But of this we are aſſured, that it greatly hindreth the progreſs of Chriſts Goſpel within this poor Realm, that ſome altogether abſtract their labors from the Church, and others remain altogether in one place, the moſt part of them being idle. And therefore think that the Council ſhould compel all men to whom God hath given any Talent to perſuade by wholſome doctrine, to beſtow the ſame, if they be called by the Church, to the advancement of Chriſts glory, and to the comfort of his troubled Flock; and that with conſent of the Church not only Towns may be aſſigned for the chiefeſt workmen to remain in, but alſo Provinces; that by their faithful labors Churches may be erected, and order eſtabliſhed where none is at the preſent.

For Readers.

To the Church that cannot preſently be furniſhed with Miniſters men muſt be appointed that can diſtinctly read the *Common-Prayers* and *Scriptures*, for the exerciſe both of themſelves & of the Church, until they grow unto a greater perfection. Becauſe he who is now a Reader, may in proceſs of time attain to a farther degree, and be admitted to the holy Miniſtery. Some we know that of long time have profeſſed

profeſſed Chriſt *Jeſus*, whoſe honeſt converſation deſerveth praiſe of all good men, and whoſe knowledge might greatly help the ſimple and ignorant people; nottheleſs the ſame perſons content themſelves with reading: Theſe muſt be animated and encouraged to take upon them the Function of the Miniſtery. But if in no meaſure they be qualified for Preaching, they muſt abſtain from adminiſtration of the Sacraments till they attain unto farther knowledge; and ſuch as take upon them the office of Preachers, who ſhall not be found qualified therefore by the Superintendent, are by him to be placed Readers. *An.* 1560.

The Fifth Head, concerning the Proviſion of Miniſters, and diſtribution of the Rents and Poſſeſſions juſtly pertaining to the Church.

SCripture and Reaſon do both teach, that *the labourer is worthy of his hire*, and that *the mouth of the Oxe that treadeth forth the corn ought not to be muzzled.* Therefore of neceſſity it is that honeſt proviſion be made for Miniſters: which we require to be ſuch, that they neither have occaſion of ſolicitude, nor yet of inſolency and wantonneſs. And this proviſion muſt be made not only for their own ſuſtentation during their lives, but alſo for their wives and children after them: for it is againſt godlineſs, reaſon and equity, that the widow and children of him who did faithfully ſerve the Church of God in his life, and for that cauſe was not careful in providing for his family, ſhould after his death be left comfortleſs.

It is difficult to appoint the ſeveral Stipends of every Miniſter, becauſe the charges of neceſſity of all will not be alike: for ſome will be reſident in one place, ſome will be compelled to travel and change their dwelling, eſpecially if they have charge of divers Churches; ſome will be burthened with wife and children, and one with moe than another; ſome perchance will live a ſingle life; and if equal ſtipends ſhould be appointed to all theſe who are in charge ſo unequal, one would ſuffer penury, and another have ſuperfluity. Therefore we judge that every Miniſter ſhould have ſufficient wherewith to keep an houſe, and be ſuſtained honeſtly in all things neceſſary, forth of the Rents of the Church which he ſerveth, conform to his quality and the neceſſity of time: wherein it is thought that every Miniſter ſhall have forty bolls meal, and twenty bolls malt, with mony to buy other proviſion to his houſe, and ſerve his other neceſſities; the modification whereof is to be referred to the judgment of the Church; which ſhall be made every year at the chuſing of the Elders and Deacons: providing always, that there be advanced to every Miniſter proviſion for a quarter of a year beforehand of all things.

To the Superintendents, who travel from place to place for eſtabliſhing of the Church, a farther conſideration muſt be given; therefore we think that to each of them ſhould be appointed ſix chalders beer, nine chalders meal, and three chalders oats for provand to his horſe, with 500 Marks of money, which may be augmented and diminiſhed at the diſcretion of the Prince and Council of the Realm.

The children of the Miniſters muſt be Free-men of the Cities next adjacent, where their Fathers laboured faithfully; they muſt alſo have the privileges of Schools and Burſaries in Colleges freely granted unto them, if they be found apt for learning; or failing thereof, they muſt be put to ſome handicraft and vertuous induſtry, whereby they may be profitable inſtruments in the Commonwealth. Their daughters likewiſe would be vertuouſly brought up and honeſtly educated, when they come to maturity of years, at the diſcretion of the Church. And this we require not ſo much for our ſelves or any that pertaineth to us, as for the increaſe of vertue and learning, and for the profit of the poſterity to come. For it is not to be ſuppoſed that a man will dedicate his children to ſerve in a calling where no worldly commodity is expected; and naturally men are provoked to follow vertue, where they ſee honor and profit attending the ſame; as by the contrary, many deſpiſe vertue when they ſee vertuous and godly men live unreſpected; and we ſhould be ſorry to know any to be diſcouraged from following the ſtudies of Learning, whereby they may be made able to profit the Church of Chriſt.

An. 1560. Of the Stipend of the Readers we have ſpoken nothing, becauſe if they can do nothing but read, they cannot be eſteemed true Miniſters, and regard muſt be had of their labors, but ſo as they may be ſpurred forward to vertue; therefore to a Reader that is lately entred, we think forty Marks, more or leſs, as the Pariſhioners can agree, ſufficient: providing that he teach the children of the Pariſh, which he muſt do beſides the reading of the Common Prayer and the books of Old and New Teſtament. If from reading he proceed to exhort and explain the Scriptures, then ought his ſtipend to be augmented, till he come to the degree of a Miniſter. But if after two years ſervice he be found unable to edifie the Church by preaching, he muſt be removed from that office, and diſcharged of all ſtipend that another may be put in place, who to the Church may be more profitable.

No childe nor perſon within the age of one and twenty years may be admitted to the office of a Reader, but ſuch muſt be choſen and admitted by the Superintendent as for their gravity and diſcretion may grace the function that they are called unto. Theſe Readers who have ſome gift of Exhortation, and have long continued in the courſe of godlineſs, we think may have 100 Marks or more, at the diſcretion of the Church appointed for them; yet a difference muſt always be kept betwixt them and the Miniſters that labor in word and miniſtration of the Sacraments.

Reſts two ſorts of people who muſt be provided for of that which is called the Patrimony of the Church; to wit, the Poor, and the Teachers of the youth. The Poor muſt be provided for in ever Pariſh, for it is a ſhameful thing that they ſhould be ſo univerſally contemned and deſpiſed. Not that we are Patrons to ſtubborn and idle beggers, who running from place to place make a craft of begging; for thoſe we think muſt be compelled to work, or then puniſhed by the Civil Magiſtrate. But the poor widows, the fatherleſs, the impotent maimed perſons, the aged, and every one that may not work, or ſuch perſons as are fallen by occaſion into decay, ought to be provided, and have their neceſſities ſupplied by the Pariſh where they were born, or have remained for any long ſpace.

Of Superintendents.

Becauſe it is found expedient for the erecting and planting of Churches and appointing of Miniſters, that at this time there be ſelected ten or twelve Superintendents, we have thought good to deſign their bounds, ſet down their office, the manner of their Election, and cauſes which may deſerve Depoſition from their charge.

The Dioceſe of the Superintendent, and place of their Reſidence.

The Country of *Orkney* ſhall have a Superintendent, and for his Dioceſe the Iſles of *Orkney*, with the Countries of *Cathnes* and *Strathnaver*: his Reſidence to be in the Town of *Kirkwall*.

The Superintendent of *Roſs* his Dioceſe ſhall comprehend *Roſs*, *Southerland*, *Murray*, with the North Iſles of *Sky* and *Lewis*, and their adjacents: his Reſidence ſhould be in the *Chanory* of *Roſs*.

The Superintendent of *Argile* ſhall have for his Dioceſe *Argile*, *Cantire Lorne*, the South Iſles of *Arrane* and *Boote*; with the Iſles adjacent, and the country of *Loghquaber*: his Reſidence to be in *Argile*.

The Superintendent of *Aberdene*, his Dioceſe ſhall comprehend all betwixt *Dye* and *Spey*, that is, the Sheriffdom of *Aberdene* and *Bamff*: his Reſidence to be in old *Aberdene*.

The Superintendent of *Brichen* ſhall have for his Dioceſe the Sheriffdoms of *Mernis*, *Angus*, and the Bray of *Marre* unto *Dee*, and keep his Reſidence at *Brichen*.

The Superintendent of *Fife* ſhall have for his Dioceſe the Sheriffdoms of *Fife*, *Clackmannan*, and *Perth* unto *Striveling*: his Reſidence ſhall be in S. *Andrews*.

The Superintendent of *Lothian* his Dioceſe ſhall comprehend the Sheriffdoms of

Lothian

Lothian, *Striveling*, *Mers*, *Lawtherdale*, and *Stow* of *Twaddale*: his Reſidence to be in *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1560.

The Superintendent of *Jedburgh* ſhall have for his Dioceſe *Teviotdale*, *Tweddale*, and the Forreſt of *Attrick*: his Reſidence to be in *Jedburgh*.

The Superintendent of *Glaſgow* his Dioceſe ſhall comprehend *Clyddiſdale*, *Ranfrew*, *Monteith*, *Kile*, and *Cunningham*: his Reſidence to be at *Glaſgow*.

The Superintendent of *Dunfreis* ſhall have for his Dioceſe *Galloway*, *Carrick*, *Niddiſdale*, and *Annandale*, with the reſt of the Dales in the Weſt; his Reſidence to be at *Dunfreis*.

Theſe men muſt not be ſuffered to live idle, as the Biſhops had done heretofore, neither muſt they remain where gladly they would, but they muſt be Preachers themſelves, and remain in one place above three or four months: after which they muſt enter in viſitation of their whole bounds, preach thrice a week at leaſt, and not to reſt till the Churches be wholly planted, and provided of Miniſters, or at the leaſt of Readers.

In their Viſitation they muſt try the life, diligence and behaviour of the Miniſters, the order of their Churches, and the manners of their people, how the poor are provided, and how the youth is inſtructed; they muſt admoniſh where admonition needeth, and dreſs all things that by good counſel they are able to compoſe; finally they muſt take note of all heinous crimes, that the ſame may be corrected by the Cenſures of the Church.

Of the Election of Superintendents.

Such is the preſent neceſſity, that the Examination and Admiſſion of the Superintendents cannot be ſo ſtrict as afterwards it muſt: for the preſent therefore we think it ſufficient, that the Council nominate ſo many as may ſerve the Provinces above written, or then give Commiſſion to men of beſt knowledge, who have the fear of God to do the ſame. The Gentlemen and Burgeſſes of Towns within the Dioceſe being always made privy at this time to the Election; as well to bring the Church in practice of her liberty, as to make the Paſtor better favoured of the Flock whom themſelves have choſen.

If ſo many able men cannot be found at the preſent as neceſſity requireth, it is better that thoſe Provinces wait till God provide, than that men unable to edifie and govern the Church be ſuddenly placed in the Charge: experience having taught what ills have been engendred in the Church by men unable to diſcharge their offices.

If any Superintendent ſhall depart this life, or happen to be depoſed, the Miniſter of the chief Town within that Province, with the Magiſtrate and Council, the Elders and Deacons of the ſaid Town, ſhall nominate to the Superintendents of two or three Provinces next adjacent, within the ſpace of twenty days, two or three of the moſt godly and learned Miniſters within the Realm, that from among them with publick conſent one may be elected to the office then vacant. The twenty days expired, and no man preſented, three of the next adjacent Provinces, with conſent of their Superintendents, Miniſters and Elders, ſhall enter into the right and priviledge of the chief Town, and ſhall preſent one or two, if they liſt, to be examined according to the order; and it ſhall be lawful for all the Churches within the Dioceſe, within the ſame time, to nominate ſuch perſons as they eſteem worthy election.

After the Nomination made, publick edicts muſt be ſent forth, warning all men that have any objections againſt the perſons nominated, or againſt any one of them, to appear in the chief Town at the day affixed, which we think ſhould be thirty days after the Nomination, and declare what they have to ſay againſt the Election of any one of them.

The day appointed for the Election being come, the Miniſters of the Province, with the Superintendents next adjacent, ſhall examine the learning, manners, prudence and ability to govern the Church, of the whole perſons nominated, and cauſe them publickly to preach, to the end he that is moſt worthy may be bur-

An. 1560. thened with the Charge; and then they ſhall give their voices according to conſcience, and not out of affection. It muſt be conſidered, whether the objection be made of malice, or out of a zeal to Gods glory and the weal of the Church. Other Ceremonies than this Examination, the approbation of Miniſters and Superintendents, with the publick conſent of Elders and people, we do not admit.

The Superintendent ſo elected muſt be ſubject to the cenſure and correction of the Miniſters and Elders of his chief Town and whole Province over which he is appointed: and if he be found negligent in any of the chief points of his office, eſpecially if he be found negligent in Preaching the Word, or in Viſitation of his Churches, and if he be convict of any of theſe crimes which in a common Miniſter are condemned, he muſt be depoſed without any reſpect to his perſon or office.

If his offence be publick, and the Miniſters and Elders of the Province negligent in correcting him; then the next one or two Superintendents, with their Miniſters and Elders, may convene him, providing the ſame be within his own Province or chief Town, and inflict the cenſure that his offence deſerveth.

No Superintendent may be tranſlated at the pleaſure or requeſt of any one Province, without the Council of the whole Church, and that for grave cauſes and conſiderations.

After the Church ſhall be eſtabliſhed, and three years are paſt, no man ſhall be called to the office of a Superintendent who hath not two years at leaſt given a proof of his faithful labours in the miniſtery of ſome Church.

Of Schools, and the neceſſity of them.

Seeing men now adays are not miraculouſly gifted, as in the time of the Apoſtles, for the continuance of Knowledge and Learning to the generations following, eſpecially for the profit and comfort of Chriſts Church; it is neceſſary that care be had of the virtuous and godly education of youth: wherefore we judge that in every Pariſh there ſhould be a Schoolmaſter, ſuch a one as is able at leaſt to teach the Grammar and *Latine* tongue, where the Town is of any reputation. But in Landwart, where people convene to Doctrine only once in the week, then muſt either the Reader or the Miniſter take care of the youth of the Pariſh, to inſtruct them in their Rudiments, eſpecially in the Catechiſm of *Geneva*.

In every notable Town, chiefly in the Town of the Superintendent, we think that a College ſhould be erected, wherein at leaſt the Arts of Logick and Rhetorick, with the Tongues, ſhould be taught by ſufficient Maſters, for whom honeſt ſtipends muſt be appointed. And that proviſion ſhould be made for ſuch youths as are poor, and cannot be brought up in letters by their friends: the commodity whereof will be great, when the children are brought up in the preſence of their friends, by whoſe good attendance their neceſſities may be ſupplied, and many inconveniences avoided, that youth commonly runneth into when they are ſent to ſtrange and unknown places. The exerciſe likewiſe of children in the Church cannot but ſerve greatly to the inſtruction of the aged and unlearned.

The great Schools called Univerſities ſhould be repleniſhed with thoſe that be apt for Learning; for no Father, of what condition or eſtate ſoever he be, ought to uſe his children after his own fantaſie, eſpecially in their youth; but all muſt be compelled to bring them up in knowledge and vertue. The rich muſt be exhorted and by the cenſure of the Church compelled, to dedicate their ſons to the profit of the Church and Commonwealth, training them up in godly exerciſes upon their own expences; and the children of the poor muſt be ſuſtained upon the charge of the Church, till it be tried whether they be apt for letters and learning or not.

If they be found to be docile, and have good ingenies, they may not be permitted to reject learning, but charged to follow their ſtudies, that the Commonwealth may reap ſome comfort by them: and for this purpoſe the Miniſter and Elders, with the beſt learned in every Town, muſt be appointed to examine at the end of every quarter the youths, and ſee how they do profit.

A certain time muſt be appointed to reading and learning of the Catechiſm, a certain time to the Grammar and *Latin* tongue, a certain time to Arts and Philoſophy, and a certain time to the other Tongues and Studies which they intend to learn. That time expired, ſome craft and profitable exerciſe; providing always they have learned firſt the Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the right form to pray unto God, the number, uſe and effect of the Sacraments; and that they may be inſtructed touching the Natures and Offices of *Jeſus* Chriſt, and other ſuch Points as without the knowledge of them they neither deſerve to be called Chriſtians, nor ought to be admitted to the Participation of the Lords Table. *An.* 1560.

The time appointed to every courſe.

Two years we hold more than ſufficient for learning to read perfectly, to anſwer to the Catechiſm, and get ſome entrance in the Rudiments of Grammar. Three or four years more we allow for attaining to the perfection of Grammar. To the Arts, that is, Logick, Rhetorick, and the *Greek* tongue, we allow other four years; and the reſt of 24. years to be ſpent in that ſtudy wherein they intend to ſerve the Church or Commonwealth, be it in the Laws, Phyſick, or Divinity. After which time of 24. years being ſpent in the Schools, they muſt be removed to ſerve the Church or Commonwealth, unleſs they be found neceſſary Profeſſors for the College or Univerſity.

The erection of Univerſities.

We think it neceſſary that there be three Univerſities in the Realm; one in S. *Andrews*, another in *Glaſgow*, and the third at *Aberdene*. In the firſt and principal Univerſity, which is S. *Andrews*, that there be three Colleges; and in the firſt College there be four Claſſes: the firſt for new Suppoſts, to whom Dialectick only ſhall be taught; the next Claſs ſhall have the Metaphyſicks only read; the third Phyſick; and the fourth Medicine. In the Second College ſhall be two Claſſes; whereof the firſt ſhall be for Moral Philoſophy, and the ſecond for the Laws. In the third College likewiſe two Claſſes; the firſt for the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues, and the ſecond for Divinity.

Of Profeſſors, and of the Degrees of time and Studies.

In the firſt College and firſt Claſs there ſhall be a reader of Dialectick, who ſhall compleat his courſe thereof in one year. In the ſecond Claſs, a Profeſſor of Mathematicks, who ſhall read to the Students Arithmetick, Geometry, Coſmography and Aſtrology, the ſpace of another year. In the third Claſs, a Profeſſor of Natural Philoſophy, who ſhall accompliſh his courſe likewiſe in one year. After which three years, thoſe that ſhall be found by trial ſufficiently grounded in the foreſaid Sciences ſhall be Laureat and Graduate in Philoſophy. In the fourth Claſs there ſhall be a Reader of Medicine, who ſhall compleat his courſe in five years: After the ſtudy whereof, ſuch as are found ſufficient upon examination ſhall be a Graduate in Medicine.

In the ſecond College and firſt Claſs thereof a Reader of Ethicks, Oeconomicks and Politicks, whoſe courſe ſhall end in one year. In the ſecond Claſs ſhall be two Readers of the Municipal and *Roman* Laws, who ſhall finiſh their courſe in four years. After which time, thoſe that are found ſufficient ſhall be Graduate in the Laws.

In the third College and firſt Claſs, a Reader of the *Hebrew* and another of the *Greek* Tongue, who ſhall compleat the Grammars thereof in half a year. The reſt of the year the Reader of the *Hebrew* ſhall interpret ſome Books of *Moſes*, of the Prophets or Pſalms, ſo that his courſe ſhall continue one year. The Reader of the *Greek* ſhall interpret ſome Book of *Plato*; together with ſome Book of the New Teſtament, and ſhall finiſh his courſe the ſame year. In the ſecond Claſs there

An. 1560. ſhall be two Readers of Divinity, one of the New Teſtament, and another of the Old, who ſhall finiſh their courſe in five years. After which time, thoſe that are found ſufficient ſhall be Graduate in Divinity.

None ſhall be admitted into the firſt College, and be made Suppoſt of the Univerſity, unleſs he have from the Maſter of the School and Miniſter of the Town where he was inſtructed in the Latin tongue, a teſtimony of his learning, docility, age and parentage.

Thoſe that have been taught in the Dialectick ſhall be examined by the Rector and principals; and being found to have profited therein, ſhall be promoved to the Claſs of the Mathematicks.

None ſhall be admitted to the Claſs of Medicine, but he that ſhall be known to have ſpent his time well in Dialectick, Mathematick and Phyſick, and ſhall have a teſtimonial of his docility in the laſt.

None admitted to the Claſs of Laws, but he that ſhall have a teſtimonial of his time well ſpent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Ethick, Oeconomicks, Politicks, and of his docility in the laſt.

And to the Claſs of Divines they only ſhall be admitted that bring a ſufficient Teſtimonial of their time well ſpent in Dialectick, Mathematick, Phyſick, Ethick, Oeconomick and Politick Philoſophy, the knowledge of the *Hebrew* tongue, and his docility in Divinity.

Such as will apply themſelves to hear the Laws ſhall not be compelled to hear Medicine; neither ſhall ſuch as apply themſelves to hear Divinity be compelled either to hear Medicine or the Laws.

The ſecond Univerſity at *Glaſgow* ſhall have two Colleges. In the firſt whereof ſhall be three Claſſes; one for Dialectick, another for Mathematick, and a third for Phyſick. And in the ſecond College ſhall be four Claſſes; one for Moral Philoſophy, Ethicks, Oeconomicks and Politicks; another for the Municipal and *Roman* Laws; the third for the *Hebrew* Tongue; and the laſt for Divinity to be ordered according to the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*.

The third Univerſity at *Aberdene* ſhall be conform to the Univerſity of *Glaſgow* in all points.

Unto every College there muſt be elected forth of the Body of the Univerſity a Principal, who muſt be a man of learning, diſcretion and diligence. He ſhall receive the whole Rents of the College, and diſtribute the ſame according to the erection of the College, adjoyning to himſelf weekly one of the Profeſſors: he ſhall hearken daily the Diet-compts, and overſee the policy and buildings of the Houſe, attend that the Profeſſors be diligent in their ſeveral readings to the youth, and ſhall weekly keep a meeting with the whole Members of the College, for puniſhment of faults that ſhall happen to be committed, and ſhall yearly be countable to the ſuperintendent Rector and reſt of the Principals, who ſhall convene to that effect the firſt of *November*.

The election of the Principal ſhall be in this ſort. Within eight days after the place falleth void, the members of the College being ſworn to follow their conſcience ſhall nominate three of the moſt ſufficient men of the Univerſity, not being Principals already, who ſhall be publickly propounded through the whole Univerſity: This done, the Superintendent by himſelf, or his ſpecial Procurators, with the Rector and the reſt of the Principals, ſhall convene within eight days after, and chuſe one of the three whom they think moſt ſufficient, being ſworn before to do the ſame without favor or partial affection.

There ſhall be in every College a Steward, Cook, Gardiner and Porter, who ſhall be ſubject to the Principal, as are the reſt.

Every Univerſity ſhall have a Beddale, who ſhall be ſubject to ſerve at all times the Univerſity at the direction of the Rector and Principal.

There ſhall likewiſe a Rector be choſen in every Univerſity from year to year on this manner. The principals of the Colleges with the whole Regents chapterly convened ſhall be ſworn to nominate, every man ſpeaking in his own Room, ſuch a one as in his Conſcience he thinketh to be moſt ſufficient for that charge and dignity;

dignity; and of thoſe who ſhall be moſt often nominated three ſhall be put in lite 15 days before *Michaelmas*; and upon the eve of *Michaelmas* the whole Principals, Regents and Suppoſts graduated, or who have ſtudied the Ethicks, Oeconomicks and Politicks, and no others, every nation having proteſted to follow the dictate of their own Conſcience, ſhall nominate one of the ſaid three; and he unto whom moſt voices are given ſhall be confirmed by the Superintendent and Principals, who ſhall take his oath for lawful adminiſtration, and the oath of the reſt of the Univerſity for their ſubmiſſion and obedience: after which he ſhall put on a new garment, and be preſented to the Univerſity. *Inſignia Magiſtratus* being born before him, monthly he ſhall viſit every College, and try how the exerciſes of Reading be kept. His Aſſeſſors ſhall be a Lawyer and Theologue, by whoſe advice he ſhall decide all civil queſtions betwixt the Members of the Univerſity. If any without the Univerſity purſue a Member thereof, or be purſued by any Member of the ſame, he ſhall aſſiſt the Provoſt and Bailies and other Judges competent to ſee juſtice miniſtred, and that as well in civil as criminal cauſes. *An.* 1560.

We think it expedient that in every College of the whole Univerſities there be 24 Burſars or Scholars divided equally in the Claſſes above ſpecified; that is, in S. *Andrews* 72 Burſars, in *Glaſgow* 48, in *Aberdene* as many. Theſe ſhall be ſuſtained only in meat upon the charges of the College, and not be admitted but upon trial taken by the Miniſtery of the Town, and Principals of the Univerſity, as well touching their own docility, as if their parents be able to entertain them or not.

Of Stipends, and the Expences neceſſary.

The ſumms needful for the ordinary charges, we judge may be as followeth.

Imprimis, for the ſtipend of the Profeſſors of Dialectick, Mathematick, Phyſick and Moral Philoſophy, for each of thoſe 100 *l. Scots*. *Item*, for the Profeſſor of Medicine and Laws, 200 marks. *Item*, to the Reader of the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Tongues, and Divinity, 200 *l.* *Item*, to every Principal, 200 *l.* *Item*, to every Steward for his fee, 16 *l.* *Item*, to every Gardiner, Cook and Porter, 10 marks. *Item*, to the ſuſtentation of every Burſar, that is not in the Claſs of Theology or Medicine 20 *l.* *Item*, to the Burſars in theſe Claſſes, 24 *l.* *Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, extendeth to 3796 *l.* *Summa* of the yearly and ordinary expences of *Glaſgow* extends to 2922 *l.* *Summa* of *Aberdene*, 2922 *l.* *Summa* of the whole ordinary charges is 9640 *l.*

For the payment of theſe ſumms we think the Temporalties of Biſhopricks and Churches Collegiat ought to be deſtinated, ſo far at leaſt as the ſame charges do require.

The Beddale ſhall have for his ſtipend 2*s.* *Scots*, of every Intrant and Suppoſt of the Univerſity, of every Graduate in Philoſophy 3*s.* of the Graduate in Medicine 4*s.* and 5*s.* of the Graduate in Theology, Burſars in theſe ſtudies only excepted.

For upholding the fabrick this order would be taken, that every Earls ſon at his entry ſhall give 40*s.* with ſo much at his graduation; every Lords ſon, 30*s.*; the ſon of a Baron, 20*s.* the ſon of a Burgeſs or ſubſtantious Gentleman, 10*s.*; and the ſons of all others, Burſars excepted, 5*s.* Theſe monys being collected ſhall be put in a common Box, and committed to the keeping of the Principal, and upon the 15 day of *November* yearly, in the preſence of the Superintendent, Rector and whole Principals, the ſame ſhall be opened, the moneys counted, and by their conſents reſerved, or imployed upon building or repairing, as the neceſſity of the Fabrick ſhall require.

Of the Privilege of the Univerſity.

Seeing Innocency ſhould rather defend us than Privilege, we think that every perſon ſhould anſwer before the Provoſt and Bailies of the Town where the Univerſity is, upon all actions they are called for, ſo as the Rector be Aſſeſſor to the

An. 1560. the Magiſtrates therein. If the queſtion be betwixt members of the Univerſity, the party called is not held to anſwer but before the Rector and his Aſſeſſors: in all other cauſes of civil purſuit, the general Rule of Law is to be obſerved, *Actor ſequatur forum rei.*

The Rector and all inferior members of the Univerſity muſt be exempted from all taxes, impoſts, charges of war, or any other burthens that may abſtract them from attending the youth, ſuch as Tutory, Curatory, Executory, and the like.

As for other things that may concern the Students and Maſters, ſuch as the choice of Books to be read in every Claſs, and ſuch other particulars, they are to be left to the diſcretion of the Principal and Regents, and their Council.

The Sixth Head, of the Rents and Patrimony of the Church.

TWo ſorts of men, that is, the Preachers of the Word and the Poor, beſides the Schools, muſt be ſuſtained upon the Rents of the Church; wherefore it would be conſidered how and of what the ſame is to be raiſed. For to our grief we hear that ſome Gentlemen are now more rigorous in exacting the Tithes and other Duties paid before to the Church, than ever the Papiſts were, and ſo the tyranny of Prieſts is turned into the tyranny of Lords and Lairds. For this we require, that the Gentlemen, Barons, Lords, Earls and others, be content to live upon their own Rents, and ſuffer the Church to be reſtored to her right and liberty, that by her reſtitution the poor that heretofore have been oppreſſed may now receive ſome comfort and relaxation.

It is a thing moſt reaſonable that every man have the uſe of his own Tithes, providing that he anſwer the Deacons and Treaſurer of the Church of that which ſhall be reaſonably appointed unto him, and that the uppermoſt cloth, the Corpreſent, the Clerkmail, the Paſche-offerings, Tith-ale, and other the like exactions be diſcharged for ever. And becauſe not only the Miniſters but alſo the poor and Schools muſt be ſuſtained upon the Tithes, we think it more expedient, that Deacons and common Treaſurers of the Church be appointed to receive the whole Rents appertaining thereto, than the Miniſters themſelves: And that commandment may be given that no man either receive or intromit with any thing belonging to the ſuſtentation of the foreſaid perſons, but ſuch as ſhall be appointed thereto by the Church.

If any ſhall think this prejudicial to thoſe that poſſeſs the Tithes by virtue of leaſes, we would have them know that unjuſt poſſeſſion is no poſſeſſion before God; and that thoſe of whom they acquired their right were thieves and murtherers, and had no power to alienate the Patrimony and common good of the Church: yet do we wiſh recompence to be made to ſuch as have deburſed ſums of money to theſe unjuſt poſſeſſors, ſo that the ſame had not been given of late, in prejudice of the Church, or no colluſion uſed. For which purpoſe we think it expedient, that whoſoever have the tithes of any Church in part or whole, be warned to produce his right, that, cognition being taken thereof, a reaſonable recompence may be given them, before the years that are to run, the profits of years paſt deduced and conſidered, ſo that the Church in end may receive her liberty and freedom.

The Tithes that we think muſt be lifted for the uſe of the Church, are the Tithes of Hay, Hemp, Lint, Cheeſe, Fiſh, Calf, Veal, Lamb, Wool, and all ſorts of Corn. But becauſe theſe will not ſuffice to diſcharge the neceſſaries of the Church, we think that all things dotate to hoſpitality in times paſt, with all annual rents both to Burgh and Land, pertaining to Prieſts, Chanteries, Colleges, Chaplanries, and Friers of all Orders, to the ſiſters of the Seynes, and all other of that ſort, be retained to the uſe of the Church or Churches within the Towns or Pariſhes where they were founded: likewiſe the whole Revenues of the Temporalities of Biſhops, Deans and Archdeacons; with all Rents of lands pertaining to Cathedral Churches which muſt be applied to the entertainment of Superintendents and Univerſities. And farther, we think that Merchants and Craftſmen in free Burghs, who have nothing

to

to do with manuring the ground, ought to make ſome proviſion in their Cities and Towns and dwelling-places for the ſupport of the Church, and neceſſities thereof. *An.* 1560

The Miniſters, and, failing of them, the Readers muſt be reſtored to their Manſes and Gleibs, without which they cannot ſerve nor attend their Flocks; and where any Gleib exceedeth ſix acres of land, that which is more ſhall remain with the poſſeſſor, till farther order be taken.

The Deacons or Treaſurers appointed to collect theſe Rents muſt be choſen yearly in every Pariſh by the common conſent of the Church; they may not diſtribute any part of that which is collected but by the command of the Miniſters and Elders, who muſt not command any thing to be delivered but as the Church hath before determined. That is, the Miniſters to be firſt paid either quarterly, or from half year to half year, of the ſums allowed to them, the Schoolmaſters, Readers, and Hoſpitals, if any be.

If any extraordinary ſums muſt be disburſed, then the Miniſters, Elders and Deacons are to conſult whether the ſame ſtands with the profit of the Church or not; and if they do agree, they may do as beſt ſeemeth unto them. But if there be controverſie amongſt themſelves, the whole Church muſt be made privy, and the reaſons heard; their judgment with the Miniſters conſent ſhall prevail.

The Deacons ſhall make their Accompts to the Miniſter and Elders of that which they have received, and the Elders when they are changed (which muſt be every year) ſhall clear their Accompts before ſuch Auditors as the Church ſhall appoint. And both the Deacons and Elders being changed, ſhall deliver to them that are newly elected all ſums of money, corns, or other profits reſting in their hands; the tickets whereof muſt be delivered to the Superintendents in their Viſitations, and by them to the great Council of the Church, that as well the indigence as abundance of every Church may be known, and ſo a reaſonable equality may be kept through the whole Realm.

The Seventh Head, concerning the Cenſuring of Offenders.

AS no Commonwealth can flouriſh or long endure without good Laws and ſharp execution of the ſame: ſo cannot the Church of God be purged, or yet retained in purity, without the order of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline. This ſtandeth in reproving and correcting thoſe faults which the Civil ſword doth either neglect, or may not puniſh.

Blaſphemy, Adultery, Murther, Perjury, and ſuch capital crimes fall not properly under the cenſure of the Church, becauſe ſuch open tranſgreſſors of Gods Law ſhould be taken away by the Civil ſword. But Drunkenneſs, Exceſs, whether in apparel or in meat and drink, Fornication, Oppreſſion of the poor by exactions, Deceit in buying and ſelling, by wrong mete and meaſure, wanton words and licentious living tending to ſlander, do properly appertain to the Cenſure of the Church; which in the order and caſes following we judge ſhall be obſerved.

If the offence be ſecret and known by few, and be rather ſurmiſed than that it be manifeſtly proved, the offender ought to be privately admoniſhed, and if he promiſe to amend, the Cenſure ſhall not proceed any further.

If he contemn the Admonition that is given him, or after promiſe walk as uncircumſpectly as before, the Miniſter ought to call and rebuke him, and if he be diſobedient, proceed according to the rule of Chriſt.

In faults publick and hainous, ſuch as Fornication, Drunkenneſs, Fighting, common Swearing and Execration, the offender muſt be called before the Miniſter, Elders and Deacons, and have his ſin laid out before him; whereof if he ſhew himſelf penitent, and require to be admitted to publick ſatisfaction, a day ſhould be appointed for his appearance before the whole Church, to teſtifie the repentance which before he profeſſed; which if he accept, and with reverence perform, he ought to be received again in the ſociety of the Church: for the Church of God muſt not be more rigorous than God declareth himſelf to be, who witneſſeth, that

whenſoever

An. 1560. *whensoever a sinner doth unfeignedly repent and turn from his wickedness, that he will not remember his iniquity any more.*

If the offender be obstinate, and shew no signs of repentance, he must be dismissed with an Exhortation to consider his dangerous estate, and assured that, if he do not shew tokens of amendment, a more severe course will be taken. If within a certain space he manifest his repentance to the Minister, he may be presented before the Congregation, and received in manner aforesaid. But if he shall continue in his impiety, then it must be signified to the congregation that such offences are fallen out amongst them, the committer thereof rebuked and desired to repent, whereof as yet no tokens are given, and they requested to call unto God for touching the heart of the offender (whose fault ought to be expressed, but not his name) with remorse that he may truly and earnestly be converted.

If he notwithstanding continue in his contempt, his name must the next day of the publick meeting be notified to the Congregation, and the most discreet and neareſt of his friends or acquaintance entreated to deal with him earnestly, that he may be brought to the knowledge of the fault, and solemn prayers made for his Conversion to God.

The third Sunday the Minister shall require if the impenitent hath declared any signs of his repentance; and it being found that he hath done the same, a day shall be affixed to him for appearing before the Consistory, where if he shew himself penitent as well of the crime, as of his long contempt, he shall be received upon publick satisfaction in manner before prescribed.

But if no man signifie his repentance, then the Minister by consent of the Elders and Deacons, and at commandment of the Church, shall pronounce the offender excommunicated from God and from the society of his Church. After which sentence no person may have any kind of conversation with him (his wife and family only excepted) in eating, drinking, buying, selling, saluting, or conforming with him, unless the same be licensed by the Ministery; that he, finding himself abhorred of the faithful and godly, may take occasion to repent, and so be saved.

This Sentence as being the most heavy Censure which can be inflicted by the Church, ought not to be rashly used, but for great causes, and due process of time kept, but being pronounced, ought with all severity to be maintained, and intimation thereof made through the whole Realm, lest any should pretend ignorance of the same.

His children begotten or born after the sentence and before his repentance, may not be admitted to Baptism, till either they be of age to require it, or else the mother, or some of his special friends members of the Church, present and offer the child, abhorring and damning the inquity of his parent. If any do think it rigorous thus to punish the child for the fathers offence, let them understand that the Sacraments appertain only to the faithful and their seed; and that such as contemn the admonitions of the Church, and obstinately continue in their iniquity, cannot be reckoned amongst the faithful.

Murtherers, Man-slayers, Adulterers, and committers of the like horrible crimes, whom the Civil sword ought to punish with death, if they shall be permitted to live, shall be holden excommunicate and accursed in their fact; the offenders being first called, and the order of the Church used against them in the same manner as the persons who for their obstinacy are publickly excommunicated: So the obstinate impenitent after the sentence of Excommunication, and the Murtherer or Adulterer shall stand in one case as concerning the judgment of the Church, and neither of both admitted to Prayers or Sacraments (howbeit they may be present at the Preaching of the Word) till first they offer themselves to the Minister and Elders, requesting humbly their prayers, and desiring them to intercede with the Church for their admission to publick repentance.

Upon this humble request signification shall be given to the Church of the same the first day of publick Preaching, and the Congregation exhorted to pray unto God, that he will perform the work which he appeareth to have begun in the heart of the offender, by granting him unfeigned repentance of his sin, with a sense

ſence and feeling of his mercy. Thereafter a day ſhall be publickly aſſigned unto him to make open confeſſion of his crime and contempt. At which time he muſt appear in preſence of the Congregation, and confeſſing the ſame deſire mercy of God, and intreat them to accept him in their ſociety. *An.* 1560.

The Miniſter ſhall try diligently if he find in him an hatred and diſpleaſure of his impiety committed, and as he findeth, ſo to comfort him in the hope of Gods mercies; but eſpecially is to ſee that he be inſtructed in the knowledge of *Jeſus* Chriſt, in the article of Juſtification, and Offices of Chriſt: for it were a mocking of God to receive him to repentance who knoweth not wherein his remedy ſtandeth, when he is grieved for ſin.

If he ſhall perceive him to be reaſonably inſtructed and humbly diſpoſed, then ſhall he demand of the Congregation, if they be willing to receive that creature of God (whom Satan had before drawn in his ſnare) into their ſociety; which they yielding unto (as juſtly they may not deny the ſame) then ought the Miniſter to crave the aſſiſtance of the Churches prayers in behalf of the penitent, and prayer ended, exhort them to receive him again in their favours; in token whereof the Elders and one or two of the Congregation ſhall take him by the hand, and embrace him in the name of the whole Church.

This done, the Miniſter ſhall exhort him who is received to walk circumſpectly in time coming, leſt Satan catch him again in his ſnares, advertiſing him how that enemy will not ceaſe to try all means poſſible for bringing him from the obedience that he hath given to God and his Ordinance. And after the exhortation ſhall give again publick thanks to God for the Converſion of that their brother, and pray for increaſe and continuance of his Grace to him and the whole Congregation.

Unto this Diſcipline the whole eſtates of the Realm, as well the Rulers as they that are ruled, and the Preachers themſelves, as well as the pooreſt within the Church, muſt be ſubject; the Miniſters eſpecial, becauſe they as the eye and mouth of the Church ſhould be moſt irreprehenſible.

The Eighth Head, concerning Elders and Deacons.

MEN of beſt knowledge, of pureſt life, and moſt honeſt converſation that can be found in every Church, muſt be nominated for theſe Offices, and their names publickly read unto the Congregation, that from amongſt thoſe ſome may be choſen to ſerve as Elders and Deacons. If any be nominated who is noted with publick infamy, he muſt be repelled; for it is not ſeemly that the ſervant of corruption ſhould have authority to judge in the Church of God: or if any man know others that are of better qualities within the Church than thoſe who are nominated, the ſame ſhall be joyned to the others, that the Church may have the choice. If the Churches be few in number, ſo as Elders and Deacons cannot conveniently be had, the ſame Church may be joyned to the next adjacent; for the plurality of Churches without Miniſters and order doth rather hurt than edifie.

The election of Elders and Deacons ought to be made every year once, which we judge moſt convenient to be done the firſt of *Auguſt* yearly, leſt men by long continuance in thoſe Offices preſume upon the liberty of the Church. And yet it hurteth not if a man be retained in office more years than one, ſo as he be appointed yearly thereto by common and free election. Providing always that the Deacons and Theſaurers of the Church be not compelled to receive again the ſame Office for the ſpace of three years. How the ſuffrages ſhall be given and received, every ſeveral Church may take the order that ſeemeth beſt to them.

The Elders being elected muſt be admoniſhed of their Office, which is to aſſiſt the Miniſter in all publick affairs of the Church; to wit, in judging and diſcerning of cauſes, in giving admonition to licentious livers, and having an eye upon the manners and converſation of all men within their charge: for by the gravity of the Elders the looſe and diſſolute manners of other men ought to be reſtrained and corrected. The Elders ought alſo to take heed to the life, manners, diligence and

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The Office of Deacons is to receive the Rents and gather the Alms of the Church, to keep and diſtribute the ſame as they ſhall be appointed by the Miniſtery and the Church: yet they may alſo aſſiſt in judgment the Miniſter and Elders, and be admitted to read in publick Aſſemblies, if they be called, required and able thereto.

The Elders and Deacons, with their wives and families, muſt be ſubject to the ſame Cenſure that Miniſters are ſubject unto; for they are Judges to the manners of others, and therefore they muſt be ſober, humble, entertainers of concord and peace amongſt neighbors, and, finally, an enſample of godlineſs to the reſt of the Flock: whereof if the contrary appear, they muſt be admoniſhed by the Miniſter or ſome of their brethren, if the fault be ſecret; but if it be open and known, they muſt be openly rebuked, and the ſame order kept with them that is preſcribed againſt Miniſters offending. We think it not neceſſary that any publick ſtipend be appointed either to the Elders or Deacons, becauſe their travel continueth but for a year; as alſo becauſe they are not ſo occupied with the affairs of the Church, but that they may have leiſure to attend their private buſineſs.

Of the Cenſure and Depoſition of Miniſters.

If a Miniſter be of a looſe converſation, negligent in his ſtudy, and one that waiteth not on his Charge and Flock, or one that proponeth not fruitful Doctrine to his people, he ought to be admoniſhed by the Elders; and if he amend not, the Elders may complain to the Miniſtery, till his repentance appear: but if any Miniſter be deprehended of any notable crime, as whoredom, adultery, murther, manſlaughter, perjury, hereſie, or any ſuch as deſerveth death, or any infer the note of infamy, he ought to be depoſed for ever. By Hereſie we underſtand pernicious Doctrine plainly taught and obſtinately defended againſt the foundation and principal grounds of Chriſtian Faith. Such a crime we judge to deſerve perpetual Depoſition from the Miniſtery, knowing it to be a thing moſt dangerous to commit a Flock unto a man infected with Hereſie.

Some faults deſerve depoſition for a time: as if a Miniſter be deprehended drunken, if he be a brawler or fighter, an open ſlanderer, a defamer of his neighbors, factious and a ſower of diſcord, till he declare himſelf penitent, and give ſome aſſurance of better converſation, upon which the Congregation ſhall attend the ſpace of twenty days or longer, as they ſhall think expedient, before they proceed to a new Election.

Every inferiour Church ſhould notifie by one of their Elders and one of their Deacons to their Superintendent, the life, manners, ſtudy and diligence of their Miniſters, that the diſcretion of ſome may correct the levity of others. Neither muſt the life and manners only of their Miniſters come under cenſure, but alſo of their wives, children and family.

It muſt likewiſe be adverted, that the Miniſter neither live riotouſly nor avariciouſly, and a reſpect had how he ſpendeth his Stipend: for if a reaſonable Stipend be appointed him, he muſt live accordingly; becauſe avariciouſneſs and ſolicitude of mony is no leſs to be damned in Chriſts ſervants, eſpecially thoſe who are fed at the charge of the Church, than is exceſs and ſuperfluity.

We judge it unſeemly for Miniſters to live in common Ale-houſes or Taverns; neither muſt a Miniſter be permitted to frequent the Court, unleſs it be for a time, when he is either imployed by the Church, or called by the Authority to give his counſel and judgment in any matter: Neither yet muſt he be one of the Council in Civil affairs, be he judged never ſo apt for the purpoſe; but either muſt he ceaſe from the Miniſtery (which at his own pleaſure he may not do) or elſe in bearing charge in Civil affairs, except it be to aſſiſt the Parliament when the ſame is called.

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The Ninth Head, concerning the Policy of the Church.

WE call the *Policy of the Church* the exerciſe of Religion in ſuch things as may help to bring the ignorant to knowledge, or elſe promove in them that are more learned a farther growth of Grace, or otherwiſe ſuch things as are appointed for keeping things in good order within the Church; whereof there be two ſorts: the one utterly neceſſary; as that the Word may be truly preached, the Sacraments rightly adminiſtred, common Prayers publickly made, children and ſimple perſons inſtructed in the chief points of Religion, and offences corrected and puniſhed. Theſe things we ſay are ſo neceſſary, that without the ſame there cannot be any face of a viſible Church.

The other ſort is profitable, but not merely neceſſary; as that Pſalms be ſung, and certain places of Scripture read when there is no Sermon; or that the Church ſhould convene this or that day in the week to hear Sermons. Of theſe and the like we ſee not how a certain Order can be eſtabliſhed: For in ſome Churches the Pſalms may be conveniently ſung, in other perhaps they cannot; ſome Churches may convene every day, ſome twice or thrice in the week, and ſome it may be but once. In theſe and the like every particular Church may appoint their own policy themſelves. Yet in great Towns we think expedient, that every day there be either Sermon or Common-Prayer, with ſome exereiſe of reading the Scriptures. The day of publick Sermon we do not think the common Prayers needful to be uſed, leſt we ſhould foſter the people in Superſtition, who come to the Prayers as they come to the Maſs, or give them occaſion to think that thoſe are no Prayers which are conceived before and after Sermon.

In every famous Town we require that one day beſides the Sunday be appointed for Sermon, during the time whereof men muſt abſtain from all exerciſe of trade and labour, the ſervant as well as the maſter. In ſmaller Towns ſuch order muſt be kept as the Churches within the ſame ſhall appoint; but the Sunday in all Towns muſt preciſely be obſerved, before and after noon. Before noon the Word muſt be preached, Sacraments adminiſtred, and Marriage ſolemnized when occaſion doth offer. After noon the Catechiſm muſt be taught, and the young children examined thereupon, in audience of all the people: In doing whereof the Miniſter muſt have care to cauſe the people underſtand the Queſtions propounded, with the Anſwers and Doctrine that may be collected thereof.

What order ſhall be kept in teaching the Catechiſm, and how much thereof every Sunday ſhall be handled, the diſtinctions of the Catechiſm it ſelf, which is the moſt perfect that ever was yet uſed in any Church, do ſhew. Where there is neither Preaching nor Catechiſm upon Sundays at after noon, the common Prayers ought to be uſed.

It appertaineth to every Church to appoint the times when the Sacraments ſhould be miniſtred. Baptiſm may be miniſtred whenſoever the Word is preached, but we think it more expedient that the ſame be miniſtred upon Sunday; and when occaſion is offered of great travel before noon, the ſame may be miniſtred in the afternoon; upon the week days only after the Sermon, partly to remove that groſs errour which may hold that Children dying without Baptiſm are damned, partly that the people may aſſiſt the miniſtration of the Sacrament with greater reverence than commonly they do.

Four times in the year we think ſufficient for Adminiſtration of the Lords Table, which we deſire to be ſo diſtinguiſhed that the ſuperſtitious obſervation of times may be avoided ſo far as may be: for it is known how ſuperſtitiouſly people run unto that action upon Eaſter, as if time gave virtue to the Sacraments, whenas the reſt of the whole year they are careleſs and negligent, as though it belonged not unto them but at that time only. Therefore we think it expedient that the firſt Sunday of *March* yearly be kept for one day to that ſervice, the firſt Sunday of *June* for another, the firſt Sunday of *September* for the third, and the firſt Sunday of *December* for the fourth.

An. 1560. Albeit we deny not, but every Church for reaſonable cauſes may change the time, and miniſter the ſame oftener; yet we think the Sacrament of the Supper ought never to be miniſtred without Examination preceding, chiefly of thoſe who are known or ſuſpect to be ignorant; and that none ought to be admitted to that holy Myſtery who cannot formally ſay the Lords Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, declare the ſum of the Law, and underſtandeth the uſe and virtue of that holy Sacrament.

We alſo think neceſſary that every Church have a Bible in *Engliſh*; and that the people convene to hear the Scriptures read and interpreted, that by frequent reading and hearing the groſs ignorance of the people may be removed. And we judge it moſt expedient that the Scriptures be read in order; that is, that ſome one Book of the New and Old Teſtament be begun and followed forth to the end. The like we eſteem of Preaching, if the Miniſter remain for the moſt part at one place. For the divagation from one place of Scripture to another, whether it be in reading or preaching, we account not ſo profitable for the Church, as the continual following of one Text.

The Maſters of Families muſt be commanded to inſtruct, or cauſe to be inſtructed, their children and ſervants in the Principles of Chriſtian Religion, without the knowledge whereof they may not be admitted to the Table of the Lord: wherefore we think it needful that every year at leaſt the Miniſters take trial, by publick examination, of the knowledge of every perſon within the Church; and that every Maſter and Miſtreſs preſent themſelves, and ſo many of their family as are come to mature age, before the Miniſter and Elders, to give confeſſion of their Faith, rehearſe the Commandments of the Law, with the Lords Prayer, and declare what is their underſtanding in thoſe things. If any ſhall ſuffer their children or ſervants to remain in wilful ignorance, the Cenſures of the Church muſt be uſed againſt them unto Excommunication, and then the perſon referred to the Civil Magiſtrate. For ſeeing the juſt man liveth by his own Faith, and that Chriſt *Jeſus* juſtifieth by knowledge of himſelf, it is intolerable that any ſhould be permitted to live as Members of the Church of God, and yet to continue in ignorance.

Moreover, all perſons would be exhorted to exerciſe themſelves in the Pſalms, that when the Church conveneth, and the Pſalms be ſung, they may be the more able with common heart and voice to praiſe God. In private houſes it were expedient that the moſt grave and diſcreet perſon of the family ſhould uſe Common-Prayers at morning and night.

Of the exerciſe of Propheſying or Interpretation of the Scriptures.

It was a cuſtom in the Church of *Corinth* at ſome times when they did aſſemble and meet together, to read a place of Scripture, whereupon one firſt gave his judgment for the inſtruction and conſolation of the Auditors; after whom another did either confirm what the former had ſaid, or add that which he had omitted, or correct and explain more properly the place or text. Liberty was alſo given to a third man to ſpeak, if the whole truth had not been revealed by the former; and above the number of *three*, it ſeemeth, none were allowed to ſpeak, as we read in the 1 *Cor.* 14. 29. where we have theſe words, *Let the Prophets ſpeak two or three, and let the other judge. And if any thing be revealed to another that ſitteth by, let the firſt hold his peace: for ye may all propheſie one by one, that all may learn, and all may have comfort. And the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets.* This exerciſe we think to be moſt neceſſary for the Church this day in *Scotland*, becauſe thereby the Church may have trial of the knowledge, gifts and utterance of every man within their own body. The ſimple and thoſe who have ſomewhat profited ſhall be incouraged to proceed in their ſtudies, and the whole Church ſhall be edified, every man that liſt to hear and learn, being permitted to declare his mind and knowledge for the comfort of the reſt.

But leſt this exerciſe that is ſo profitable might turn into debate or ſtrife, theſe Rules muſt be obſerved.

1. All

1. All curious and unprofitable queſtions muſt be avoided. *An.* 1560.
2. All Interpretations that are againſt the Analogy of Faith and againſt charity, or that ſeem to contain an open contradiction to other manifeſt places of Scripture, are to be rejected.
3. The Interpreter may not take to himſelf the liberty of a Preacher (although he be appointed and received a Miniſter) but he muſt keep him to his Text, and not break out by digreſſion into Common places.
4. He may uſe no invectives in the exerciſe, unleſs it be in confuting of Hereſies.
5. He muſt be ſhort in his Admonitions and Exhortations, and ſpend the time allowed him in opening the mind of the holy Ghoſt in that place, ſhewing the dependence of the Text, and obſerving ſuch notes as may edifie the auditor.
6. Neither he that interpreteth or any of the Aſſembly ought to move any queſtion in open audience, which he doth not preſently reſolve without diſputing with another; but every man muſt ſhew his own judgment, and utter it to the edification of the Church.
7. If any be noted of curioſity, or bringing in of ſtrange Doctrines, he muſt be admoniſhed by the Miniſters and Elders, after the Interpretation is ended.
8. The whole Miniſters, with thoſe that are of the Aſſembly, ought to convene and judge how the perſons have interpreted the Text, and how they have handled and intreated the matter; during which time the perſon ſhould be removed, till every man hath given his cenſure. After which the perſons being called in, they ſhould be gently admoniſhed of their eſcapes, if any they have made; and then ſhould all queſtions and doubts be reſolved amongſt them, without any contention.

The exerciſe would be kept in every Town, where Schools and repair of learned men are, upon a certain day of the week; which, together with the Books of Scripture that they ſhall think moſt profitable to be intreated, we refer to the judgement of the Miniſters and Elders of the particular Church where they convene. The Miniſters to Landwart and Readers, ſo as they have gift of Interpretation, lying within ſix miles of the Town, muſt aſſiſt and be preſent at the exerciſe, that either they may learn themſelves, or others may learn by them.

Moreover, whoſoever are eſteemed to have any gifts that may edifie the Church, muſt be charged by the Miniſters and Elders to joyn themſelves with that company of Interpreters, to the end the Church may know whether they be able to ſerve in the vocation of the Miniſtery or not. And if any be found diſobedient, and unwilling to communicate their gifts with their brethren, the cenſures of the Church ſhould be uſed againſt ſuch, providing that the conſent and authority of the Civil Magiſtrate be interponed thereto: for no man ſhould be permitted to live as it pleaſeth him within the Church, but conſtrained to beſtow their labors where it is thought they may ſerve to the edification of others.

Of Marriage.

Marriage ought not to be contracted amongſt perſons that lack judgment to chuſe. Therefore we think that children and infants cannot be lawfully married in their leſs age, that is, if the man be within 13 years of age, and the woman within 12 at leaſt.

If any have been married within thoſe years, and kept their bodies pure and unconjoyned with others, we think not that ſuch can be compelled to adhere as man and wife by reaſon of any former promiſe; but if after the years of judgment they have embraced one another by vertue of the laſt conſent, having ratified the promiſe made by others for them in their youth, the ſame ſhould be held as married perſons.

Publick inhibitions ſhould be made, that no perſons under the power and obedience of Fathers, Tutors and Curators, either men or women, contract Marriage

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If any commit Fornication with the woman whom he requireth in marriage, then both of them do lose the foresaid benefit, as well of the Church as of the Magistrate; for neither of them ought to be intercessors for filthy Fornicators.

The Father or nearest friend, whose daughter being a virgin is deflowred, may by the Law of God compel the man who hath done the injury to marry his daughter: yet if the Father by reason of the offence will not consent unto the marriage, he may in that case require the dowry of his daughter; which if the offender be not able to pay, he ought to be punished in his body by the Magistrate, with some other punishment.

In a reformed Church Marriage ought not to be privately used, but in open face and presence of the Church: Also for avoiding dangers, we think it expedient that the Banes be proclaimed three Sundays, unless the persons be well known, and that no suspicion of peril can arise, and then may the Proclamation be shortned at the discretion of the Minister. But in no ways can we admit Marriage to be secretly used, how honorable soever the persons be; and therefore esteem Sunday before Sermon the most convenient time for celebration of Marriage, and that it ought not to be used upon any day else, without the consent of the Ministery.

Marriage once lawfully contracted may not be dissolved at mans pleasure (as our Saviour doth witness) unless Adultery be committed; which being sufficiently proved in the presence of the Civil Magistrate, the innocent party (if they require it) ought to be declared free, and the offender put to death, as God hath commanded. But if the life of the offender be spared, yet may not the Church be negligent in their duty, which is to excommunicate the wicked, and pronounce the innocent party free. And nottheless, if the offender shew any fruits of penitency, and earnestly desire to be reconciled to the Church, he may be received to the participation of the Sacraments, and other benefits of the same.

If any shall demand, whether the offender after reconciliation may again marry or not; we answer, that if they cannot live continent, and if the necessity be such, as that they fear to fall of new into the offence of God, we cannot deny them the remedy appointed. If the party offended may be reconciled to the offender, then in no case we judge it lawful to the offender to marry another, and the solemnization of their marriage must be of new in the face of the Church, but without the Proclamation of the Banes. This we offer as the best counsel that God giveth us in so doubtful a case; howbeit we judge the best reformation were to prefer Gods Commandment, and punish those crimes, as he requireth, with death.

Of Burial.

Burial hath been had in estimation in all ages, to signifie that the body which is committed to the earth shall not utterly perish, but rise again in the last day. But this we would have done without vain and superstitious rites, devised for making gain

gain and advantage; ſuch as ſinging of Maſſes, Diriges, and all other prayers for the dead; which cuſtom is plainly repugnant to the Scriptures of God, for it is manifeſt, that they who depart in the faith of Chriſt *Jeſus* reſt from their labors, and ſo go from death to life; as, on the other ſide, they who depart in unbelief ſhall never ſee life, but the wrath of God abideth upon them. For avoiding all inconvenients, we judge it beſt that neither ſinging nor reading be at the Burial; for albeit theſe things may admoniſh the living to prepare themſelves for death, yet ſuperſtitious and ignorant perſons may think that ſome profit thereby cometh to the dead. Herefore we think it moſt expedient, that the dead be accompanied to the place of burial with ſome honeſt neighbors, without either ſinging or reading, and without all kind of Ceremonies formerly uſed; ſo that the bodies be committed to the Grave in ſuch decent and ſeemly manner, as they who are preſent may be warned to fear the judgments of God, and to hate ſin which is the cauſe of death: yet we are not ſo preciſe in this, but that we are content that particular Churches, with conſent of the Miniſter, do that which they ſhall find moſt fitting, as they will anſwer to God and the Aſſembly of the Univerſal Church within the Realm. *An.* 1560.

We are not ignorant that ſome require a Sermon at the Burial, or elſe ſome places of Scripture to be read for putting the living in mind that they are mortal, and that they likewiſe muſt die: but let theſe men underſtand, that the Sermons which are daily made ſerve for that uſe, which if men deſpiſe, funeral Sermons ſhall rather nouriſh ſuperſtition than bring ſuch perſons to a right conſideration of their own eſtate. Farther, the Miniſters ſhall this way be for the moſt part occupied in preaching funeral Sermons, or elſe they ſhall have reſpect of perſons, preaching at the funeral of the rich and honorable, and keeping ſilence when the poor and deſpiſed die; which the Miniſter with a good conſcience cannot do, ſeeing there is no reſpect of perſons with God: And whatſoever they do to the rich, in reſpect of their Miniſtery, the ſame they are bound to do to the pooreſt under their charge.

Churches appointed for Preaching and miniſtration of the Sacraments ought not to be made places of Burial: but for that uſe ſome other convenient ground is to be appointed, lying in the moſt free air, and kept to that uſe only; which we think ſhould be well walled and fenced about.

For Reparation of Churches.

Leſt the Word of God and miniſtration of the Sacraments ſhould come in contempt through the unſeemlineſs of the place where theſe exerciſes are uſed; we think it needful that the Churches where the people publickly convene be repaired with expedition, and repaired in ſuch faſhion as may agree with the Majeſty of the Word of God, and ſerve to the eaſe and commodity of the people. The preparation would be according to the poſſibility and number of Churches; every Church having cloſe Doors, Windows of glaſs, Thatch or Slate to defend the people from rain, a Bell to convocate them, a Pulpit, a Baſon for baptizing, and a Table for miniſtration of the Lords Supper. Where the Congregation is great, reparation muſt be made within the Church for the commodious receiving of the people; and the expenſes raiſed partly of the people, and partly of the Tithes, at the conſideration of the Miniſtery. But becauſe we know the ſloth of men in theſe buſineſſes, and in all other affairs which redound not to their private commodity, ſtrict charge would be given for the reparation aforeſaid within a certain day, and penalties inflicted upon the contemners.

For puniſhment of thoſe that profane the Sacraments.

It hath been the policy of Satan to draw mankind into one of two extremities; either to hold men gazing upon the viſible Elements, ſo as forgetting the end for which they were appointed, they do aſcribe unto them a ſaving virtue and power, which they have not; or then to cauſe them deſpiſe the Ordinance of God, as though there was no profit in the right uſe thereof, nor any danger in the profanation. In

An. 1560. time of blindneſs the holy Sacrament was gazed upon, kneeled unto, carried in proceſſion, and worſhipped as Chriſt himſelf: and then men ſtood in ſuch admiration of the idol in the Maſs, that none durſt have preſumed to have ſaid Maſs, nor have miniſtred the Sacraments, but Prieſts and thoſe of the ſhaven ſort. Now men are ſo bold as without all vocation to miniſter the Sacraments in open Aſſemblies; and ſome preſume to do it in houſes without all reverence, where there is neither Miniſter nor Word preached. Our deſire is that ſome ſtrict puniſhment be inflicted upon ſuch abuſers; which albeit we will not take upon us to preſcribe, yet we fear not to ſay that both of them deſerve death. For if he who falſifieth the Seal and ſubſcription of a King be adjudged worthy of death, much more he that falſifieth the Seal of Chriſt *Jeſus*, who is the Prince of all the Kings of the earth. King *Darius* gave out an Edict, that he who did lett the re-edifying of the material Temple in *Jeruſalem*, ſhould have ſome wood taken out of his houſe, and he himſelf hanged thereupon: And what ſhall we think thoſe do merit who manifeſtly do hinder the building of the ſpiritual Temple, and the edifying of the Souls of Gods people by the true preaching of the Word, and right adminiſtration of the Sacraments?

The Papiſtical Prieſts have neither power nor authority to miniſter the Sacraments of Chriſt, becauſe in their mouths God hath not put the word of exhortation: And it is not ſhaving of their Crowns, the croſſing of their fingers, the blowing of the dumb dogs, called the Biſhops, nor the laying on of their hands, that maketh them true Miniſters; but the Spirit of God firſt moving the heart to enter in the holy Calling, then the Nomination of the people, the Examination taken by the learned, and publick Admiſſion in manner aforeſaid, are the things that make men lawful Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments. We ſpeak of the ordinary vocation in Churches reformed, and not of the extraordinary, whereby God is pleaſed ſometimes to raiſe up men by himſelf for doing his work. Therefore notwithſtanding the uſurpation they have made in time of ignorance, inhibition would be given them in the ſtricteſt manner not to preſume upon the like hereafter; as likewiſe to all others who are not lawfully called to the holy Miniſtery.

THis was the Policy deſired to be ratified. It had been framed by *John Knox*, partly in imitation of the Reformed Churches of *Germany*, partly of that which he had ſeen in *Geneva*. Whence he took that device of annual Deacons for collecting and diſpenſing the Church-rents, whereof in the ſixth Head he ſpeaketh, I cannot ſay. A Noble man being ask'd his judgment thereof, anſwered, that it was a devout imagination, wherewith *John Knox* did greatly offend; yet was it no better than a dream, for it could never have taken effect. The Churchmen that went before had been provident enough in theſe matters, and good it had been for theſe that ſucceeded to have kept faſt that which they found eſtabliſhed to their hand, as the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* did at the ſame time adviſe them. For he imploying *John Brand*, a Monk of *Halyrudhouſe* (who ſerved many years after Miniſter at the *Canongate*) to go unto *John Knox*, willed him to ſay from him, *That albeit he had innovated many things, and made Reformation of the Doctrine of the Church, whereof he could not deny but there was ſome reaſon; yet he ſhould do wiſely to retain the old Policy, which had been the work of many Ages, or then put a better in place thereof, before he did ſhake the other. Our Highland-men*, he ſaid, *have a cuſtome, when they will break young Colts, to faſten them by the head with ſtrong tethers, one of which they keep ever faſt till the beaſt be throughly made. The multitude, that Beaſt with many heads, would juſt be ſo dealt with. Maſter* Knox, *I know, eſteemeth me an enemy; but tell him from me, he ſhall find it true that I ſpeak.*

The advertiſement of the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſent to *John Knox*.

A direction for demoliſhing Cloiſters and Abbey-Churches.

The Eſtates always, not thinking it meet to enter at that time in examination of the Policy, deferred the ſame to a more convenient ſeaſon; only an Act was paſſed for demoliſhing Cloiſters and Abbey-Churches, ſuch as were not as yet pulled down; the execution whereof was for the Weſt parts committed to the Earls of *Arrane*, *Argile* and *Glencarn*, for the North to Lord *James*, and for the in-Countrys to ſome Barons that were held moſt zealous.

Thereupon

Thereupon inſued a pitiful vaſtation of Churches and Church-buildings throughout all the parts of the Realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner ſort imitating the enſample of the greater and thoſe who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the Churches either defaced, or pulled to the ground. The holy Veſſels, and whatſoever elſe men could make gain of, as Timber, Lead, and Bells, were put to ſale. The very Sepulchres of the dead were not ſpared. The Regiſters of the Church and Bibliothe[illegible]es caſt into the fire. In a word, all was ruined, and what had eſcaped in the time of the firſt Tumult, did now undergo the common calamity; which was ſo much the worſe, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of publick Authority. Some ill-adviſed Preachers did likewiſe animate people in theſe their barbarous proceedings, crying out, *That the places where Idols had been worſhipped ought by the Law of God to be deſtroyed, and that the ſparing of them was the reſerving of things execrable*; as if the commandment given to *Iſrael* for deſtroying the places where the *Canaanites* did worſhip their falſe Gods, had been a warrant for them to do the like. The report alſo went that *John Knox* (whoſe ſayings were by many eſteemed as Oracles) ſhould in one of his Sermons ſay, *That the ſure way to baniſh the Rooks was to pull down their neſts*: which words (if any ſuch did eſcape him) were to be underſtood of the Cloiſters of Monks and Friers only, according to the Act paſſed in the Council. But popular fury once armed can keep no meaſure, nor do any thing with advice and judgment. *An.* 1560.

All the Churches under this pretext ſpoiled and defaced.

After the Convention diſſolved, notwithſtanding of the anſwer given concerning the Book of Policy, divers Noblemen and Barons moved by *John Knox* did convene and ſet their hands to the ſame. The ſubſcribers were, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earl of *Arrane*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, *Marſhall*, *Menteith*, *Moreton*, and *Rothes*, Lord *James*, the Lord *Teſter*, *Boyd*, *Ochiltrie*, *Sanquhar*, and *Lindeſay*, the Biſhop of *Galloway*, the Dean of *Murray*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrigge*, *Lonchinvar*, *Garlees*, *Bargueney*, and divers Burgeſſes; with this proviſion adjected, *That the Biſhops*, *Abbots*, *Priors and other beneficed men who had joyned themſelves to the Religion*, *ſhould enjoy the Rents of their Benefices during their lives*, *they ſuſtaining the Miniſters for their parts*, *as was preſcribed in the ſaid Book*. But all this turned to no effect, for the Church-men that were Popiſh took preſently a courſe to make away all the Manſes, Gleibs, Tithes, and all other Rents poſſeſſed by them, to their friends and kinſmen; and moſt of theſe that ſubſcribed, getting into their hands the poſſeſſions of the Church, could never be induced to part therewith, and turned greater enemies in that point of Church-Patrimony than were the Papiſts, or any other whatſoever.

THE

An. 1561.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Fourth BOOK.

The things that fell out after Queen Mary *her coming from* France *into this Kingdom, unto her Reſignation of the Crown to King* James *her Son.*

The Queen prepareth to return from *France.*

THE Queen preparing to return home was taken with the Feaver tertian, and forced to ſtay at *Janville* ſome months. In the end of *June* ſhe came to *Paris*, where *Francis* Earl of *Bedford* (who was ſent from *England* to condole King *Francis* his death) did in the name of his Miſtreſs ſalute her, and after ſome gratulatory ſpeeches for her recovery, propone the Ratification of the Contract made at *Leith*, entreating the performance of it. The Queen thanking her Siſter for her kindneſs, anſwered, *That ſhe was not as yet in perfect health, but hoped ſhortly to be well. Touching the Ratification*, ſhe ſaid, *that ſhe remembred the buſineſs, but could give no reſolute anſwer, till ſhe had the advice of the Nobles and Eſtates of her own Realm. For though the matter concerned her principally, yet the ſame did touch them alſo: and they having ſhewed themſelves diſpleaſed in former times, becauſe ſhe did not take their advice in affairs, would now be much more offended, if ſhe ſhould proceed in that matter not having firſt acquainted them therewith. But, as ſhe truſted, the ſame ſhould not be long a-doing, ſeeing ſhe intended to make her voyage ſhortly home.* The Ambaſſador replying, *That there was no cauſe to doubt of their conſents in that particular, the Accord being made by themſelves: It was made*, ſaid the Queen, *by ſome of them, not by all; and when I come amongſt them, it will appear what mind they are of. But I will ſend* Monſieur d' Oyſell *to my Siſter, who ſhall give her, I truſt, good ſatisfaction; and by him I will ſignifie that I am to go into* Scotland, *and will require thoſe favours of her that Princes do one to another in the like caſes.*

Her Conference with the Earl of *Bedford.*

Monſieur d' Oyſell ſent into *England.*

Soon after this ſhe ſent *Monſieur d' Oyſell* into *England*, with a direction that after he had done this meſſage unto the Queen, he ſhould go into *Scotland*, and take order that the Garriſons kept in the Caſtle of *Dumbar* and the Iſle of *Inchkeith* ſhould keep thoſe Forts until ſhe were ſafely arrived. But the Queen of *England* taking ill the delay of the Ratification, anſwered him in the hearing of all the attendants, *That except the Queen of* Scots *did confirm the Conditions agreed upon at* Leith, *wherein ſhe found her ſelf ſtill fruſtrated, there could be no perfect amity amongſt them: and if ſhe would do that, the kindneſs which became a Queen her Couſin and Neighbour ſhould not be wanting on her part.* This ſhe deſired him to report, and leave his journy unto *Scotland*, for that ſhe would not permit the ſame though her Country.

The Queen of *Englands* anſwer.

The

The Queen of *Scots*, highly offended with this anſwer, did call *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Ambaſſador Legier of *England*, and kept a long Conference with him about theſe matters, which out of the Ambaſſadors own Letters ſent to the Queen his Miſtreſs I ſhall relate. Commanding her attendants to go aſide, ſhe brake forth in theſe ſpeeches: 'How great ſoever my weakneſs be, I like not to have ſo many witneſſes of it as your Queen of late had, when ſhe talked with *Monſieur d'Oyſell*. And now I muſt tell you, that nothing grieves me more, than that I ſhould have deſired a thing of her that I ſtood in no great need of: having Gods favour, I can return to my Country without her leave, as I came hither againſt the will of King *Edward* her Brother. Neither do I lack friends that both will and may convey me ſafely thither; yet I deſire rather to try her friendſhip than any others. Oftentimes you have ſaid, that it were good both for our ſelves and for our Kingdoms that we ſhould live friends, and keep kindneſs one to another; but it ſeemeth not that ſhe is ſo minded, otherwiſe ſhe would never have returned me ſuch an anſwer. It is like ſhe favoreth my rebellious Subjects more than me; yet ſhe ſhould with reaſon think that my Subjects who have rebelled againſt me will never be ſo truſty and loving to her as I my ſelf. My friends do marvel what her purpoſe could be in aſſiſting my Subjects againſt me; and now to hinder my return unto my own Country, being a widow, I know not what it ſhould mean. I work her no trouble, I have no medling with the affairs of *England*; and yet I know there be numbers in that Country who are not well contented with the preſent times: I require nothing of her but amity and friendſhip, And this I cannot have. She objects to me, that I have ſmall experience of the world. It is true, that years bring experience; yet I am of that age that I know how to carry my ſelf towards my friends and well-willers. I will not uſe many ſpeeches unworthy of her, but let me with her good leave ſay, that I am a Queen as ſhe is; that I have as good friends and as good a ſtomach as her ſelf. But compariſons they ſay are odious, therefore I will contain my ſelf.

An. 1561.

The Queen of *Scots* offended with it.

Her Conference with *Nicholas Throgmorton*.

'For that treaty at *Leith* wherewith ſhe troubleth her ſelf, it was made whileſt the King my Husband was alive, to whom according to my duty I was in all things obſequent. That he delayed to ratifie the Accord, it was his fault not mine. After his deceaſe the Council of *France* left me to my own Counſellors, neither would my Uncle meddle in *Scottiſh* affairs, leſt they ſhould offend. The *Scots* that are here with me are not Counſellors, neither can I deliberate with them in weighty matters: aſſoon as I have conſulted with the Eſtates of my Kingdom, I ſhall give her a reaſonable anſwer; and that ſhe may have it the ſooner, I ſhall haſte my journey homewards. But ſhe perhaps will belay my way, and ſo impede her own ſatisfaction; and it may be ſhe deſireth no ſatisfaction of her demands, that there may be always ſome occaſion of jarring and diſcord amongſt us. She caſteth often in my teeth, that I am young and unadviſed: and ſo ſhe might juſtly think me, if I ſhould treat of matters of ſuch importance: but as now I will not reaſon that point. This I may truly ſay, that I never did any thing to my Siſter which I would not have done to my ſelf. I have always performed the duty of a Kinſwoman unto her; but ſhe doth either not believe it, or then deſpiſeth my friendſhip. Would to God I were as dear to her as I am near of bloud, for this were a precious ſort of kindred; but God forgive them, if there be any that ſtirreth up theſe contentions amongſt us. You are her Ambaſſador, let me know what it is offendeth her, or in what word or action I have wronged her.

The Queen of *Scots* reaſons for delaying the Ratification.

Hereunto *Throgmorton* anſwered, *Madam, I have no Commiſſion to your Majeſty but for the Ratification of the Treaty at* Leith; *yet if you will have me to ſhew what I think be the cauſe of my Miſtreſs offence, I will tell it in few words, but not as an Ambaſſador. How ſoon the Queen my Miſtreſs was crowned, you uſurped the Title and Arms of* England, *which during Q.* Maries *reign you never attempted; and a greater injury could not be offered to a Prince than that was.* But ſaith ſhe, *My Father-in-law and Husband, who lived both at that time, commanded me ſo to do: after they were deceaſed, and ſince I have been at mine own liberty, I have neither uſed her Arms nor Titles. And yet I ſee not what wrong it can be to me, who am a Queen, and had to my Grandmother*

Throgmorton his anſwer.

An. 1561. *mother the eldeſt Siſter of King* Henry *the Eighth, to uſe the Arms of* England, *ſeeing others more remote in blood have done the like. The Marqueſs of* Exeter *and Dutcheſs of* Suffolk *Neece unto* Henry *the Eighth by his youngeſt Siſter, did bear the Arms of* England, *with Borders for a difference; and ſhould it be imputed as an injury to me ſo to do? But well I ſee* (ſo ſhe concluded) *that nothing I do is taken in good part.*

The Queen of *Englands* Letter to the Nobility.

The Queen of *England* in the mean time falling in ſome jealouſie of the Lords of *Scotland*, becauſe of that which the Queen had ſaid, that *the treaty at* Leith *was not made by all their conſents, and that when ſhe ſhould be amongſt them, it would appear whether they continued in the ſame mind*, ſent a Letter full of ſharpneſs to the Nobility and Council; wherein, after an ample declaration of the friendſhip done to them in the late aid they received againſt the *French*, ſhe complained of the delays made in the Ratification of the Accord paſt at *Leith*, which, as it ſeemed by their Queens words, was in their default, ſeeing ſhe had ſaid, that *before ſhe gave a reſolute anſwer in that matter, it behoved her to know their minds*, whereof ſhe could not be ignorant, ſo many of themſelves being with her of late, and meſſengers going daily betwixt them: therefore ſhe deſired to know if they did mind to keep the Peace contracted; and if they continue in that mind, that they ſhould procure the Queen to ratifie it, at leaſt to advertiſe her what ſhe might look for at their own hands.

The Councils anſwer.

This Letter was ſpeedily anſwered by the Council, with great atteſtations that it came never in their minds to break the Peace contracted; for in ſo doing they ſhould make themſelves infamous in the world, and ſin highly againſt their conſciences. Of the delay that their Queen made, and the reaſons thereof, they profeſſed to be ignorant. Therefore intreated her Majeſty to be perſuaded of them, that next to the glory of God they would ſtudy to keep the Peace inviolate, and that there ſhould be no blame in them if the Ratification was not made to her contentment.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed at home, the Queen of *Scots* ſet forward to *Callais*, attended by the Cardinals of *Lorrain* and *Guiſe*, the Dukes of *Guiſe* and *d' Aumarl*, the grand Prior and the Marqueſs *d' Elbeuf* her Uncles, the Duke of *Nemours*, Monſieur *d' Anvile* the Conſtables ſon, and divers others her friends and kinſmen. At *Abbeville*, which is the way to *Callais*, ſhe ſent for the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and asked him by what means ſhe might ſatisfie Queen *Elizabeth*. He anſwered by ratifying the Treaty of *Leith*. To whom ſhe replied, *I have very juſt reaſons to refuſe it, which ought not to be interpreted as delays. For firſt that Treaty ſhould have been confirmed by my Husband and me, and cannot now be ratified, unleſs it be concluded in my own name alone, ſeeing the King, then my Husband, is expreſly named in the accord. Next, the moſt of the Articles are performed, for all preparations of War are ceaſed, and the* French *called back from* Scotland. *But the Queen offendeth*, ſaith ſhe, *that I uſe the Title and Arms of* England. *This I have not done ſince my Husbands death. And if it be alledged, that the ſame is uſed in Letters Patents given me through* France; *it is known I cannot hinder that, for they who paſs thoſe Letters are not my Subjects. And for the Articles concerning Religion, I truſt my own ſubjects ſhall have no cauſe to complain of my ſeverity. Thus what I may do I will, to give my Siſter ſatisfaction. And I pray you*, Mounſieur l'Embaſſadeur, *do the part of an Ambaſſador, and rather pacifie the Queen, than exaſperate her in any ſort.* So earneſt ſhe was to have all matters of quarrel laid aſide, fearing that the Queen of *England* ſhould ſeek to intercept her by the way: and indeed a Navy was put to Sea, under colour of ſuppreſſing Pirats, but the taking of one of the Ships wherein were the Earl of *Eglinton* and other paſſengers, made it ſuſpected that a worſe thing was meant. Always it fell out ſo, that the Queen of *Scots*, having a proſperous wind, paſſed by the *Engliſh* Ships (the weather being foggy) unperceived, and the ſixth day after her embarking, which was the 20 of *Auguſt*, 1561, did ſafely arrive at *Leith*.

Her Conference with the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador at *Abbeville*.

The Queen arriveth at *Leith*.

The Nobility aſſembles to congratulate her return.

The fame of the Queens coming noiſed abroad, the Nobility from all the parts of the Realm aſſembled to congratulate her return, and beſides them numbers of all ſorts of people convened, as unto a joyful ſpectacle: for they had not ſeen the face of their Sovereign for many years, and after her Marriage with the *French* King, had ſcarce any hope of a King to reſide amongſt them: which would moſt certainly have

have happened, if any ſucceſſion had followed of that Marriage. For *Scotland* in that caſe would have been but an acceſſion to *France*, the mightier Kingdom; as *Henry* the Seventh foretold of *England* (and we have ſeen it verified in our days) drawing unto it the weaker and leſſer Crown. That the Queen therefore was now returned, and they delivered of the fears of redacting the Kingdom into a Province, they did juſtly eſteem it one of the greateſt benefits that could happen unto them. Then, when they called to mind the variableneſs of Fortune, how ſhe, left a Pupil of ſix days old only by the death of her Father, was expoſed as a prey to thoſe that were moſt mighty, and partly by civil Seditions at home, partly by the Invaſions of external enemies from abroad, even before ſhe could have any ſenſe of trouble, was forced to forſake her Country, and relegated as it were into exile, having hardly eſcaped the hands of enemies that lay in wait to intercept her, and the violence of tempeſtuous and raging ſeas; and again, when Fortune began to ſmile a little upon her, and ſhe was honoured with a royal Marriage, how theſe joys on the ſuddain came to be changed into extreme ſorrows, being firſt deprived of her Mother, then of her Husband, a new Kingdom loſt, and her ancient Crown which belonged to her by inheritance ſtanding in a ſtate very uncertain; whileſt, I ſay, they called to mind theſe variable fortunes, and therewith conſidered the excellencies that Nature had beſtowed upon her, as the Beauty and comelineſs of her perſon, her mild inclination, and gracious demeanor toward all ſorts of people, it cannot be told what a joy and love this begat in the hearts of all the Subjects. *An.* 1561.

The beginning of her Government was likewiſe very gracious; for ſome few days after her arriving, in a Council kept with the Nobility to remove the occaſions of Trouble, ſhe condeſcended that no change nor alteration ſhould be made in the preſent ſtate of Religion; only ſhe would uſe her own Service, as ſhe ſaid, apart with her Family, and have a Maſs in private. This was thought by many a thing not intolerable, conſidering ſhe was the Sovereign Princeſs of the Realm, and educated from her youth in the *Roman* Faith; from which there was hope, by better inſtruction and humble and courteous behaviour, ſhe might be reclaimed: yet the Preachers in their Sermons did publickly condemn that Toleration as unlawful. And amongſt the Nobility, the Earl of *Arran* did oppoſe it, taking proteſtation that *he did neither agree to private nor publick Maſs:* which highly diſpleaſed the Queen, and was thought to have alienated her affection, that before ſeemed much inclining towards him. No change to be made in Religion, and a private Maſs permitted to the Queen. The Earl of *Arran* oppoſeth.

There fell out upon this an Accident which was like to have cauſed great trouble. The Queen purpoſing to hear Maſs the next day in her Chappel of *Halirud-houſe*, whileſt the Tapers and other things required to that ſervice were carried through the Court, one of the common ſort invading him that bore the wax-lights, brake them all in pieces, and if by the intervention of ſome more moderate ſpirits the Tumult had not been repreſſed, the reſt of the furniture had been wholly ſpoiled, and that days Maſs diſappointed. It was held a proud and inſolent fact, and condemned by many: others ſaid that the patience of men was too far tempted; and ſome maintained that if right were done, the Prieſt, according to Gods Law made againſt Idolaters, ought to ſuffer death. But this ſtir was quickly appeaſed by Lord *James*, much againſt the Earl of *Huntley* his mind, who by this occaſion thought to win credit with the Queen, and in conference with her Uncles bragged, that if the Queen pleaſed to uſe his ſervice, he would reduce all the North-countries to the *Roman* Profeſſion. But his courſes being ſuſpected, and the Queen miſliking all counſels that tended unto trouble, no heed was given to his offers. A Tumult in the Abbey.

The month following was ſpent in the entertainment of the *French* that had accompanied the Q. homewards. They made but ſhort ſtay in the country; for about the middeſt of *September*, Duke *d' Aumarl* returned unto *France* by Sea; the grand Prior and *Monſieur d' Anvile* took their journey through *England*; the Marqueſs *d'Elbeuf* of all that company only remained, and abode all the Winter with the Queen. The Nobles that came from *France* with the Queen return home.

In this mean time was *William Maitland* of *Lethington* directed to the Queen of *England* with Letters both from the Queen and from the Nobility. The Queens Letters were full of kindneſs, tending all to expreſs the love and affection ſhe bare unto *William Maitland* directed to *England*.

An. 1561. unto her as to her deareſt Siſter and Kinſwoman, and the deſire ſhe had to continue in true and ſincere friendſhip with her. The Letters ſent by the Nobility were to the ſame effect; but containing this more, *That the ſureſt way to preſerve friendſhip and true amity amongſt them two was, to declare the Queen of* Scots *her neareſt and lawful heir to the Crown of* England, *in caſe ſhe ſhould have no iſſue. Lethington* urging this laſt point ſtrongly, as he was commanded, after he had uſed his beſt perſuaſions to that effect, was anſwered by the Queen of *England* as followeth. *I did expect another meſſage from your Queen than this is which you have brought me, & do marvel that ſhe ſhould forget the promiſe made before her coming out of* France, *touching the Ratification of the Treaty of* Leith; *which was, that how ſoon ſhe returned to her own Country, ſhe ſhould give me a full & reſolute anſwer. I have long enough,* ſaid ſhe, *ſuffered my ſelf to be abuſed with fair ſpeeches, & now it had been time, if ſhe had regarded her own honour, to have made good her promiſes. Lethington* replied, that within a few days after the Queen took land he was imployed in this Legation, and that ſhe had no leiſure to deal in any publick matters, being taken up with admitting the Noblemen that came to welcome her into the Realm, and with the ſetling of the eſtate of Religion, which her Majeſty underſtood to be a work of no ſmall weight; neither were all the Noblemen whoſe advice ſhe muſt take in matters of that importance come into the Court before his parting from it. Here the Queen interrupting his ſpeech, ſaid, *What need is there of advice or counſel, to do that which by her Subſcription and Seal ſhe is bound to perform?* He anſwered, that no Commiſſion was given him in that matter, nor did his Miſtreſs think that any accompt thereof would have been required of him, but that ſhe might juſtly excuſe her ſelf by the occaſions he had mentioned. Then after a few more ſpeeches of that purpoſe the Queen returning to the chief point of his Legation, ſaid, *I have obſerved that you have often in your diſcourſe ſaid, that your Queen is deſcended of the Blood Royal of* England, *and that I am obliged to love her, as being neareſt to me in blood of any other; which I neither will or can deny. Neither have I in any of my actions (as the world knoweth) attempted ought againſt the ſafety and tranquillity of her and her Kingdom; yea they that be moſt inward with me can witneſs that even when I had juſt cauſe of offence given me, by her uſurpation of the Titles and Atms of* England, *I could never be induced to think other than that this was the politick device of ſome enemies, to breed diſſention amongſt us. But howſoever that be, I hope ſo long as I live ſhe ſhall not bereave me of my Kingdom, nor yet be able, if God ſhall bleſs me with children, to impede their Succeſſion. And if it ſhall happen otherwiſe that I be taken away, ſhe ſhall never find that I have prejudged the Right which ſhe claimed to the Kingdom of* England. *What a right it is I have never been curious to know, nor do I purpoſe to ſearch and examine it, but will leave the ſame to the cognition of thoſe whom it concerneth. This your Queen may aſſuredly expect at my hands, that I ſhall never wrong her, nor her cauſe, if it be juſt, in the leaſt point. And God I take to witneſs, who heareth this our Conference, that, next my ſelf, I know not any whom I would preſer to her, or who (if the Title ſhould fall to be controverted) might exclude her. You know,* ſaith ſhe, *who the Competitors be: but, alas! what power or force have theſe weak creatures to attempt ſo great an enterpriſe? Always the matter it ſelf is weighty and of great importance, which I will take time to think upon.*

The Queen of *Englands* anſwer.

A ſecond conference with *Lethington.*

After ſome few days, calling *Lethington* unto her ſhe ſaid, 'That it ſeemed 'ſtrange to her, how the Nobility at the Queens firſt coming ſhould put up ſuch 'a requeſt to her, ſeeing they knew there was no reparation made of former 'wrongs; and to deſire, ſaith ſhe, that I ſhould gratifie their Queen, having recei-'ved ſo great an injury, without any amends made, is it not in effect as much as to 'boaſt and threaten me? If they will take ſuch a courſe, I would have them think 'that I am ſtrong enough for them at home, and lack not friends abroad that will 'maintain and defend my right. Hereto he replied, That in his firſt ſpeech he had clearly diſcovered the intention of the Noblemen, how partly out of that duty which they owed to their Sovereign and the defence of her honour, partly out of a deſire to confirm and aſſure the Peace begun betwixt the two Realms, they had made this motion; and that the reaſon why they dealt ſo plain'y with her, was not only

only the experience they had of her favour in times paſt, but alſo the reſpect of their own ſafety. For if any ſhould oppoſe the Queens right, and thereupon Wars ſhould ariſe betwixt the two Kingdoms, they muſt needs be driven to hazard their lives and eſtates. Wherefore they thought that their motion was not to be ill taken, ſeeing it tended to the cutting off the occaſions of diſagreement, and compoſing differences by a firm and certain Peace. *An.* 1561.

'True (ſaith ſhe) if I had attempted any thing to the hurt of your Queens 'right, they might with reaſon have required me to amend it. But when I am yet 'in health and life, to deſire me to prepare mine own winding-ſheet, is a thing 'without example, nor hath the like ever been required at the hand of any Prince: 'yet I take in good part the meaning of your Lords, and am glad of the good affe-'ction they bear to their Queen, and the care they have to advance her honour. 'I think it likewiſe wiſdom in them to foreſee the dangers they may run into, and 'like well that they do abhor the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, which I confeſs 'could not be avoided, if any Faction ſhould ariſe and lay claim to the Crown. 'But where, or what is the Faction? or what force can they have? Always lea-'ving theſe things, ſuppoſe I had an incliation to ſatisfie their deſire, think you 'that I would rather gratifie your Lords herein than the Queen her ſelf? No, I will 'tell you; I have many other reaſons that ſtay me from taking ſuch a reſolution. 'Firſt, I know what a dangerous thing it is to touch this ſtring, and I have ever 'upon great reſpects abſtained from bringing in queſtion the right of the Crown; 'for ſo often hath the controverſie of Marriage lawful and unlawful, of legitimate 'and baſe-born children, been agitated according as mens affections and humours 'led them, that even in regard of thoſe diſceptations I have hitherto forborn to 'match with any Husband. Once at my Coronation I was married to this King-'dom, whereof always I carry this Ring for a pledge; (pointing to a Ring ſhe wore 'on her finger) and howſoever things go, I ſhall be Queen of *England* ſo long as 'I live: when I am dead, let them ſucceed who have the beſt right. If your Queen 'hath it, I ſhall not wrong her in the leaſt point; and if it belong to another, it 'were not reaſonable to deſire me to do them an open and manifeſt wrong. If 'there be any Law which may bar her Title, it is unknown to me, for I do not 'willingly think of theſe matters; but if there be any ſuch, when I received the 'Crown, I ſware to my people that I ſhould not change their Laws. The Queen of *Englands* reply.

'Now where you ſay, that by declaring your Queen my Succeſſor, our affection 'ſhould become more firm; I rather fear that it ſhould be the ſeed of a moſt bitter 'hatred. For think you that I will behold willingly the preparation of mine own 'Funerals? It is natural to Princes to be jealous even of the children that by Birth-'right are to ſucceed them. How did *Charles* the Seventh of *France* carry himſelf 'towards *Lewis* the Eleventh, and he again towards *Charles* the Eighth, or King '*Francis* of late towards *Henry* who ſucceeded him? and is it probable that I ſhould 'be otherwiſe diſpoſed towards my Couſen, if once ſhe ſhall be declared Heir unto 'my Crown? No, be ſure I ſhall have the very ſame mind which *Charles* the Se-'venth ſhewed to *Lewis* the Eleventh.

'There is another thing which I eſteem of an exceeding great weight: I know 'the unconſtancy of the people, how they loath always the preſent Government, 'and have their eyes continually ſet upon the next Succeſſor; and naturally they 'are more that look, as it is ſaid, to the Sun riſing than to the ſetting of the Sun. 'To omit other examples, this I know by my own experience; when my Siſter 'Queen *Mary* reigned, how earneſtly did a number wiſh to ſee me placed in her 'Throne? what a deſire had they of my advancement? If I had but given my 'countenance to their practices, they would have refuſed no peril in bringing the 'ſame to effect. Now it may be the ſame perſons are not of the ſame mind to-'wards me: as children that dream that Apples are given them are greatly joyed, 'but in the morning when they are awaked, and find themſelves deceived, they 'fall a-weeping; ſo they who loved me exceedingly when I was but called *Eliza-'beth*, and if I perhaps gave them any good countenance, thought with their ſelves, 'that how ſoon I was made Queen they ſhould be rewarded rather according to The Queen of *Englands* reaſons for her refuſe.

An. 1561. 'their own conceipt than any ſervice done unto me, now when they find that the 'iſſue anſwereth not their expectation, ſome of them, it may be, in hope of a better 'fortune, would not diſlike a change of the Government. For the greateſt wealth 'that ever any Prince had, or can have, is not able to ſatisfie theu nſatiable cove- 'touſneſs of men. And if this be our caſe, that the affection of our people is ſo ea- 'ſily changed, as when we keep a greater moderation in our largeſſes than they 'think we ought, or perhaps for ſome other light cauſe, they grow diſcontented; 'what may we think ſhall come to paſs when ſeditious people have a certain Suc- 'ceſſor deſigned, to whom they may open their griefs, and betake themſelves, if 'they be in any ſort diſpleaſed? In what a peril think you I ſhould live, having ſo 'mighty neighbour Princes to ſucceed me? to whoſe grandeur look how much I 'ſhall add by confirming her Succeſſion, ſo much I ſhall detract from mine own ſe- 'curity. This peril no caution can aſſure, nor the bonds of any laws avert. Princes 'alſo who live in expectation of Kingdoms do hardly contain themſelves within 'the limits of right and reaſon: ſurely I my ſelf would never think my eſtate aſſu- 'red, if once my Succeſſor were known to the World. This is the Sum of that 'which paſſed at this ſecond Audience.

Lethingtons third Audience.

Not many days after getting acceſs, he asked the Queen what anſwer ſhe would give to the Nobility. She ſaid, *At this time I have no anſwer to give, but that I approve the affection and ſedulous care they have of their Sovereigns good eſtate; but the matter is of ſuch weight, as I cannot on a ſudden or directly anſwer it. When your Queen ſhall perform her promiſe concerning the treaty of* Leith, *it will be time to require a proof of my affection towards her; till then I cannot with ſafety of mine honour gratifie her in any thing.*

Lethington replied, as before, that he had no Commiſſion in that buſineſs, and that in the matter of Succeſſion he had ſhewed more his own judgment than the mind of the Queen his Miſtreſs: for he could never think the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Leith* to be a thing of that importance, as for the delay or refuſal of that the Queen of *Scots* and her poſterity ſhould be excluded from the Succeſſion of the Crown of *England*. 'Neither will I now, ſaith he, enquire by whom that 'Treaty was concluded; at what time, in what manner, by what authority, and 'for what cauſe it was done; for I have no warrant to ſpeak of theſe things: but 'this I dare affirm, that albeit the Queen, following her Husbands direction, had 'ratified the Treaty, ſhe ſhould have found her ſelf thereby ſo far intereſſed, as 'ſhe would doubtleſs have uſed all means to free her ſelf of the ſame. And this I 'ſay not in the Queens name, but only to make it ſeem that our Noblemen have 'reaſon to travel that all debates and controverſies may ceaſe, and a firm and per- 'petual Peace may be eſtabliſhed.

The concluſion taken by the Queen of *England*.

This and ſome other ſpeeches interchanged amongſt them touching the Treaty moved the Queen of *England* to agree that the ſame ſhould be reviſed by ſome Commiſſioners, and corrected after this form. *That the Queen of* Scots *ſhould thenceforth abſtain from uſing the* Engliſh *Arms, and from the Titles of the Crown of* England *and* Ireland, *during the life of Queen* Elizabeth *and her poſterity. That on the other part the Queen of* England *ſhould oblige her ſelf, and the children begotten of her, to do nothing in prejudice of the Queen of* Scots *her Succeſſion.* Theſe were the things acted in this Legation.

The Queen of *Scots* her Progreſs in the country.

Now at home the Queen keeping a Progreſs in the Country, went from *Edinburgh* to *Striveling*, from thence to *Perth*, *Dundy* and S. *Andrews*, and other ſpecial Burghs, where ſhe was received with much honour and triumph, returning to *Edinburgh* a little before the Feaſt of *Michaelmas*, at which time the Burgeſſes are wont to elect their annual Magiſtrates, and to ſet down Statutes for the good of the Town; Among other Acts, one was publiſhed, inhibiting that *any Adulterer, Fornicator, Drunkard, Maſs-Prieſt, or obſtinate Prieſt, ſhould be received in the Town, under ſuch pains as the Law did preſcribe.* The Queen interpreting that to be an uſurpation of Royal power, did commit *Archibald Douglas* Provoſt to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, charging the Council of the Town to make a new election: which they obeyed, chuſing Mr. *Thomas* ..... in his place. A Proclamation was likewiſe made,

Archibald Douglas Provoſt of *Edinburgh* committed.

granting

granting liberty to all good and faithful Subjects to repair and remain within the Burgh at their pleaſure, for doing their lawful and ordinary buſineſs. *An.* 1561.

The Preachers are diſpleaſed.

Theſe things miniſtred great offence, eſpecially to the Preachers, who ſeeing the Queen take more liberty than ſhe did in the beginning, keeping her Maſſes more publick, and cauſing them to be celebrated with a greater pomp, did mightily complain thereof in their Sermons, but profited little; for ſome of the Noblemen, who had in former times ſhewed themſelves moſt zealous againſt the toleration of Idolatry, were grown a little more cold by the flatteries of Court, and all of them, emulous of others greatneſs, were ſtriving who ſhould be in moſt favour with the Queen.

The Queen maketh choice of a Council.

She had ſome while before this taken to be of her privy Council the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Marſhall*, *Glencarn*, *Montroſſe* and *Arroll*, Lord *James* her Brother, the Lord *Ereskin*, and Mr. *John Leſley*, Biſhop of *Roſſe*. *Huntley* was created Chancellor, one that in matters of Religion had behaved himſelf very unconſtantly, and to win the Queens favour was now become altogether Popiſh. This animated the Prieſts and others of that faction, which before were quiet, and put them in ſome heart.

Ninian Winyet a Prieſt exiled.

One *Ninian Winyet*, Schoolmaſter at *Linlithgow*, a man of reaſonable learning, ſet forth a Book of Queſtions againſt the Confeſſion of Faith; which went currant in the Court, and was much eſteemed by them of his Profeſſion. Being cited, and divers conferences kept with him to make him acknowledge his Errors, he continued obſtinate, and was therefore ſentenced by the Church; wherefore he forſook the Country, and flying to *Germany* was preferred to be Abbot of the *Scottiſh* Monaſtery at *Ratisbon*, where he lived many years. The Abbot of *Croſragnell* in the Weſt publiſhed about the ſame time another Faith. Whereunto *John Knox* having made a reply, the Author, in regard of his age and quality of birth (for he was of the houſe of *Caſſils*) was thought fit to be overſeen.

The thirds of Benefices granted to the Queen.

Mean while the Court was buſied in a conſultation how to ſupply the charge of the Queens Houſe, which the ordinary Revenues of the Crown could not ſo honorably maintain as was required. Divers being thought upon, the readieſt ſeemed to fall upon the Church-rents, and draw ſomewhat from the Prelates and beneficed Perſons. To this purpoſe they were convened before the Council, and after a long Treaty, and many perſwaſions uſed, conſidering with themſelves how they ſubſiſted merely by the Queens favour, and that by refuſing a part they might endanger the whole, they were induced to yield the third part of their Benefices to be diſpoſed of at the Queens pleaſure, and aſſumed forth of what places her Collectors ſhould chuſe, her Majeſty ſecuring them of the two parts during their lives, and liberating them of the Miniſters, with whoſe maintenance they were continually boaſted. It carried ſome ſhew of commodity this at firſt, but turned to little or nothing; the Prelates and beneficed men undervaluing their Rents, and making up a Third, which did afterwards, when the number of Miniſters increaſed, ſcarce ſuffice to their proviſions.

A Guard of horſe and foot levied to attend the Queen.

Much about this time a rumour was raiſed in the Court, and went a while uncontrolled, that the Earl of *Arran* intended to raviſh the Queen, whom he was known to love moſt paſſionately. She, whether counterfeiting a fear, or that there was any cauſe given that way, it is not known, did levy a guard of Horſe and Foot to attend her perſon: which put divers in fear, and opened the mouths of diſcontented people, as if ſome grounds of Tyranny had been thereby laid. But ſhe not regarding theſe ſurmiſes, and careful only of the Countries quiet, laboured earneſtly to have juſtice take place; and the Borders then being unquiet, ſent her Brother, Lord *James*, thither with a Commiſſion of Lieutenantry, which he faithfully diſcharged, uſing exemplary puniſhment upon a number of broken men, and taking pledges of others for living obedient to the Laws. For this ſervice at his return he was preferred firſt to the Earldom of *Marre*, and a little after to the Earldom of *Murray*; for the Lord *Ereskin*, having claimed title to the Countrey of *Marre*, was by the Queen made Earl of the ſame.

Lord *James* ſent to the Borders is at his return made Earl of *Marre*.

He is preferred to the Earldom of *Murray*, and the Lord *Ereskin* made Earl of *Marre*.

Huntley offending that theſe honours ſhould have been conferred without his conſent,

Huntley offendeth with theſe preferments.

An. 1561. consent, and he thereby put from the poſſeſſion firſt of *Marre*, then of *Murray*, which he had injoyed ſince the death of King *James* the Fifth, and becauſe of that long poſſeſſion was reckoned to be a part of his own Patrimony, reſolved, ſince he ſaw his own credit and authority waning, before that of *Murray*'s was fully ſetled, to undermine him by one mean or other: whereupon by ſcandalous detractions, and other the like courſes familiar in the Courts of Princes, he laboured to diſgrace him; and finding that theſe prevailed not, preſented to the Queen a Libel written with his own hand, wherein he charged the Earl of *Murray* with ambitious affectation of the Royal authority. Yet the proofs he brought being weak, the Queen made no accompt thereof. This alſo failing, he incited *James Hepburn*, Earl of *Bothwell* (one that had debauched his patrimony, and had all his hopes depending upon the publick diſturbance) to ſet the Earl of *Murray* and the *Hamiltons* by the ears: which he aſſayed to do firſt, by perſwading the Earl of *Murray* to ruine Duke *Hamilton*, who, as he ſaid, lay waiting on the Queens death, and aimed at no leſs than the Crown, and beſides bare a particular enmity againſt himſelf. This he ſaid could not but be acceptable to the Queen, ſeeing that beſides the natural hatred that all Princes have to their Succeſſors, ſhe did bear a ſpecial grudge to the Earl of *Arran* for his love to the Reformed Religion, and becauſe of ſome hard ſpeeches that fell out in a Conference betwixt him and her Uncle the Marqueſs *d' Elbeuf*.

He chargeth *Murray* with the affectation of the Crown.

Bothwell ſtirreth up the Earl of *Murray* againſt the *Hamiltons*.

Practice againſt the Earl of *Murray*.

The Earl of *Murray* abhorring ſuch unhoneſt practices, and refuſing to hearken thereto, his next addreſs was to the *Hamiltons*, offering to take part with them in cutting off the Earl of *Murray* (whoſe credit with the Queen he knew they diſliked) and ſhewing how eaſily it might be done. By this means, he ſaid, they ſhould have the Queen in their own hands, and be rid of him who chiefly ſtood in their way. The time and place for the murther being conſidered upon, *Bothwell* and *Gawin Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwining*, are ſaid to have taken the matter in hand. The device was to kill the Earl whilſt the Queen was at hunting in the Park of *Falkland*, and that performed, to carry the Queen along with them for their greater ſurety, and the countenancing of the fact.

The practice diſcovered by the Earl of *Arran*.

The Earl of *Arran*, who had withſtood the Conſpiracy, perceiving them reſolute in that they had undertaken, and fearing it might take effect, advertiſeth the Earl of *Murray* of the plot laid againſt his life. *Murray* rendring him many thanks, the Letter was intercepted by ſome that diſliked the intelligence they kept with others, and finding by the anſwer what advertiſement he had made, perſwaded the Duke his Father to ſend him with ſome Keepers to the Houſe of *Kinneill*. But he making an eſcape in the night came to the houſe of *Grange* in *Fife*, and ſending to the Earl of *Murray* to ſhew what had happened, was the next morning conveyed by him to the Queen in *Falkland*; and at his coming he diſcovered the whole practice unto her; whereupon *Bothwell* and *Kilwining* were both apprehended, for they were come to *Falkland* of intent to clear themſelves. *Arran* being brought before the Council to be examined, was obſerved to be in ſome perturbation of mind, and being demitted for that time, was at his next appearing clearly perceived by his words and countenance to be taken with a phrenſie; yet when he came to himſelf, as he did ſometimes in the beginning of the diſeaſe, he wrote to the Queen and others ſo judiciouſly, as many thought he did only feign himſelf mad, to free his Father of the Conſpiracy. The reſt he accuſed ſo conſtantly and with ſuch eagerneſs, that in preſence of the Council he made offer, ſince the accuſation could not be made out by Witneſſes, to try in ſingle combat with *Bothwell*. But the Queen, miſliking that form of trial, made *Bothwell* to be ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Abbot of *Kilwining* to the Caſtle of *Striveling*, committing *Arran* to the cuſtody of ſome perſons at Court.

Arran becometh diſtracted.

New devices for cutting off *Murray*.

And now *Huntley* imagining that he had a fair occaſion to put *Murray* out of the way, and that he might do the ſame more ſafely, having two of the greateſt Families in the Kingdom partners with him in the quarrel, fell into other devices; and firſt ſtirring up a trouble in S. *Andrews*, where the Queen then remained, and thinking that *Murray* would come forth upon the noiſe to pacifie the Tumult, he reſolved

by

by ſome whom he had ſuborned to cut him off in the fray. This not ſucceeding, ſome armed men were laid to intercept him as he came from the Court at night; for the Queen detaining him late, he was wont to go accompanied with one or two only in moſt quiet manner to his lodging. But this being likewiſe fruſtrated by advertiſement given to *Murray*, and he having tried it to be ſo (for, upon the notice given him, he went and found them ſtanding armed in the Porch of the Abbey, which was the place deſigned to him) delated the matter to the Queen. *Huntley* excuſing his men, ſaid that they were ſome only of his company, who being to go home that day, had put on their arms, and being ſtayed by ſome occaſion till the next morning were there attending his coming. *An.* 1562.

This excuſe, albeit nought and frivolous, was accepted for the time; which gave many to think, that the Queens affection to her Brother was not ſo great as it was commonly taken to be. And it is true that about the ſame time the Queen had received Letters from the Pope, the Cardinal of *Lorrain*, and her Uncles in *France*, adviſing her to entertain *Huntley*, as the man moſt powerful and beſt inclined towards the advancing of the *Romiſh* Religion, and to give him ſome hopes of her Marriage with *John Gordon* his ſecond Son, whereby he ſhould be made more forward in the purpoſe. Great promiſes were made beſides of money and other neceſſary ſupplies for War, but ſo always, as theſe were made away that were enemies to the Catholick Faith; of whoſe names a Roll was ſent unto her, and the Earl of *Murray* placed in the firſt rank. But what impreſſion theſe Letters made in the Queens mind, ſhe ſhewed the ſame to her Brother, and uſed him with no leſs reſpect than before. Letters ſent from beyond ſea in favour to *Huntley*.

In the beginning of the next Summer there was a great ſpeech of the Interview of the Queens of *England* and *Scotland*, and meſſengers to and fro ſent to agree upon the place, the time and manner of the meeting. The motion came from the Queen of *Scots*, who, as it was thought, greatly affected the ſame out of a deſire ſhe had to live in a firm peace with the Queen of *England*, and make her ſelf known to the ſubjects of that Country. Neither was the meeting diſliked of the better ſort, as thinking it would ſerve, beſides the preſervation of the common Peace, to bring her unto a liking of the Reformed Religion. But they who were Popiſhly ſet, fearing greatly the Conference, ſpake openly againſt it, ſaying, *That of ſuch Interviews there was never ſeen any good fruit, & that it would not be ſafe for the Queen of* Scots *to put her ſelf in the power of her whoſe Kingdom ſhe had claimed.* Not the leſs the Treaty went on, and was concluded, *York* condeſcended to be the place of meeting, the numbers on either ſide agreed unto, and the time deſigned about the end of *June*. But whilſt all things were in readineſs for the journey, the Queen of *England* excuſed her ſelf by letters, deſiring the Interview ſhould be put off till the next year: which the Queen of *Scots* was not ill pleaſed to hear, for ſhe feared if the ſame had held, that the *French* King and her Uncles ſhould have been much offended. An Interview of the two Queens moved. The Interview ſtayed.

This journey being ſtayed, the Queen took her progreſs unto the North. Being at *Striveling*, ſhe was petitioned by certain Commiſſioners of the Church for aboliſhing the Maſs, and other Superſtitious Rites of the *Roman* Religion, and for inflicting ſome puniſhment againſt Blaſphemy, againſt the contempt of the Word, the profanation of the Sacraments, the violation of the Sabbaths, Adultery, Fornication, and other the like vices condemned by the Word of God, whereof the Laws of the Country did not take any hold. For actions of Divorce, it was likewiſe deſired that they ſhould be remitted to the judgment of the Church, or at leaſt truſted to men of good knowledge and converſation; and that Popiſh Churchmen might be excluded from places in Seſſion and Council. To theſe Petitions exhibited in writing, the Queen, after ſhe had peruſed the ſame, made anſwer, *That ſhe would do nothing in prejudice of the Religion ſhe profeſſed, and hoped before a year was expired to have the Maſs and Catholick profeſſion reſtored through the whole Kingdom*: and thus parted from them in a Choler. Petitions of the Church to the Queen.

About the midſt of *Auguſt* ſhe entred into *Aberdene*, and was met by the Lady *Huntley*, a woman of an haughty diſpoſition, wiſe and crafty withal in ſifting the minds of others: ſhe, knowing the mutability of Princes favours, laboured to inſi- The Queen goeth to *Aberdene*.

An. 1562. nuate her ſelf in the Queens affection, uſing all ſervile flattery, extolling the power of her Husband, and repeating the offer he had made for re-eſtabliſhing the *Roman* profeſſion in theſe North parts. Then falling to intercede for her Son *John Gordon* (who had offended the Queen by his eſcape forth of the ward, in which he was put for wounding the Lord *Ogilvie* upon the high ſtreet of *Edinburgh*) ſhe intreated her Majeſties favour for that overſight, and that he might be licenſed to attend her Majeſty during her abode in thoſe quarters. The Queen underſtanding what they went about, and how they flattered themſelves with a conceipt of her Marriage, anſwered, that it ſtood not with her honour to admit him in her preſence, unleſs he ſhould re-enter himſelf into the place from which he had eſcap'd. The Lady thanking her Majeſty, and promiſing obedience in her Sons behalf, did only intreat that the place of his Ward might be changed to the Caſtle of *Striveling*: whereunto the Queen having yielded, the Lord *Glames* was appointed to convey him thither: and he indeed went ſo far on the way as to the Nobleman his houſe of *Glames*; but whether called back by his Father and friends, or of his own private motion, it is uncertain, there he changed his mind, and returned to the North, where gathering ſome Forces, a thouſand Horſe or thereabout, with them he drew near to *Aberdene*.

The Lady *Huntley* intercedes for her Son.

The Queen taketh journey to *Innerneſs*.

The Queen highly commoved with his contempt, yet diſſembling her anger, did after a day or two keep on her journey towards *Innerneſs*, whither ſhe intended. The eighth of *September*, the night before her ſetting forth, were ſeen in the firmament great inflammations and lightnings extraordinary, which continued the ſpace of two hours and above. It feared the common ſort, who do always interpret ſuch accidents to be prognoſticks of ſome Trouble: But the Queen contemning theſe things as caſual, would not hear of altering her journey; ſo the firſt day ſhe went to *Balwhyne*, the next to *Rotheway*, and the third day being invited by *Huntley* to his houſe of *Straithbogie*, where great preparations were made for her receipt, ſhe denied to go with him, or grace him in any ſort, till his Son gave obedience; and ſo kept on her way.

The Caſtle of *Innerneſs* denied to the Queen.

The day following ſhe came to *Innerneſs*, and thinking to lodge in the Caſtle, the keeper *Alexander Gordon* refuſed to give her entry. Thereupon ſhe began to ſuſpect ſome treachery. In the Towns-men ſhe could repoſe no aſſurance, as being all vaſſals and dependers of *Huntley*. The Town it ſelf was unfenced with walls, and the countrey all in Arms (as ſhe was advertiſed) to attend his coming. Yet diſpoſing of things in the beſt ſort ſhe could, order was given to keep a ſtrong watch, to fortifie the paſſages into the Town, and have Ships prepared in the Road, whereunto, if need were, ſhe might take her refuge. About midnight ſome ſpies ſent from *Huntley* unto the Town were apprehended, who diſcovering his numbers and enterpriſe, were made faſt. And the next morning, upon a rumour that went of the danger the Queen ſtood in, there flocked out of all quarters unto her numbers of High-land men, the *Fraſers* and *Monroes* chiefly, with their followers and friendſhip. The *Clanchattan* in *Huntley*'s company, how ſoon they knew that the enterpriſe was againſt the Queen, forſook him, and ſlipped aſide, came and yielded themſelves unto her. She finding her Forces increaſed, commanded to lay ſiege to the Caſtle, which rendred upon the firſt aſſault. The Captain and principal Keepers were executed, but the lives of the common Souldiers ſpared. After ſome four daies abode in the Caſtle, the Queen returned to *Aberdene*, accompanied with all the Noblemen and Clans of the Country; and thither came the Lady *Huntley* with offers of ſubmiſſion for her Husband, but was denied acceſs.

The Caſtle beſieged and rendred.

Huntley reſolves to invade the Queen.

Huntley perceiving the World thus altered, and himſelf faln into the Queens diſpleaſure, ſo as there was no hope of regaining her favour, betook himſelf to deſperate courſes, and aſſembling his friends and others that would run hazard with him, he approached to *Aberdene*, preſuming much of the affection of the inhabitants. At Court he had the Earl of *Sutherland*, and *John Leſly* of *Balwhyne*, men of no mean power, who made him daily advertiſed of things that paſſed there, and the ſmall numbers that were with the Queen, willing him to take the opportunity. Whereupon reſolving to follow his enterpriſe before the Forces of the Queen

Queen were farther increaſed (for charge was gone to all that could bear Arms in *Lothian*, *Fife*, *Angus*, *Stratherne* and *Mernis*, to come and attend her at *Aberdene*) he advanced with ſome 800 in company, looking to find no reſiſtence. And like enough the enterpriſe had ſucceeded to his mind, but that the ſame morning Letters were intercepted, ſent by *Sutherland* and *Balwhyne* to *Huntley*, which deteƈted all their counſel. *Sutherland* upon diſcovery eſcaped: *Balwhyne* was pardoned upon his confeſſion, and from thenceforth ſerved the Queen faithfully. *Huntley* advertiſed of theſe things, was adviſed by his friends to turn back; yet hearing the Earl of *Murray* was coming againſt him, he made a ſtay, reſolving to fight. *An.* 1562.

The Battel of *Corrichit.*

The place of ſtanding he chuſed was naturally fenced with moſs and quagmire, and ſo of difficult acceſs; 300 they were in all, for many of his followers the night preceding were ſlipt from him. Neither had the Earl of *Murray* any great number, and few whom he might truſt: for howbeit of the Countrey about divers gathered unto him, moſt of them were corrupted by *Huntley*, as appeared when the companies came in ſight one of another, all of them in ſign of treaſon, and that they might be diſcerned by the enemy, putting a buſh of heath or header in their helmets, and how ſoon they came to joyn, giving back, and retiring in great diſorder. The Earl of *Murray*, who ſtood a little off with an hundred in a Troop, diſcovering the Treaſon, called aloud to his men, that they ſhould bend their Spears, and not ſuffer them that fled to enter amongſt them. So forced to take another courſe they went aſide, leaving him and his Troop, when they had taken their ſtanding. *Huntley* imagining upon that flight and diſorder the day to be his, commanded his men to throw away their lances, and with drawn Swords to run upon them as to a ſlaughter. But when they were come to the place where *Murray* with his company ſtood, they were born back and compelled to fly as faſt as before they followed. They who had played the Traytors ſeeing this, to clear themſelves, turned upon *Huntley*, and made all the ſlaughter which was committed that day.

The Earl of *Huntley* taken priſoner, and dieth.

There fell in the Conflict on *Huntley*'s ſide 120, near as many were taken priſoners; on the other party not a man died. Amongſt the priſoners was the Earl of *Huntley* himſelf, with two Sons, *John* and *Adam Gordon*. The Earl was aged and corpulent, and, by reaſon of the throng that preſſed him, expired in the hands of his takers; the reſt were carried to *Aberdene* late in the night. The Earls of *Murray*, *Morton*, and Lord *Lindeſay* (for theſe laſt two had been in the field with *Murray*) went firſt into the Church, where Mr. *John Craige*, Miniſter of that City, gave ſolemn thanks to God for the Victory and their ſafety. This ended, they went unto the Queen who received them graciouſly, yet expreſſed no motion of a mind either troubled or much joyed. The next day was ſpent in taking counſel concerning the priſoners: the concluſion whereof was, that puniſhment ſhould be taken according to the Laws of *John Gordon*; that *Adam* his Brother ſhould be ſpared, becauſe of his tender age; the other Captives fined according to their wealth, and thoſe of meaner Eſtate baniſhed the Country. The day following, *John Gordon* upon a Scaffold erected in the Street of *Aberdene* was publickly executed. His death was much lamented, not by his friends only, but even by ſtrangers and perſons unknown; for he was a youth of moſt brave and manlike countenance, of a valorous ſpirit, and one who by his noble behaviour had raiſed great expectation of himſelf. Abuſed he was by the hopes of a Royal match, and, which grieved all the beholders, pitifully mangled by an unskilful Executioner.

Thankſgiving for the victory.

John Gordon beheaded at *Aberdene.*

The Lord *Gordon* forfeited and committed.

This defeat of *Huntley* brought the North parts in a great obedience, and mightily diſcouraged thoſe of the Popiſh faction throughout the whole Realm; for all that ſort had placed their hopes on him and his greatneſs both in the Court and Country. The eldeſt of his Sons, named *George*, after the loſs of that field fled to the Duke his Father-in-law, and was delivered by him to the Queen, who ſent him priſoner to *Dumbar*. In the end of *January* he was accuſed and convicted of Treaſon, his lands declared to be forfeited, and himſelf committed to priſon. Shortly after *John Hamilton*, Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for ſaying and hearing of Maſs. The Abbot of *Corſragnal* and Prior of *Whithern* were uſed in the like ſort, and divers Prieſts and Monks for the

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* committed.

An. 1563. A Parliament at *Edinburgh.* the ſame cauſe cenſured. The ſevere proceeding againſt Papiſts put many in hope that the Queen ſhould be brought to embrace the Religion: which was farther aſſured by the countenance ſhe gave unto the Church in the Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* the *May* following, wherein divers Statutes paſſed upon their Petitions, as in the Acts of that time may be ſeen. In this Parliament was the *Act of Oblivion* (agreed unto at the Treaty of *Leith*) firſt ratified; but without any reſpect to that Treaty, which the Queen would never acknowledge. Wherefore it was adviſed that the Lords in the Houſe of Parliament ſhould upon their knees entreat the paſſing of ſuch an Act, which accordingly was done. The reſt of this Summer the Queen ſpent in hunting in the Countries of *Athol* and *Argile.*

A trouble at *Halirudhouſe.* But in *Auguſt* the ſame year there happened a thing that was like to have cauſed much trouble. Certain of the Queens family that remained in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe* had a Prieſt attending them, who did his ordinary ſervice in the Chappel; divers of the Town of *Edinburgh* reſorting unto it, great offence was taken, and the diſorder complained of by the Preachers. The Citizens being informed that many of their people were gone thither, one day went down, and being denied entry, forced the Gates. Some were taken and carried to priſon, many eſcaped the back way with the Prieſt himſelf. The uproar was great, and advertiſement gone to the Queen thereof, ſhe was mightily incenſed, avowing not to come to the Town till ſome exemplary puniſhment were inflicted upon the doers; yet by the mediation of the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* ſhe was pacified. *John Knox* only was called before the Council, and charged to have been the author of the Sedition, as likewiſe for convocating the ſubjects by his miſſive letters whenſoever he thought meet. He anſwered, *That he was never a Preacher of Rebellion, nor loved to ſtir up Tumults: contrariwiſe, he taught all people to obey their Magiſtrates and Princes in God. As to the convocation of the ſubjects, he had received from the Church a command to advertiſe his Brethren when he ſaw a neceſſity of their meeting, eſpecially if he ſaw Religion to be in peril: and had often craved to be exonerated of that burthen, but ſtill was refuſed.* Then directing his Speech to the Queen with a wonderful boldneſs, *He charged her in the name of the Almighty God, and as ſhe deſired to eſcape his heavy wrath and indignation, to forſake that Idolatrous Religion which ſhe profeſſed, and by her power maintained againſt the Statutes of the Realm.* And as he was proceeding, he was required by the Earl of *Morton* then Chancellor (fearing the Queens irritation) to hold his peace, and go away. After which time matters were carried more peaceably betwixt the Queen and the Church, the Earl of *Murray* alwaies interpoſing himſelf, and propounding the Petitions of the Church unto her, as likewiſe returning her anſwers to their ſatisfaction.

John Knox called before the Council.

The Earl of *Lenox* reſtored. In the end of this year *Matthew Stewart*, Earl of *Lenox*, by the permiſſion of the Queen, returned into *Scotland*, and in a Parliament called to that effect in *January* next had the proceſs of forfeiture laid againſt him whilſt the Duke was Governour reduced, and ſo reſtored to his lands and poſſeſſions, after 22 years exile. *Henry* his Son followed him ſome months after, and came to *Edinburgh* in the beginning of *February*. A young man not paſt 21 years, of comely perſonage, and of a milde and ſweet behaviour. He had preſence of the Queen in the place of *Wemyſs*, and was received with great demonſtrations of favour. Nor was it long that ſhe was perceived to bear ſome affection unto him: whereupon a ſpeech went that ſhe would take him unto her Husband. And indeed, beſides the love ſhe carried to the young Nobleman, there was great reſpects that led her that way. He was deſcended of the Royal blood of *England*, and next unto her ſelf the apparent Heir of that Crown. If it ſhould fall him to marry with one of the greateſt Families of *England*, it was to be feared that ſome impediment might be made to her in the Right of Succeſſion, which ſhe thought was a wiſe part in her to prevent. Again, the Queen of *England* had adviſed her by *Thomas Randolph* her Ambaſſador, to chuſe unto her ſelf a Husband in *England*, for the better conſervation of the Peace contracted betwixt the Kingdoms, and had of late recommended the Earl of *Leiceſter* as a worthy match to her. She therefore, as well to ſatisfie the Queen of *Englands* deſire, in not matching with a ſtranger, but with ſome *Engliſhman* born,

Henry Lord *Darnly*, Son to *Lenox*, cometh into *Scotland.*

The Queen intendeth to take him to Husband.

as

as likewiſe to cut off all debates of Succeſſion, reſolved to take the Nobleman to her Husband. *An.* 1564.

But no ſooner was her intention diſcovered, than on all ſides enemies roſe up againſt her. Of the Nobility at home ſome oppoſed the Marriage under pretext of Religion (for the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son were both eſteemed to be Popiſh.) The Queen of *England*, by *Nicholas Throgmorton* her Ambaſſador, adviſed her not to uſe haſte in a buſineſs of that importance; and (to interpoſe ſome impediment) charged the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son to return into *England*, the time being not yet expired contained in their licenſes. And univerſally amongſt the ſubject the queſtion was agitated, *Whether the Queen might chuſe to her ſelf an Husband; or it were more fitting that the Eſtates of the Land ſhould appoint one unto her.* Some maintaining that the liberty could not be denied unto her which was granted to the meaneſt ſubject; others excepting, that in the Heirs of the Kingdom the caſe was different, becauſe they in aſſuring an Husband to themſelves, did withal appoint a King over the people; and that it was more reaſon the whole people ſhould chuſe an Husband to one Woman, than that one Woman ſhould elect a King to rule over the whole people. It was objected alſo by ſome, that the Marriage was unlawful, and contrary to the Canon law, Lady *Margaret Douglas* his Mother being Siſter uterine to King *James* the Fifth her Father. But for this the Queen had provided a remedy, having ſent *William Chiſholme* Biſhop of *Dumblane* to bring a diſpenſation from *Rome*. And, to ſtrengthen her ſelf at home, ſhe reſtored *George Gordon*, Son to the Earl of *Huntley*, unto his Lands and Honours, recalled the Earl of *Sutherland* who lived an exile in *Flanders*, and *Bothwell* that was baniſhed in *France*. This wicked man was not well returned into the Country, when he deviſed a new plot againſt the Earl of *Murray* his life, for which being called in queſtion he forſook the Country, and fled again unto *France*.

Enemies raiſed up againſt the Queen.

An. 1564. The Lord *Gordon* reſtored.

The only man that ſeemed to ſtand for the Marriage, and uſed his beſt means to promote it, was an *Italian* called *David Riſio*, who had great credit that time with the Queen. This man had followed the *Savoyan* Ambaſſadour into *Scotland*, and in hope of bettering his fortune gave himſelf to attend the Queen at firſt in the quality of a Muſician; afterwards growing in more favour he was admitted to write her *French* Letters, and in the end preferred to be principal Secretary to the Eſtate. It grieved many to ſee a Stranger thus advanced: *Lethington* chiefly was diſpleaſed, for that he found his credit this way impaired; yet being one that could put on any diſguiſe on his nature, of all others he moſt fawned on this *Italian*, and ſhewing him, as it was truth, that he was the object of divers Noblemens envy, did perſwade him by all means to work the Match, and procure (if it could be) the conſent of the Queen of *England* thereto: wherein offering his own ſervice (for he longed after ſome employment abroad) he procured to himſelf a meſſage towards the Queen of *England*. By him the Earl of *Lenox* and his Son did excuſe their not returning into *England* as they were charged; beſeeching Queen *Elizabeths* favour unto the Match intended, and that which might prove more profitable to her and her Realm than any other courſe the *Scottiſh* Queen ſhould take.

Seignior Davie, a attendant on the Queen, favoureth the Marriage.

Secretary *Lethington* ſent into *England*.

Seigneur Davie (for ſo he was commonly called) did after this labour with all his power to have the Marriage perfected; and as he was of a politick wit, the more to bind the young Nobleman and his friendſhip unto him, ſtudied to have the ſame finiſhed before the return of the Queen of *Englands* anſwer, either fearing that her diſaſſent might work ſome delay in the Match, or that the Noblemans obligation to himſelf ſhould be the leſs in caſe ſhe conſented. For this purpoſe a Convocation of the Eſtates was kept at *Striveling* in the month of *May*, where the matter being propounded, and the advice of the Eſtates craved, many did yield their conſents, with a proviſion that no change ſhould be made in the preſent eſtate of Religion. The greater part, to gratifie the Queen, without making any exception, agreed that the Marriage ſhould proceed. Of the whole number *Andrew* Lord *Ochiltrie* did only oppoſe, plainly profeſſing, that *he would never conſent to admit a King of the Popiſh Religion*. Shortly after was *Henry* Lord *Darnly* created Lord of *Ardmanoch*, Earl of *Roſſe*, and Duke of *Rotheſay*, that honoured with theſe Titles he might

A Convocation of the Eſtates at *Striveling*.

The Lord *Darnley* created Duke of *Rotheſay*.

An. 1564. might be thought more worthy of the Royal Match. This determination of the Eſtates publiſhed, the Earls of *Murray*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, and *Rothes* aſſiſted by the Duke of *Chattellerault*, whom they had drawn to be of their Faction, meeting at *Striveling* after that the Queen was parted, did joyn in a Confederacy for reſiſting the Marriage, pretending the danger, and other inconveniences that might ariſe to the Eſtate. In the Town of *Edinburgh* the people began to mutiny, and aſſembling themſelves in companies on S. *Leonards* Crags took counſel to put their Burgeſſes in arms, to aſſign them Captains, and to diſarm ſuch of the Townſmen as they knew to be affected to the Marriage.

A Mutiny at *Edinburgh*.

The Queen highly incenſed at this Mutiny did haſte to the Town, at whoſe coming the heads of the faction, *Andrew Slater*, *Alexander Clerk*, *Gilbert Lauder*, *William Harlaw*, *Michael Rind*, *James Ingliſh*, *James Young*, and *Alexander Gouthrie*, fled forth of the Town, and were denounced Rebels. Their houſes poſſeſſed by the Theſaurer, and their goods put under Inventary, were after ſome few days, at the interceſſion of the Magiſtrates (ſo great was the Queens clemency) reſtored, and themſelves pardoned.

The Queen cometh to *Edinburgh*, and the mutiners fly.

The Aſſembly of the Church meeting at the ſame time in *Edinburgh* preſented to the Queen by their Commiſſioners the Petitions following.

An Aſſembly at *Edinburgh*.

Petitions of the Church.

1. That the Papiſtical and blaſphemous Maſs, with all Popiſh Idolatry, and the Popes Juriſdiction, ſhould be univerſally ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed through the whole Realm, not only amongſt the Subjects, but in the Queens Majeſties own Perſon and Family; and ſuch as were tried to tranſgreſs the ſame, puniſhed according to the Laws.

2. That the true Religion formerly received ſhould be profeſſed by the Queen, as well as by the Subjects, and people of all ſorts bound to reſort upon the *Sundays* at leaſt to the Prayers and Preaching of Gods Word, as in former times they were holden to hear Maſs.

3. That ſure proviſion ſhould be made for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtry, as well for the time preſent as for the time to come, and their livings aſſigned them in the places where they ſerved, or at leaſt in the parts next adjacent; and that they ſhould not be put to crave the ſame at the hands of any others. That the Benefices now vacant, or that have fallen void ſince the month of *March* 1558, and ſuch as ſhould happen thereafter to be void, ſhould be diſponed to perſons qualified for the Miniſtry upon trial and admiſſion by the Superintendents.

4. That no Biſhoprick, Abbacy, Priory, Deanry, Provoſtry, or other Benefice having more Churches than one annexed thereto, ſhould be diſponed in time coming to any one man, but that the Churches thereof being diſſolved, the ſame ſhould be provided to ſeveral perſons, ſo as every man having charge may ſerve at his own Church, according to his vocation. That Gleibs and Manſes might be deſigned for the reſidence of Miniſters, as likewiſe the Churches repair; and an Act made in the next Parliament to that effect.

5. That none ſhould be permitted to have charge of Schools, Colledges and Univerſities, or to inſtruct the youth either privately or publickly, till they were tried by the Superintendents in the Viſitation of the Churches, and after trial admitted to their Charge.

6. That all Lands founded of old to Hoſpitality ſhould be reſtored, and applied to the ſuſtentation of the poor; and that Lands, annual Rents, or other emoluments belonging ſometime to the Friers of whatſoever Order, as likewiſe the Annuities, Aultrages, Obits and other duties pertaining to Prieſts, be imployed to the ſame uſe, and to the upholding of Schools in the places where they lie.

7. That horrible crimes abounding in the Realm, ſuch as Idolatry, Blaſphemy of Gods Name, manifeſt Violation of the Sabbath or Lords day, Witchcraft, Sorcery and Inchantment, Adultery, Inceſt, open Whoredom, maintaining of Brothels, Murther, Slaughter, Theft, Reif and Oppreſſion, with all other deteſtable crimes, be ſeverely puniſhed, and Judges appointed in every Province for executing the ſame.

8. That ſome order ſhould be diviſed for the relief of the poor labourers of the ground,

ground, who are oppreſſed in their Tithes by Leaſes ſet over their heads, and they thereby forced to take unreaſonable conditions. *An.* 1564.

To theſe petitions the Queen made Anſwer by writing in this ſort. First, ſhe ſaid, *That where it was deſired that the Maſs ſhould be ſuppreſſed and aboliſhed as well in her Majeſties own Perſon and Family as amongſt the Subjects, her Highneſs did anſwer for her ſelf, that ſhe was no ways perſwaded that there was any Impiety in the Maſs; and truſted her Subjects would not preſs her to do againſt her Conſcience. For not to diſſemble, but to deal plainly with them,* ſhe ſaid, *ſhe neither might nor would forſake the Religion wherein ſhe had been educated and brought up, believing the ſame to be the true Religion, and grounded upon the Word of God. Beſides ſhe knew that if ſhe ſhould change her Religion, it would loſe her the Friendſhip of the King of* France, *and other great Princes her Friends and Confederates, upon whoſe diſpleaſure ſhe would be loth to hazard, knowing no friendſhip that might countervail theirs. Therefore deſired all her loving Subjects, who have had experience of her goodneſs, how ſhe had neither in times paſt nor yet in time coming did intend to force the Conſcience of any perſon, but to permit every one to ſerve God in ſuch manner as they are perſwaded to be the beſt, that they likewiſe would not urge her to any thing that ſtood not with the quietneſs of her Mind.* The Queens anſwer to the Petitions.

As for the eſtabliſhing the Religion in the body of the Realm, ſhe ſaid, *That they knew the ſame could not be done but by the conſent of the three Eſtates in Parliament: And how ſoon the ſame ſhould be convened, whatſoever the Eſtates did condeſcend unto, her Majeſty ſhould thereto agree; aſſuring them in the mean while, that none ſhould be troubled for uſing themſelves in Religion according to their Conſciences, and ſo ſhould have no cauſe to fear any peril to their lives or heritages.*

To the third and fourth Articles it was anſwered, *That her Majeſty did not think it reaſonable that ſhe ſhould defraud her ſelf of ſo great a part of the Patrimony of the Crown as to put the Patronages of Benefices forth of her own hands, ſeeing the publick neceſſities of the Crown did require a great part of the Rents to be ſtill retained. Notwithſtanding, her Majeſty was pleaſed, that her own neceſſity being ſupplied, after it ſhould be conſidered what might be a reaſonable ſuſtentation to the Miniſters, a ſpecial aſſignation ſhould be made to them forth of the neareſt and moſt commodious places, wherewith her Majeſty ſhould not intermeddle, but ſuffer the ſame to come to their uſe.*

Touching the ſuſtentation of the poor her Majeſty ſaid, *That her Liberality towards them ſhould be as far extended as with reaſon can be required.*

And for the reſt of the Articles, *Her Highneſs promiſed to do therein as the Eſtates convened in Parliament ſhould appoint.*

About the midſt of *July* (the diſpenſation of the Marriage being brought from *Rome*) the Queen was eſpouſed to the Lord *Darnly* after the Popiſh manner in the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, by the Dean of *Reſtalrig*; and the next day was he by the ſound of the Trumpet proclaimed King, and declared to be aſſociated with her in the Government. The Queen married to the Lord *Darnly*.

The diſcontented Lords ſent forth their complaints upon this, alledging, *That the Kingdom was openly wronged, the Liberties thereof oppreſſed, and a King impoſed upon the people without advice and conſent of the Eſtates (a thing not practiſed before at any time and contrary to the Laws and received cuſtom of the Country:) deſiring therefore all good Subjects to take the matter to heart, and joyn with them in reſiſting theſe beginings of Tyranny.* But few or none were thereby won to ſhew themſelves openly of their party, ſo as when the Queen with her Husband went againſt them, they left the Town of *Striveling*, where they firſt convened, and fled into *Paiſlay*. The complaints of the diſcontented Lords.

The King, to make himſelf more popular, and take from the Lords the pretext of Religion wherewith they coloured their deſigns, took purpoſe to go unto Saint *Giles* Church in *Edinburgh* and hear a Sermon. *John Knox* (either doubting his ſincerity, or favouring the faction of the Noblemen) fell upon him with a bitter reproof; for which being cited before the Queen and Council, he not only ſtood to that he had ſpoken, but added, *That as the King for her pleaſure had gone to Maſs, and diſhonoured the Lord God, ſo ſhould he in his Juſtice make her the inſtrument of his ruin.* The Queen, incenſed with this anſwer, burſt forth in tears: whereupon he The King heareth a Sermon at St. *Gilts*.

John Knox cited before the Council.

An. 1564. he was inhibited preaching by the Council, and silenced for some months. Mr. *John Craig* (who a little before was brought to *Edinburgh*) because of the prohibition given to his Collegue, refused to do any service there, which put the people in a stir; yet upon better advice he was moved to continue in his Charge.

The Lords pursued by the King and Queen.

In the end of *August* the King and Queen, accompanied with five thousand or thereabouts, went to *Glasgow* to pursue the Lords. They removing from *Paisly* to *Hamilton*, an Herald was sent thither to summon the Castle, which they denied to render, giving out that they would try the matter in battel the next day. But the manifold distractions amongst themselves did let this resolution, and divers falling away from their side, they went to *Edinburgh*, where supposing to find assistance, the Captain of the Castle forced them by his continual playing on the Town to quit it. After which they took their course to *Dumfreis*, allured by the fair promises of *John Maxwell* Lord *Hereis*.

A new Expedition upon this was concluded, and the Lieges warned to meet at *Bigger* the 9 of *October*: in the mid time the King and Queen, leaving the Earl of *Lenox* Lieutenant in the West parts, made a Progress through *Fife*, to punish those that had assisted the Lords. The Lairds of *Grainge*, *Balcomie*, *Pitmillie* and *Ramormie* were fugitive, some others of meaner sort taken prisoners, and the Towns of *Perth*, *Dundy* and St. *Andrews* fined in great sums. This done they returned to *Edinburgh*, and from thence went into *Dumfreis*, where the Lords had stayed all

The Lords flie into *England*.

that while: The Lord *Hereis* pretending to make their peace, concluded his own, advising them to fly into *England*, as they did. Thither went the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earl of *Murray*, *Glencarn* and *Rothes*, the Lord *Ochiltrie*, the Commendatory of *Kilwinning*, and divers others of good note. A few days they abode in *Carlile* with the Earl of *Bedford*, Lieutenant at that time in the North. Then

The Queen of *England* intercedeth for the Lords.

going to *Newcastle*, they sent the Earl of *Murray* to the *English* Court, to intreat the Queens intercession for them. She incontinent dispatched a Gentleman of her Privy-chamber, named *Tamerorth*, with Letters to the Queen of *Scots*, requesting that *Murray* and the rest might be received in favour. The Gentleman not vouchsafing to give her Husband the title of a King, nor bringing any Commission to him, was denied presence, and had his answer delivered him in writing to this effect: *That Queen* Elizabeth *should do well to have no medling with the Subjects of* Scotland, *but leave them to their Princes discretion, seeing neither she nor her Husband did trouble themselves with the causes of her Subjects.*

The Duke received in favour.

The Duke perceiving that by these means their peace would not be hastily made, and knowing his reconcilement to be more easie, resolved to sever his cause from the rest, and sent the Abbot of *Kilwinning* to entreat favour to himself and his friends: which he easily obtained, for he was known to be nothing so guilty as the others, and to have been craftily drawn upon that faction; so he returned into *Scotland*, in *December* following.

A general Assembly of the Church.

In this month a general Assembly of the Church convened again at *Edinburgh*, where the answer made by the Queen to their last Petitions was presented, and replied unto by the same Assembly in this manner. First, they said, *That it was no small grief to the hearts of good and Christian Subjects to hear, that notwithstanding the Evangel of Christ had been so long preached in the Realm, and his mercy so plainly offered, her Majesty should yet continue unperswaded of the truth of that Religion which they preached and professed, it being the same which Christ* Jesus *had revealed to the World, which he commanded his Apostles to preach, and ordained to be received of all the faithful, and firmly retained by them until his second Coming; a Religion that had God the Father, his only Son Christ* Jesus *and the Holy Spirit for the Authors thereof, and was most clearly grounded upon the Doctrine and practice as well of the Prophets as Apostles, which no other Religion upon the face of the earth could justifie, alledge or prove. For whatsoever assurance the Papist had or could alledge for his Profession, the same the* Turk *had for his Alcoran, and the* Jews *more probably might alledge for their Rites and Traditions, whether it be antiquity of time, or consent of people, or authority of Princes, or multitudes and number of Professors, or any the like cloaks they do pretend. Wherefore*

A reply to the answer of their last Petitions.

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in the Name of the eternal God (with the reverence that became them) they required her Highneſs to uſe the means whereby ſhe might be perſwaded of the Truth, ſuch as the Preaching of the Word of God, the ordinary mean that he hath appointed for working knowledge and begetting Faith in the hearts of his choſen ones, conference with learned men, and diſputation with the adverſaries, which they were ready to offer when and where her Grace ſhould think expedient. An. 1565.

Next, where ſhe could not believe any Impiety to be in the Maſs, they made offer *to prove the whole Maſs from the beginning to the ending to be nothing elſe but a maſs of impiety, and that the Prieſt his actions, the opinion which the hearers or rather the gazer upon it had of the ſame, were blaſphemous and groſly idolatrous.* And where her Majeſty ſaid, *ſhe would not hazard the diſpleaſure of the King of* France *and other Princes, with whom ſhe was confederated*; they to the contrary did aſſure her, *That true Religion is the only bond that joyneth men with God, who is the King of Kings, and hath the hearts of all Princes in his hands, whoſe favour ought to be unto her more precious than the favour of all the Princes on earth, and without which no friendſhip or confederacy could poſſibly endure.*

Thirdly, touching her anſwer to the Article for ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery, they ſhew, *It was never their meaning, that her Majeſty or any other Patron ſhould be defrauded of their juſt rights. Only they deſired, when any Benefice was void, that a qualified perſon ſhould be preſented to the Superintendent of the bounds, to be tried and examined by him. For as the Preſentation belongeth to the Patron, ſo doth the Collation belong to the Church. Otherwiſe, were it in the Patrons power ſimply to preſent whom they pleaſed, without trial or examination, there ſhould be no order in the Church, and all be filled with ignorance and confuſion.*

Fourthly, to that which her Majeſty ſpake of retaining a great part of the Benefices in her own hands, they anſwered, *That ſuch doing was againſt the Law both of God and man, and could not ſtand with a good Conſcience, ſeeing it tendeth to the deſtruction of many poor ſouls that by this means ſhould be defrauded of inſtruction.* And for the offer ſhe made to provide the Miniſtery by aſſignations in places moſt commodious, her own neceſſities being firſt ſupplied, they ſaid, *That good order did require Miniſters firſt to be provided, Schools for inſtructing the youth maintained, the fabrick of Churches repaired and upheld, and the poor and indigent members of Chriſt ſuſtained; all which ought to be furniſhed out of the Tithes, which are the proper Patrimony of the Church. Theſe things done, if any thing were remaining, that her Majeſty and Council might uſe it as they ſhould think expedient.* In end, giving thanks to her Majeſty for the offer of aſſignations, they humbly deſired the general offer to be made more particular, and that it might pleaſe her to reform the anſwer given to the Articles of the Church in all the aforeſaid points.

After this ſort did the Church inſiſt with the Queen, but with ſmall ſucceſs: for the proviſion of Miniſters ſome ſmall ſupply was obtained. But in the point of Religion they found no contentment. During the reſt of this Winter matters were quiet: but the next year had a foul beginning; *Seigneur Davie*, who governed all affairs at Court, had only the Queens ear, being ſlain upon the occaſion and after the manner you ſhall hear. There had fallen out a little before ſome private diſcontents betwixt the King and Queen, whereupon firſt ſhe cauſed change the order which was kept in the Proclamations and publick Records, placing the name of her Husband after her own name, that the Royal Authority might be known to belong unto her ſelf wholly. And after a little time, upon a colour that the diſpatch of buſineſs was much hindred through the Kings abſence, ſhe had appointed, in ſtead of his hand, a Cachet to be uſed in the ſigning of Letters, which was committed to the cuſtody of *Seigneur Davie*. This being noted (as there are never wanting ſome in Court to ſtir the coals) divers tales were brought to the King of the neglect and contempt that he was held in, and of the great reſpect carried to the Stranger. The vanity and arrogancy of the man himſelf was likewiſe ſo great, as not content to exceed the chief of the Court, he would outbrave the King in his apparel, in his domeſtick furniture, in the number and ſorts of his horſes, and in every thing elſe: ſo as no ſpeech was for the time more common and current in the Country, than

An. 1565. The ſlaughter of *Seigneur Davie* conſpired.

An. 1565. that of *Davie*'s greatneſs, of the credit and honour whereunto he was riſen, and of the ſmall account that was taken of the King. This the King taking in heart, he did open his grief unto his Father, who adviſed him to aſſure the Nobility at home, and to recall thoſe that were baniſhed into *England*; which done, he might eaſily correct the inſolency and aſpiring pride of that baſe fellow.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh* deſerted.

A Parliament being then called to meet at *Edinburgh* the 12 of *March*, for pronouncing ſentence of forfeiture againſt the Earls of *Murray*, *Glencarn*, *Argile*, *Rothes* and other Noblemen that were fled into *England*, as the time of meeting drew nigh, the Queen laboured earneſtly to have the Proceſs laid againſt them found good; and that matters might go to her mind, ſhe deſigned *Davie* to exerciſe the office of Chancellor in that meeting. The Earl of *Morton*, who after *Huntley*'s death had ſupplied the place unto that time, interpreted this as a diſgrace offered unto him, dealt with the King (with whom he was grown familiar) to make him ſenſible of his own contempt and miſregard; and finding him apprehenſive enough that way, drew him to a meeting in the Lord *Ruthvens* lodging, upon pretext of viſiting the Nobleman who lay then diſeaſed; where breaking forth in a ſpeech of the preſent Miſgovernment, the blame of all was caſt upon the King, as having for the pleaſure of a wicked Villain chaſed his Couſins and beſt friends out of the Realm, and helped to raiſe a baſe fellow to ſuch a height of credit, as now himſelf was become by him deſpiſed. The King, that could not deny it to be his fault in a great part, profeſſed his readineſs to joyn with them for remedying thoſe evils, and from thenceforth promiſed to do nothing but by the conſent of the Nobility. Yet they not eſteeming it ſafe to truſt his promiſes, whom they knew to be facile and ſomewhat uxorious, leſt afterwards he ſhould go from that agreement, did exhibit to him a Bond in writing, wherein they were all ſworn to joyn for maintaining Religion, reducing the Noblemen lately exiled, and making *Davie* out of the way. Unto this the King did wittingly ſet his hand, and with him ſubſcribed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay*, for he alſo was preſent and upon the plot.

The night following, becauſe matters could not be long kept cloſe, and needful it was to go preſently through with the deſign by reaſon of the Parliament approaching, they prepared to execute the ſame. *Morton*, whoſe forces were greateſt, was appointed to guard the outer Court of the Palace, if perhaps any ſtir ſhould be made. For there lodged within, the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol*, *Bothwell*, *Sutherland* and *Cathneſs*, with the Lords *Flemyn* and *Levingſton*, a force to have reſiſted any ſudden attempt. The King taking the Lord *Ruthven* with him, who was but lately recovered of a Feaver, and followed by four or five men at moſt, entered into the room where the Queen ſate at ſupper. *Ruthven* ſeeing *Davie* at the table (for the Queen was accuſtomed when ſhe ſupped private to admit others to ſit by her, and that night the Counteſs of *Argile*, and beneath her *Davie* was placed) commanded him to riſe and come forth, for the place where he ſate did not beſeem him.

The ſlaughter of *Davie*.

The Queen, ſtarting up haſtily, went between *Davie* and *Ruthven* to defend him; and *Davie* claſping his hands about her middle, the King laboured to looſe them, willing her not to be afraid, for that they were come only to take order with that Villain. Then was he dragged down the ſtairs to the gallery where *Morton* with his company was walking. There they fell upon him, and ſtriving who ſhould give the firſt ſtroak, killed him with many wounds.

Damiott a *French* Prieſt willed him to be gone.

It was conſtantly reported that he had warning given him oftner than once by *John Damiott* a *French* Prieſt, who was thought to have ſome skill in Magick, to do his buſineſs and be gone, for that he could not make good his part; and that he anſwered diſdainfully, *The* Scots *are given more to brag than to fight.* Some few days again before his death being warned by the ſame Prieſt to take heed of the baſtard, he replied, *That whilſt he lived, he ſhould not have credit in* Scotland *to do him any hurt.* For he took the Earl of *Murray* to be the man of whom he was adverſed to take heed. But that prediction either fulfilled or eluded, the firſt ſtroak was given him by *George Douglas*, baſe Son to the Earl of *Angus*; after whom ſuch others as were in place, either ſerving their private malice, or deſiring to be eſteemed aſſociates in that conſpiracy, inflicted every man his wound, till he was diſpatched:

diſpatched: yet had they no commandment from the contrivers ſo to kill him: it being their purpoſe to have brought him to publick execution, which they knew would have been to all the people a moſt grateful ſpectacle. And good it had been for them ſo to have done, or then to have taken him in another place, and at another time, than in the Queens preſence. For beſides the great peril of Abortion which her fear might have cauſed, the falſe aſperſions caſt upon her fame and honour by that occaſion were ſuch as ſhe could never digeſt, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that afterwards enſued. The Queen burſting forth in many tears, after a great chiding ſhe kept with the Lord *Ruthven*, ſent one of her Maids to enquire what was become of *Davie*; who quickly returning, told that he was killed; having asked her how ſhe knew it, the Maid anſwered that ſhe had ſeen him dead. Then the Queen wiping her eyes with her handkerchief, ſaid, *No more Tears; I will think upon a Revenge.* Neither was ſhe ſeen after that any more to lament. *An.* 1565.

The Queens behaviour after *Davie*'s murther.

The rumor of this deed ran ſoon through the Town, whereupon the people did arm, and go to the Palace. But they were pacified by the King, who calling to them from a window, ſhewed that the Queen and he were well, and that they needed not to fear, becauſe that which was done was done by his own commandment. The Noblemen that lodged within the Palace were charged to keep within their Chambers; yet the Lords *Huntley* and *Bothwell* eſcaped the ſame night by a window at the back of the Palace. *Athol* and the reſt had licence to depart the next morning. Upon *Tueſday* thereafter (for the ſlaughter was committed upon *Saturday* the ninth of *March*) the Earls of *Murray* and *Rothes*, with thoſe that were exiled in *England*, returned to *Edinburgh*; and going firſt to the Parliament-houſe, took documents, that they were ready to anſwer the ſummons of forfeiture directed againſt them, and that none did inſiſt to purſue.

The exiled Lords return.

In this doubtful eſtate of things the Queen, not knowing whom to truſt, ſent for her Brother the Earl of *Murray*, and having conferred familiarly a while with him, by his means had her ſervants and guards reſtored; for after the ſlaughter they were all put from her. The night following ſhe went from the Palace to *Seaton*, and from thence to *Dumbar*, taking the King with her in company; who repenting the fact, and forſaking the other Conſpirators, did openly by ſound of Trumpet at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh* proteſt his innocency, denying that ever he gave his conſent to any thing, but to the returning of the Lords that were baniſhed in *England*. Yet was the contrary known to all men, ſo as this ſerved only to the undoing of his reputation, and made him find few or no friends thereafter to aid him in his neceſſity.

The King proteſteth his innocency.

Upon the Queens departing the Conſpirators, and whoſoever were thought privy thereto, fled ſome to *England*, others to the borders and High-lands, and ſuch a change you ſhould have ſeen, as they who the night preceeding did vant of the fact as a goodly and memorable Act, affirming ſome truly, ſome falſely, that they were preſent thereat, did on the morrow forſwear all that before they had affirmed. The Earl of *Morton*, with the Lords *Ruthven*, *Lindeſay*, and young *Lethington*, remained at *Newcaſtle* in *England*, where the Lord *Ruthven* falling again in the Fever departed this life. M. *James Macgill*, Clerk of Regiſter, with divers Citizens of *Edinburgh* that were eſteemed favourers of the fact, left the Town, and lurked privately amongſt their friends. After ſome four days ſtay at *Dumbar* the Queen returned to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with many of the Nobility, and then began Inquiſition to be made for the Murtherers. *Thomas Scot* Sheriff depute of *Perth*, and ſervant to the Lord *Ruthven*, with Sir *Henry Tair*, ſometimes a Prieſt, being apprehended, were after trial hanged and quartered. *William Harlaw* and *John Mowbray*, Burgeſſes of *Edinburgh*, convicted and brought to the place of execution, had their lives ſpared by the interceſſion of *Bothwell*. The Lairds of *Calder*, *Ormeſton*, *Halton*, *Elphingſton*, *Brunſton*, *Whittingham*, *Shirrefhall*, and many others being cited, as conſcious of the murther, for not appearing were denounced Rebels. The office of the Clerk Regiſter was conferred upon Sir *James Balfour*, and a concluſion taken in council, that they who ſhould be tried to have either deviſed or to have been actual committers of the ſaid Murther, ſhould be purſued by order of Juſtice, and the ſame

The Conſpirators fly into *England*.

Inquiſition of the Murtherers.

An. 1566. executed with all ſeverity: but that the Commons and others that came to the Palace accidentally, ſhould upon their ſupplication be uſed with more clemency. In all this proceeding there was none more earneſt or forward than the King; notwithſtanding whereof the hatred of the fact lay heavy upon him, nor could he ever after this time recover his former favour with the Queen. The reſt after a little time were reconciled; *Lethington* by the means of *Athol* was firſt called home, albeit *Bothwell* did ſtrongly oppoſe it. The Barons addreſſed for themſelves, by means of their friends that were in credit. *Morton* and *Lindeſay* in the Winter following were pardoned at the requeſt of the Earls of *Huntley* and *Argile*.

The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* made choice of for the Queen her lying in.

Now the time of the Queens lying in drew nigh; whereupon the Council meeting to adviſe upon the place where her Majeſty ſhould ſtay, made choice of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, as the part moſt commodious, and ordained the Earl of *Arran*, who was there kept priſoner, to be removed to the Caſtle of *Hamilton*, with a liberty to travel by the ſpace of two miles about, providing he ſhould do nothing to the prejudice of his houſe, and enter himſelf unto 20 days warning in the Caſtles of *Edinburgh*, *Dumbar*, and *Dumbarton*, or any of them; for obſervance whereof the Earls of *Murray* and *Glencarn* became ſureties.

An. 1566. The Queen feaſts the Noblemen.

The Queen at her firſt entry into the Caſtle did feaſt the Nobility, and made them all friends. *Argile*, *Murray* and *Athol* had lodgings aſſigned them within the Caſtle; *Huntley*, *Bothwell*, and others of the Nobility remained in the Town. The 19 of *June*, betwixt nine and ten of the clock in the evening, ſhe was brought to bed of a Son, to the exceeding joy of the Subjects, for which the Nobles and whole people, aſſembled the next day in the Church of S. *Giles*, gave ſolemn thanks to God. Preſently was Sir *James Melvil* ſent to carry the news to the Queen of *England*, who to congratulate her ſafe and happy delivery ſent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to *Scotland* by Poſt. The Aſſembly of the Church convened the ſame time in *Edinburgh* ſent the Superintendent of *Lothian* to teſtifie their gladneſs for the Princes birth, and to deſire that he ſhould be baptized according to the form uſed in the Reformed Church. To this laſt ſhe gave no anſwer, otherwiſe the Superintendent and his Commiſſion were very graciouſly accepted. The Queen calling to bring the Infant, that the Superintendent might ſee him, he took him in his Arms, and falling upon his knees conceived a ſhort and pithy prayer, which was very attentively heard by her: having cloſed his prayer, he took the Babe, and willed him to ſay *Amen* for himſelf; which ſhe took in ſo good part, as continually afterwards ſhe called the Superintendent her *Amen*. This ſtory told to the Prince when he came to years of underſtanding, he alwaies called him his *Amen*; and whileſt he lived did reſpect and reverence him as his Spiritual Father.

The Queen delivered of a Son.

Sir *Henry Killigrew* ſent from *England*.

The deſire of the Church for the Baptiſm of the Prince.

The Queen goeth to *Alloway*.

The Queen waxing ſtrong went by water to *Alloway*, a Houſe pertaining to the Earl of *Marre*, and kept private a few days. In that place brake out firſt her diſpleaſure againſt the King her Husband; for he following her thither, was not ſuffered to ſtay, but commanded to be gone; and when at any time after he came to Court, his company was ſo loathſome unto her, as all men perceived ſhe had no pleaſure nor content in it: ſuch a deep indignation had poſſeſſed her mind, becauſe of the diſgrace offered to her in the ſlaughter of her Servant *Davie*, the envy whereof was all laid upon the King, as ſhe could never digeſt it.

Secretary *Lethington* foſtereth her Majeſties anger againſt the King.

Secretary *Lethington* (who by his ſubtle flatteries was crept again into favour) did wickedly foſter this paſſion, by putting in her head a poſſibility to divorce from the King, which he ſaid was an eaſie work, and a thing that might be done, only by abſtracting the Popes Diſpenſation of their Marriage, and the Earl *Bothwell* (a man ſold to all wickedneſs) did likewiſe by himſelf and by his inſtruments (of whom Sir *James Balfour* was the chief) take all occaſions to incenſe her, and by exaggerating the Kings ingratitude towards her, wrought her mind to an hatred implacable.

The Queen goeth to *Jedburgh*.

In the beginning of *October* the Queen went to *Jedburgh*, to keep ſome Juſtice Courts, where ſhe fell dangerouſly ſick: the King coming there to viſit her had no countenance given him, and was forced to depart. At her return from the Borders, being in *Craigmillar*, *Lethington* renewing the purpoſe of Divorce in the hearing of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, did perſuade her to take ſome courſe for her ſepara-

Lethington renewеth the purpoſe of Divorce.

tion

tion from the King, ſeeing they could not live together in *Scotland* with ſecurity. *An.* 1566. The Queen asking him how that could be done without ſome blemiſh to her honour: he replied, that none would think ill of her part therein, ſhe being ſo ungratefully uſed by him; but that all might know the murther of *Davie* to have been his fact, her Majeſty ſhould do well to pardon the Lords that were fled to *England*, and call them home. Nay, ſaid the Queen, I will rather have matters to continue as they are, till God remedy them. Yet within few days *Morton* and *Lindeſay* were recalled at the intreaty of the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, as was touched before.

Preparation for the Prince's Baptiſm.

Preparation was then making for the Baptiſm of the Prince, who about the end of *Auguſt* had been tranſported to *Striveling*. To honour this Solemnity the *Counte de Briance* was ſent Ambaſſadour from the *French* King, *Monſieur de Croke* from the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Earl of *Bedford* from the Queen of *England*, who brought with him a Font of gold weighing two ſtone weight, with a Baſon and Ewer for the Baptiſm. At the day appointed for the Solemnity (which was the fifteenth of *December*) they all convened in the Caſtle of *Striveling*. The Prince was carried by the *French* Ambaſſador, walking betwixt two ranks of Barons and Gentlemen that ſtood in the way from the Chamber to the Chappel, holding every one a proket of wax in their hands. The Earl of *Athol* went next to the *French* Ambaſſador, bearing the great ſierge of wax. The Earl of *Eglington* carried the Salt, the Lord *Semple* the Cude, and the Lord *Roſs* the Baſon and Ewer: all theſe were of the *Roman* profeſſion. In the entry of the Chappel the Prince was received by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, whoſe Collaterals were the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Dumblane*, and *Roſs*: there followed them the Prior of *Whithern*, ſundry Deans and Archdeans, with the Gentlemen of the Chappel, in their ſeveral Habits and Copes. The Counteſs of *Argile* by Commiſſion from the Queen of *England* did hold up the Prince at the Font, where the Archbiſhop did adminiſter the Baptiſm with all Ceremonies accuſtomed in the *Roman* Church, the Spittle excepted, which the Queen did inhibit. The Earl of *Bedford* entered not in the Chappel during the ſervice: and without the doors ſtood all the Noblemen profeſſors of the Reformed Religion. The Rites performed, the Prince was proclaimed by his name and Titles, *CHARLES JAMES*, *Prince and Stewart of* Scotland, *Duke of* Rotheſay, *Earl of* Carrick, *Lord of the Iſles, and Baron of* Renfrew. Then did the Muſick begin, which having continued a good ſpace, the Prince was again conveyed to his chamber.

The King withheld from the Solemnity.

It was night before the Solemnity took end, for it was done in the afternoon, the Feaſting and triumphal Sports that followed were kept ſome daies with exceeding coſt and magnificence; yet the content the people received thereby was nothing ſo great as their offence for the Kings neglect, for neither was he admitted to be preſent at the Baptiſm, nor ſuffered to come unto the Feaſt. To ſome his ill diſpoſition was given for an excuſe; others more ſcornfully were told that his faſhioners had not uſed the diligence they ought in preparing his apparel. Meanwhile the Ambaſſadors had a watchword given them, not to ſee nor ſalute him. And ſuch of the Nobility as were known to bear him any favour, or out of their compaſſion did vouchſafe him a viſit, were frowned upon by the Court. His Father advertiſed of theſe things, ſent for him to come unto *Glaſgow*, where he then remained; but ſcarce was he paſt a mile from *Striveling*, when a vehement pain ſeiſed on all the parts of his body, which at his coming to *Glaſgow* was manifeſtly perceived to proceed of poiſon that treacherouſly had been miniſtred unto him: for through all his body brake out bliſters of a blewiſh colour, with ſuch a dolour and vexation in all his parts, as nothing but death was a long time expected. Yet his youth and natural ſtrength vanquiſhing the force of the poiſon, he began a little to convaleſce, and put his enemies to other ſhifts, wherein ſhortly after (but to their own undoing) they prevailed.

The King falleth ſick in the way to *Glaſgow*.

The report of what paſſed at *Striveling* coming to *Edinburgh*, where the Aſſembly of the Church was then gathered, did greatly offend the better ſort; yet nothing grieved them ſo much, as a Commiſſion granted to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, whereby he was reponed to his ancient juriſdiction in confirming Teſtaments, giving

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* reſtored to his priviledges.

An. 1566. ving collation to Benefices, and other ſuch things as were judged in the Spiritual Courts. The Aſſembly taking this greatly to heart, ordained a Supplication to be made to the Nobility and Lords of ſecret Council, *profeſſing Chriſt with them, and who had renounced the Roman Antichriſt* (I uſe the words of the Superſcription) for impeding the ſaid Commiſſion, and letting it to take effect. In this Supplication they ſaid, 'That the cauſes judged in theſe Courts did for the moſt part pertain 'to the true Church; and that howſoever, in hope of ſome good effect to have fol- 'lowed, the Church had overſeen the Commiſſion granted by the Queen in theſe 'matters to men who for the greater number were of their own Profeſſion, they 'would never be content that he, whom they knew to be an enemy to Chriſt and 'his Truth, ſhould exerce that juriſdiction, ſeeing under the colour thereof he 'might uſurp again his own authority, and take upon him the judgment of Here- 'ſie, in which caſe none could be ignorant what his ſentence could be: wherefore 'their deſire was, the Queen ſhould be informed that this was a violation of the 'Laws of the Realm, and the ſetting up again of the *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe 'Authority and uſurped power in an open and free Parliament had been con- 'demned, which her Majeſty alſo at her firſt arriving in this Realm, and ſince that 'time by divers Proclamations, had expreſly forbidden to be acknowledged. 'Hereof, they ſaid, if their honours ſhould plainly and boldly admoniſh the 'Queen, uſing that reverence which was due from Subjects, and doing nothing 'in a tumult, they did perſwade themſelves ſhe would do nothing againſt Juſtice, 'and that ſuch Tyrants ſhould not dare once to appear in judgment. But howſo- 'ever matters went they humbly craved to underſtand their minds, and what 'they would do, if it ſhould happen ſuch wolves to invade the flock of Chriſt. This the ſum of the Supplication. I find not what anſwer it received, nor that the Biſhop made any uſe of his Commiſſion; but the change it ſeems which ſhortly after happened in the State did quite fruſtrate the ſame.

The Churches complaint for the ſame.

Maſter *Knox* goeth into *England*.

Maſter *Knox* being licenſed at this time to viſit his Sons who were following their ſtudies at *Cambridge*, did move the Aſſembly to write unto the Biſhops of *England* in favour of ſome Preachers, who were troubled for not conforming themſelves to the Orders of that Church. Becauſe it will appear by the Letters in what eſteem our Reformers did hold the Church of *England*, and how far they were from accounting the Government thereof Antichriſtian, I thought meet to inſert the ſame word by word.

A Letter from the Aſſembly of the Church to the Biſhops of *England*.

The Superintendents, Miniſters and Commiſſioners of the Church within the Realm of Scotland, *to their Brethren the Biſhops and Paſtors of* England, *who have renounced the* Roman *Antichriſt, and do profeſs with them the Lord* Jeſus *in ſincerity, wiſh the increaſe of the holy Spirit.*

'BY word and writing it is come to our knowledge, Reverend Paſtors, that 'divers of our brethren (amongſt whom ſome be of the beſt learned with- 'in that Realm) are deprived from all Eccleſiaſtical function, and forbidden 'to preach, and ſo by you are ſtayed to promove the Kingdom of *Jeſus* 'Chriſt, becauſe their Conſcience will not ſuffer them to take upon them at the 'commandment of the Authority ſuch Garments as Idolaters in time of blindneſs 'have uſed in their idolatrous ſervice; which rumor cannot but be moſt dolorous 'to our hearts, conſidering the ſentence of the Apoſtle, *If ye bite and devour one* 'another, *take heed ye be not conſumed one of another.* We purpoſe not at the pre- 'ſent to enter into the Queſtion, which we hear is agitated with greater vehemen- 'cy by either party than well liketh us, to wit, whether ſuch apparel is to be ac- 'counted amongſt things indifferent or not: But in the bowels of *Jeſus* Chriſt 'we crave, that Chriſtian charity may ſo far prevail with you, that are the Pa- 'ſtors and guides of Chriſts Flock in that Realm, as ye do not to others that which 'ye would not others did unto you.

'Ye

'Ye cannot be ignorant how tender a thing Conſcience is, and all that have *An.* 1566.
'knowledge are not alike perſwaded: your Conſcience ſtirs not with the wea-
'ring of ſuch things, but many thouſands both godly and learned are otherwiſe
'perſwaded, whoſe Conſciences are continually ſtricken with theſe ſentences;
'*What hath Chriſt to do with* Belial? *what fellowſhip is there betwixt light and*
'*darkneſs?* If Surplice, Corner-cap and Tippet have been the badges of Idolaters
'in the very act of their Idolatry, what have the Preachers of Chriſtian liberty
'and the rebukers of Superſtition to do with the dregs of that *Roman* Beaſt? yea,
'what is he that ought not to fear, either to take in his hand or forehead the print
'and mark of that odious Beaſt?

'Our brethren that refuſe ſuch unprofitable apparel do neither damn nor mo-
'leſt you who uſe ſuch vain trifles: if ye ſhall do the like to them, we doubt not
'therein you ſhall pleaſe God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are woun-
'ded with the extremity uſed againſt thoſe godly brethren. Colour of Rhetorick
'or humane perſwaſion we uſe none, but charitably we deſire you to call to mind
'the ſentence of S. *Peter, Feed the Flock of God which is committed to your charge,*
'*caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not as being Lords of God heritage,*
'*but being examples to the Flock.* We farther deſire you to meditate upon that
'ſentence of the Apoſtle, *Give not offence, either to the Jews, or to the Grecians,*
'*or to the Church of God.* In what condition ye and we both travel for the pro-
'moving of Chriſts Kingdom, ye are not ignorant; therefore we are the more
'bold to exhort you to deal more wiſely than to trouble the godly with ſuch va-
'nities. For all things which ſeem lawful edifie not. If the commandment of the
'Authority urge the Conſciences of you and your brethren farther than they can
'bear, we pray you remember that ye are called *the Light of the world, and*
'*the Salt of the earth.* All Civil Authority hath not ever the light of God ſhining
'before their eyes in their Statutes and Commandments, but their affections ſavour
'too much ſometimes of the earth, and of worldly wiſdom. Therefore we think
'that ye ought boldly oppone your ſelves, not only to all power that dare extol
'it ſelf againſt God, but alſo againſt all ſuch as dare burthen the Conſciences of
'the faithful, farther than God hath burthened them in his own Word.

'But we muſt confeſs our offence, in that we have entred in reaſoning far-
'ther than we purpoſed and promiſed in the beginning: Now therefore we return
'to our former humble ſupplication, which is, that our brethren who amongſt you
'refuſe theſe *Romiſh* rags may find of you, who are Prelates, ſuch favour, as our
'Head and Maſter commandeth every one of his members to ſhew to another:
'which we look to receive from your humanity, not only becauſe ye will not of-
'fend Gods Majeſty in troubling of your brethren for ſuch vain trifles, but alſo
'becauſe ye will not refuſe the humble requeſt of us your brethren and fellow-
'Preachers; in whom albeit there appear no worldly Pomp, yet we ſuppoſe ye
'will not ſo far deſpiſe us, but that ye will eſteem us in the number of thoſe that
'fight againſt the *Roman* Antichriſt, and travel that the Kingdom of *Jeſus* Chriſt
'may be every where advanced. The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, and cha-
'rity (alas!) is waxed cold: therefore ought we to watch the more diligent-
'ly, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jeſus ſhall appear; before whom ye,
'your brethren and we muſt give an account of our adminiſtration. And thus in
'concluſion we once again crave favour to our brethren; which granted, ye ſhall
'command us in the Lord things of double more importance. The Lord *Jeſus*
'rule your hearts in his true fear unto the end, and give unto you and us victory
'over that conjured enemy of all true Religion, the *Roman* Antichriſt, whoſe woun-
'ded head Satan by all means laboureth to cure again; but to deſtruction ſhall he
'and all his maintainers go by the power of our Lord *Jeſus*, to whoſe mighty pro-
'tection we heartily commit you. From our General Aſſembly at *Edinburgh* the
'twenty ſeventh of *December*, 1566.

Aſſignation of Miniſters Stipends.

To quiet the Miniſters, who were daily complaining of their lack of proviſion, the Court made offer to the ſame Aſſembly of certain Aſſignations for their preſent relief; which were accepted under proteſtation, that the ſame ſhould not prejudge

An. 1566. judge their right to the Tithes, nor be accompted as a ſatisfaction for the ſame. For theſe they held to be the proper Patrimony of the Church, and ſo juſtly belonging thereto, as that they ought not to be paid to any others, under whatſoever colour or pretext. But this proteſtation availed not, only it ſheweth what was the judgment of the Church in that time concerning Tithes.

The Queen viſiteth the King at *Glaſgow*.

The Queen in *January* following went to viſit the King, who lay ſick at *Glaſgow*. After ſome complainings he made of her unkindneſs, and a little chiding they kept for diſcontents paſſed, they did ſo lovingly reconcile, as the King, though he was not as yet fully recovered, was content to be tranſported to *Edinburgh*, and had a lodging prepared in a remote place of the Town, for his greater quiet, as was pretended. But he had not ſtayed there a fortnight, when *Bothwell*, having conſpired his murther, did come upon him in the night, as he lay aſleep, and ſtrangled him with one of his cubiculars that lay in the chamber by him. The Murther committed, the two Corpſes were carried forth at a gate in the Town wall, and laid in an Orchard near by, and thereafter the houſe blown up with powder; the noiſe whereof did awake thoſe that were ſleeping in the fartheſt parts of the Town. The Queen not gone as yet unto her reſt, convened the Noblemen that lodged within the Palace, and by their advice ſent *Bothwell* with ſome others to enquire what the matter was (for he was returned to his chamber before the blowing up of the houſe, having left ſome to fire the train when he was paſt and gone away.) Many of all ſorts did accompany him to the place, where finding the body of the King naked, only the upper part covered with his ſhirt, the reſt of his apparel and even his pantofles near by him, each one making a ſeveral conjecture, *Bothwell* would have it believed, that the violence of the powder had carried his body forth at the roof of the houſe unto that place: but this was againſt all ſenſe, for not a bone of his whole body was either broken or bruiſed, which muſt needs have been after ſuch a violent fall. Nor could it be perceived that either the corps or garments were once touched with the powder. So it was manifeſt that his body and all were laid there by the hands of men. *Bothwell* returning, ſhewed the Queen what a ſtrange thing had happened, admired how it could be, and who they were committed the Murther. She hearing it, retired to a private room, and went preſently to bed.

He cometh to *Edinburgh*, and there is murthered by *Bothwell*.

A rumour diſperſed by *Bothwell*, that *Murray* and *Morton* had murthered the King.

Now he had provided ſome to carry the news unto the Borders, and to give out that the Earls of *Murray* and *Morton* were the chief contrivers of the Murther: which rumour went current in *England* for a while. Yet ere a long time paſſed all was laid open, and he known to have been the principal actor himſelf. Proclamations were made promiſing large ſums of money to thoſe that would detect the Murtherers: whereunto the next night by a Placard affixed on the Market-Croſs anſwer was made, *That if the money ſhould be conſigned in the hands of an indifferent perſon, the Murtherers ſhould be revealed, and the delator ſet to his name, and juſtifie his accuſation.* No notice being taken of this offer, voices were heard in the dark of the night, crying, that *Bothwell* had murthered the King: ſome drawing his pourtraict to the life, ſet above it this ſuperſcription, *Here is the Murtherer of the King*, and threw the ſame into the ſtreets. And there were ſome that in all the publick places of the Town affixed the names of the Murtherers, the principal as well as the acceſſaries. For the principal they named *Bothwell*; as acceſſaries, Sir *James Balfour*, and *Gilbert Balfour* his Brother, Mr. *David Chalmours* Black, Mr. *John Spence*, *Seigneur Francis Sebaſtian*, *John de Burdeaux*, and *Joſeph* the Brother of *Davie*; which laſt four were of the Queens houſhold. Theſe things did ſo offend the Court, as neglecting the trial of the Murther, they fell to the drawers of theſe Pourtraicts and the authors of the Libels. All the Painters and Writers were called for dignoſcing the letters and draughts: when nothing could be tried, to provide for afterwards againſt the like, by a new Edict it was made capital to diſperſe Libels for defaming any perſon in that ſort, and to have, keep or read any ſuch that ſhould happen to be affixed, or caſt into the ſtreets.

The names of the Murtherers caſt forth in the ſtreet.

The Earl of *Lenox* ſolicit-eth the Queen to take trial of the Murther.

The Earl of *Lenox*, whileſt theſe things were a doing, ceaſed not to ſolicit the Queen by his Letters for taking trial of the Murther, without delaying the ſame unto the time of Parliament, as ſhe had purpoſed. Particularly he deſired the Earl

of

of *Bothwell*, and others named in the Libels and Placard affixed on the door of the Senate-house, to be apprehended, and the Nobility assembled for their examination. *Bothwell*, perceiving that he was now openly attached, did offer himself to trial, for which the 12th of *April* was assigned, and the Earl of *Lenox* cited by the Justice to pursue according to the delation he had made. In the mean time to fortifie himself, he got the Castle of *Edinburgh* in his custody, upon the Earl of *Marre* his resignation, placing therein Sir *James Balfour*, whom he especially trusted. The Earl of *Marre* for his satisfaction had the Prince delivered in his keeping, and carried unto *Striveling*, where the Earl then lay heavily sick. *An.* 1567.

The Castle of *Edinburgh* delivered to *Bothwell*, and the Prince delivered to the Earl of *Marre*.

The Diet appointed for the Trial being come, and the Court fenced as use is, *Bothwell* was empannelled. The Earl of *Lenox* being called, compeired *Robert Cuningham*, one of his domesticks, who presented in writing the Protestation following. *My Lords, I am come hither sent by my Master, my Lord of* Lenox, *to declare the cause of his absence this day, and with his power, as my Commission beareth. The cause of his absence is the shortness of time, and that he could not have his friends and servants to accompany him to his honour, and for the security of life, as was needful in respect of the greatness of his party. Therefore his Lordship hath commanded me to desire a competent day, such as he may keep, and the weight of the cause requireth; otherwise, if your Lordships will proceed at this present, I protest, that I may use the charge committed to me by my Lord my Master, without the offence of any man. This is, that if the persons who pass upon the Assize and enquest of these that are entered on pannel this day, shall cleanse the said persons of the Murther of the King, that it shall be wilful errour, and not ignorance, by reason it is notoriously known that these persons did commit that odious Murther, as my Lord my Master alledgeth. And upon this my Protestation, I require an instrument.*

Bothwell put to a trial.

Robert Cuningham protesteth against the proceedings in the name of the Earl of *Lenox*.

The Justice by the advice of the Noblemen and Barons appointed to assist in that judgment did, notwithstanding the said Protestation, grant process, whereupon the Noblemen chosen for the Jury were called. These were *Andrew* Earl of *Rothes*, *George* Earl of *Cathnes*, *Gilbert* Earl of *Cassils*, Lord *John Hamilton* Commendator of *Aberbrothock*, *James* Lord *Ross*, *Robert* Lord *Semple*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *John* Lord *Hereis*, *Laurence* Lord *Oliphant*, *John* Master of *Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Lochinvar*, *Langton*, *Cambusnetham*, *Barnbowgall*, and *Boyne*. The Earl of *Cassils* excused himself, offering the penalty which by the Law they pay that refuse to pass upon Assize, but could not obtain himself freed, the Queen threatning to commit him in prison; and when he seemed nothing terrified therewith, commanding him under pain of Treason to enter and give his Judgment with the rest. Thus were they all sworn and admitted, as the manner is: After which *Bothwell* being charged with the Inditement, and the same denied by him, they removed forth of the Court to consult together; and after a little time returning, by the mouth of the Earl of *Cathnes* their Chancellor, declared him acquit of the Murther of the King, and of all the points contained in the Inditement, with a protestation, *That seeing neither her Majesties Advocate had insisted in the pursuit, nor did* Robert Cuningham, *Commissioner for the Earl of* Lenox, *bring any evidence of* Bothwell's *guiltiness, neither yet was the Inditement sworn by any person, and that they had pronounced according to their knowledge, it should not be imputed to them as wilful error which they had delivered.* Mr. *David Borthwick* and Mr. *Edmund Hay*, who in the entry of the Court were admitted as his Prolocutors, ask'd Instruments upon the Jury's declaration: so he went from that Court absolved, yet the suspicions of the people were nothing diminished. And some indeed were of opinion, that the Judges could give no other deliverance, nor find him guilty of the Inditement as they had formed it; seeing he was accused of a Murther committed on the 9 day of *February*, whereas the King was slain upon the 10 of that month. But he for a farther clearing of himself set up a paper in the most conspicuous place of the Market, bearing, That albeit he had been acquitted in a lawful Justice-court of that odious crime laid unto his charge; yet to make his Innocency the more manifest, he was ready to give trial of the same in single combat with any man of honourable birth and quality that would accuse him of the Murther of the King. The next day in

The persons chused upon the Jury.

Bothwell acquitted with a protestation of the Jury.

Bothwell offereth to try his Innocency by combat.

An. 1567. in the ſame place, by another writing, anſwer was made, that the Combat ſhould be accepted, ſo as a place were deſigned wherein without danger the undertaker might profeſs his name.

The offer accepted upon ſecurity of the place.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh.*

The 13 of *April* a Parliament was kept for reſtoring the Earl of *Huntley* and others to their eſtates and honours, which was not as yet done with the ſolemnity requiſite. In this Parliament the Commiſſioners of the Church made great inſtance for ratifying the Acts concluded in favour of the true Religion, yet nothing was obtained; the Queen anſwering, that the Parliament was called for that only buſineſs, and that they ſhould have ſatisfaction given them at ſome other time. The Parliament being broke up, *Bothwell* inviting the Noblemen to ſupper did liberally feaſt them; and after many thanks for their kindneſs, fell in ſome ſpeeches for the Queens marriage, ſhewing the hopes he had to compaſs it, ſo as he might obtain their conſents. Some few to whom he had imparted the buſineſs before-hand made offer of their fartherance; the reſt fearing to refuſe, and ſuſpecting one another, ſet all their hands to a Bond, which he had ready formed to that purpoſe.

Bothwell ſeeketh the conſent of the Lords of the Queens Marriage.

He raviſheth the Queen in her return from *Striveling.*

A few days after, feigning an expedition into *Liddiſdale*, he gathered ſome forces, and meeting the Queen on the way as he returned from *Striveling*, whither ſhe had gone to viſit her Son, he took her by way of rape and led her to the Caſtle of *Dumbar.* No men doubted but this was done by her own liking and conſent; yet a number of Noblemen convening at *Striveling*, leſt they ſhould ſeem deficient in any ſort of their duties, ſent to ask whether or not ſhe was there willingly detained: for if ſhe was kept againſt her will, they would come with an Army and ſet her at liberty. She anſwered, *That it was againſt her will that ſhe was brought thither, but that ſince her coming ſhe had been uſed ſo courteouſly, as ſhe would not remember any more that injury.*

His deſign in committing this Rape.

Now this Rape (as afterwards came to be known) was deviſed to ſecure the Murtherers of the King. For it being held ſufficient by a cuſtome commonly received, that in remiſſions granted for crimes committed, the moſt hainous fact being particularly expreſſed, others of leſs moment might be comprehended in general words, they were adviſed to paſs a remiſſion for violence offered to the Queen, and the laying of hands upon her perſon, then to ſubjoin, [*And for all other crimes and nefarious acts whatſoever:*] under which clauſe they eſteemed the Murther of the King might be compriſed, which otherwiſe was neither ſafe for them to expreſs, nor could the Queen with her honour pardon. Thus did they think both that *Bothwell* himſelf ſhould be ſecured, and ſafety to all his partakers in the Murther.

Bothwell his divorce from his wife.

Whilſt the Queen was detained at *Dumbar*, a divorce was ſued for *Bothwell* from Lady *Jeane Gordon* his Wife in two ſeveral Courts. In the one ſate, by Commiſſion from the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Robert* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *William* Biſhop of *Dumblane*, Mr. *Archibald Crawford* Parſon of *Egilſham*, Mr. *John Manderſton* Canon of the Colledge Church of *Dumbar*, Mr. *Alexander Chrichton* and Mr. *George Cook*, Canons of the Church of *Dunkeld*; In the other Court Mr. *Robert Maitland*, Mr. *Edward Henryſon*, Mr. *Alexander Sim*, and Mr. *Clement Little* Judges conſtitute by the Queens authority in all cauſes Conſiſtorial: and in both Courts was the ſentence of Divorce pronounced, but upon divers grounds. In the Archbiſhops Court ſentence was pronounced upon the Conſanguinity ſtanding betwixt *Bothwell* and his Wife at the time of her Marriage, they mutually attinging others in the fourth degree, and no diſpenſation granted by the Pope for conſummating the ſame. In the other Court the ſentence was grounded upon Adultery committed by him, which theſe Judges held to be the only lawful cauſe of divorce. Both the proceſſes were poſted, and ſuch feſtination made in them, as in the ſpace of ten days they were begun and concluded.

The Queen cometh to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh.*

The Divorce paſſed, the Queen came to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the next morning *Bothwell* ſent to ask his Banes with the Queen. The Reader *John Cairnes*, whoſe office it was, did ſimply refuſe; thereupon Mr. *Thomas Hepburn* was directed to the Miniſter Mr. *John Craig*, to deſire him to publiſh the ſame. The Miniſter likewiſe refuſing, as having no warrant from the Queen, and for that the rumour went that ſhe was raviſhed and kept captive by *Bothwell*, upon wedneſday thereafter

ter the Juſtice Clerk came unto him with a Letter ſigned by the Queen, wherein ſhe declared that ſhe was neither raviſhed nor detained captive, and therefore willed him to publiſh the Banes. His anſwer was, *that he could ask no Banes, eſpecially ſuch as theſe were, without the knowledge and conſent of the Church.* The matter being motioned in the Seſſion of the Church, after much reaſoning kept with the Juſtice Clerk, it was concluded that the three next preaching days the Queens mind ſhould be intimated to the people. *An.* 1567. The Banes of *Bothwell* with the Queen asked.

The Miniſter proteſted, *that in obeying their deſire it ſhould be lawful to him to declare his own mind touching the Marriage, and that he ſhould not be tied by that asking of their Banes to ſolemnize the ſame.* The firſt preaching day falling to be *Friday*, in the hearing of divers Noblemen and Counſellors he ſhewed what he was enjoyned to do; *That he held the Marriage betwixt the Queen and* Bothwell *unlawful, whereof he would give the reaſons to the parties themſelves, if he might have hearing: and if this was denied*, he ſaid, *that he would either ceaſe from proclaiming their Banes, or declare the cauſe of his diſallowance in the hearing of all the people.* Mr. *John Craig* proteſted.

The ſame day at afternoon being called before the Council, and required by *Bothwell* to ſhew what reaſon he had to oppoſe his Marriage, he anſwered, *Firſt, that the Church had in the laſt Aſſembly inhibited the Marriage of perſons divorced for Adultery.* Next he alledged *the Divorce from his Wife to have proceeded upon colluſion betwixt them, which appeared*, as he ſaid, *by the precipitation of that ſentence, and the Contract made ſo ſuddenly after his Divorce with the Queen.* Thirdly, he laid to his charge *the Rape of the Queen, and the ſuſpicion of the Kings Murther, which that Marriage would confirm.* For theſe reaſons he moſt gravely admoniſhed him *to ſurceaſe and leave that courſe, as he would eſchew the wrath and indignation of Almighty God.* He deſired alſo the Lords preſent to advertiſe the Queen of the infamy and diſhonour that would fall upon her by that Match, and to uſe their beſt means to divert her from it. Mr. *Craig* called before the Council with the reaſons of his oppoſition.

The *Sunday* following publickly he declared what he had ſpoken in Council, and that it ſeemed to him they would proceed in the Marriage, what miſchief ſoever ſhould enſue. *For himſelf*, he ſaid, *that he had already liberated his Conſcience, and yet again would take Heaven and earth to record, that he abhorred and deteſted that Marriage as ſcandalous and hateful in the ſight of the world. But ſeeing the great ones, as he perceived, did approve it, either by their flattery or by their ſilence, he would beſeech the faithful to pray fervently unto God, that he might be pleaſed to turn that which they intended, againſt Law, Reaſon and good Conſcience, to the comfort and benefit of the Church and Realm.* Theſe ſpeeches offended the Court extremely; therefore they ſummoned him to anſwer before the Council, for paſſing the bounds of his Commiſſion. *For the bounds*, ſaid he, *of my Commiſſion, they are the Word of God, good Laws, and natural Reaſon; and by all three I will make good that this Marriage, if it proceed, will be hateful and ſcandalous to all that ſhall hear of it.* As he was proceeding in his diſcourſe, *Bothwel* commanded him ſilence, and thus was he dimitted. His publication thereof to the people.

Not the leſs of this oppoſition the Marriage went on, and was celebrated the 15 of *May* by *Adam* Biſhop of *Orkney*, in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, after the manner of the Reformed Church. Few of the Nobility were preſent (for the greater part did retire themſelves to their houſes in the Country) and ſuch as remained were noted to carry heavy countenances. *Monſieur le Crock* the Ambaſſador, being deſired to the Feaſt, excuſed himſelf, thinking it did not ſort with the dignity of his Legation to approve the Marriage by his preſence which he heard was ſo univerſally hated. His Maſter the *French* King, as likewiſe the Queen of *England*, had ſeriouſly diſſwaded the Queen from the ſame by their Letters: but ſhe, led by the violence of paſſion, and abuſed by the treacherous counſel of ſome about her, who ſought only their own ends, would hearken to no advice given her to the contrary. Yet was it no ſooner finiſhed than the ill fruits thereof began to break out: for the wonted acclamations and good wiſhes of the people were no more heard when ſhe came in publick; and divers that had ſet their hands and ſeals to the Marriage, fell now openly to condemn it, as that which miniſtred too juſt a ſuſpicion that ſhe was conſenting to the death of the King her Husband. The Marriage of the Queen with *Bothwell* celebrated.

The

An. 1567. The Earl of *Athol* immediately after the Murther of the King had forsaken the Court, and lived at home, waiting some occasion to be revenged of the doers; and now esteeming it fit to shew himself, he came to *Striveling*, where, in a meeting of Noblemen that were desired to come thither, upon his motion a Bond was made for the preservation of the young Prince, lest *Bothwell* getting him in custody, should make him away; as no man doubted he would, as well to advance his own Succession, as to cut off the innocent child, who in all probability would one day revenge his Fathers death.

The Noblemens bond for preservation of the young Prince.

The principals of this Combination were the Earls of *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarne*, with the Lords *Lindesay* and *Boyd*. But *Argile* out of a facility (which was natural unto him) detected all their counsels to the Queen; and the Lord *Boyd* with great promises was won to the adverse party. *Bothwell* suspecting some Insurrection, adviſed the Queen, for saving her Reputation in forein parts, to acquaint the *French* King and her kinsmen of the House of *Guise* with her Marriage, and the reasons thereof, desiring them, sith that which was done could not be again undone, to favour her Husband no less than they did her self. And to this effect the Bishop of *Dumblane* was sent into *France*, with Letters to all her friends.

The Bishop of *Dumblane* sent to *France*.

Neither did he omit to do at home what he thought might serve to fortifie himself; for divers Noblemen and Barons were invited to Court, and at their coming solicited to enter into Bond for the defence of the Queen and *Bothwell*, who should on the other part be obliged to protect them in all their affairs. Some of these being wrought to the purpose did set their hands willingly to the Bond: the rest, though they would gladly have shunned it, yet because they held it dangerous to refuse, subscribed in like sort. Only the Earl of *Murray*, of all that were called, denied *to enter in any Bond with the Queen*; it being *neither lawful for him*, as he said, *nor honourable for her, whom in all things it was his duty to obey.* Concerning *Bothwell* he said, that *he was reconciled unto him by the Queens mediation, and would faithfully keep all that he had promised: but to enter in Bond with him or any other, he did not think it the part of a good subject.* Shortly after this he obtained leave, howbeit not without some difficulty, to go into *France*; for he saw Troubles breeding, in which he loved not to have an hand.

Noblemen solicited to enter into Bond with the Queen and *Bothwell*.

The Earl of *Murray* refused, and is licensed to go into *France*.

How soon he was gone choice was made of a new Council, and the Archbishop of St. *Andrews*, with the Lords *Oliphant* and *Boyd*, received into the number: for their better and more easie attendance, they had their times of waiting particularly assigned.

The Queen maketh choice of a Council.

The Earls of *Crawford*, *Arroll* and *Cassils*, with the Bishop of *Ross* and the Lord *Oliphant*, were appointed to begin, and attend from the 1 of *June* to the 16 of *July*. The Earls of *Morton* and *Rothes*, with the Bishop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Fleming*, were to succeed, and remain from the 16 of *July* to the penult of *August*. After them the Archbishop of S. *Andrews*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Cathnes*, with the Lord *Hereis*, to the 15 of *October*. And from that day to the 1 of *December*, the Earl of *Huntley* (who was then created Chancellor) the Earls of *Atholl*, *Marshall* and Lord *Boyd* were appointed to wait. At which time *Crawford* and *Arroll* were again to begin, and the rest to follow in their order for the same space. So as during the whole year the Counsellors should be tied to the attendance of 3 months only. It was alwaies provided, that so many of the forenamed persons as happened to be at Court should, during their abode, notwithstanding of their several assignments, be present with the others; and that it should be lawful for the Queen to adjoyn at any time such as she thought worthy of that honour. The same day a Proclamation was given out, *Declaring all Writings purchased from the Queen for permitting Papists to use the exercise of their Religion to make no faith, her Majesty being no way minded to violate the Act made at her first arrival, and often since that time renewed in favours of the true Religion.* But this did not repress the murmurs of the people, for which it was specially intended.

The order of their attendance.

A Proclamation to accompany the Queen to the borders.

Wherefore some few days after the Queen by *Bothwell*'s persuasion taking purpose to visit the Borders, and having charged the Subjects to accompany her thither with

with a proviſion for 15 days according to the cuſtome, it was publickly rumored that theſe forces were gathered for ſome other buſineſs, and that the intention was, to have the Prince her Son in her own cuſtody, and taken out of the Earl of *Marre* his hands. So as a new Declaration came forth, 'To certify the people of 'her good affection, and that ſhe never meaned to make any Novations in the 'Kingdom by altering the Laws thereof, nor do any thing in the publick affairs, 'but by the advice of the Noblemen of her Council. And for her Son, as ſhe 'had truſted him to ſuch a Governor as other Princes in former times were cu-'ſtomed to have, ſo her Motherly care for his ſafety and good education ſhould 'be made apparent to all. But no regard was had to theſe Declarations, and the Noblemen who had combined themſelves at *Striveling* taking Arms, and being aſſiſted by the Lord *Home*, environed on the ſuddain the Caſtle of *Borthwick*, wherein the Queen and *Bothwell* were then remaining: yet their Companies not ſufficing to incloſe the Houſe (for *Athol* did not keep the Diet) *Bothwell* firſt eſcaped, and after him the Queen diſguiſed in mans apparel fled to *Dumbar*. *An.* 1567.

The Caſtle of *Borthwick* environed.

The Queen and *Bothwell* eſcape.

The Lords upon their eſcape retired to *Edinburgh*, where they expected the reſt of their forces would meet. There lay in the town at that time by the Queens direction, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of *Roſs*, the Abbot of *Kilwinning*, and the Lord *Boyd*. How ſoon they heard of the Lords coming, they went to the Street, offering themſelves to conduct the people, and to aſſiſt them in the defence of the Town; but they found few or none willing to joyn with them, and the peoples affections wholly inclining to the Lords. The Magiſtrates gave order to ſhut the gates, but no farther reſiſtance was made; ſo as the Lords entering by the gate called S. *Mary Port*, which was eaſily broke up, they made themſelves Maſters of the Town. *Huntley* and the reſt taking their refuge to the Caſtle, were received by the Keeper (Sir *James Balfour*, a man much truſted by *Bothwell*) though at the ſame time he was treating with the Lords for delivering the Caſtle into their hands.

The Lords retire to *Edinburgh*.

The next day, being the 12 of *June*, the Lords gave out a Proclamation, wherein they declared, 'That the Earl of *Bothwell* having put violent hands in the 'Queens perſon, warded her Highneſs in the Caſtle of *Dumbar*, and retaining her 'in his power, had ſeduced her, being deſtitute of all counſel, to an unhoneſt 'and unlawful Marriage with himſelf, who was known to have been the principal 'author, deviſer and actor in the cruel Murther committed upon the late Kings 'perſon; and that he was daily gathering forces, and ſtrengthening himſelf by 'all means, of purpoſe, as appeared, to get in his hands the young Prince, that he 'might murther him in the like ſort as he had done his Father, which the No-'bility of the Realm had reſolved to withſtand, and to deliver the Queen out of 'his bondage. Therefore did they charge all and ſundry the Lieges within the 'Kingdom to be in readineſs upon three hours warning, to aſſiſt the ſaid Noble-'men for delivering the Queen from captivity, and bringing the ſaid Earl and 'his Complices to underly the tryal and puniſhment of Law for the foreſaid Mur-'ther. Commanding all ſuch as will not joyn with the ſaid Noblemen, to depart 'forth of the Town of *Edinburgh* within four hours after the publication made, 'under the pain to be reputed as enemies, *&c.*

A Proclamation given out by the Lords.

But the Queen having eſcaped, as we ſhewed, there reſorted to her from all quarters numbers of people, ſo as within few hours ſhe had an Army about her of 4000 men and above, a force ſufficient to oppoſe the enterpriſers. The Lords, on the other ſide, were caſt into many difficulties; for the heat of the common ſort of people being quickly cooled, as ordinarily it happeneth, and the greater part of the Nobility being either enemies, or behaving themſelves as Neuters, few of them came to offer their aſſiſtence: yea had they been never ſo many, lacking munition and other neceſſary proviſions for the beſieging of Forts, they ſaw no way to attain to their purpoſe: whereupon they began to think upon diſſolving their forces and quitting the enterpriſe, at leaſt for that time. But the reſolution which the Queen took altered their counſels, and gave them the opportunity they wiſhed for. She partly confiding in her power and numbers, and partly animated by a ſort of flatterers,

The Queen gathereth forces.

Difficulties amongſt the Lords.

An. 1567.

The Queen giveth them the opportunity they wished for.

who made her believe that the Lords would flee upon the first bruit of her coming, resolved to march with her Army to *Leith*: whereas nothing had been so much to her advantage as a little protracting of time; for had she remained three days longer at *Dumbar*, the Lords without all peradventure had retired every one to his home. But where mutations are destined, the worst counsels seem ever the best, and are most readily embraced.

The Proclamation of *Glaidsmore*.

Being advanced so far as *Glaidsmoore* (where she caused muster her forces) a Proclamation was made, bearing, *That a number of Conspirators having discovered their latent malice born to her and the Duke of* Orkney *her Husband, after they had failed in apprehending their persons at* Borthwick, *had made a seditious Proclamation, to make people believe that they did seek the revenge of the Murther of the King her late Husband, and the relieving of her self out of bondage and captivity, pretending that the Duke her Husband was minded to invade the Prince her Son; all which were false, and forged inventions, none having better cause to revenge the Kings death than her self, if she could know the authors thereof. And for the Duke her present Husband, he had used all means to clear his Innocency, the ordinary Justice had absolved him, and the Estates of Parliament approved their proceedings, which they themselves that made the present Insurrection had likewise allowed. As also he had offered to maintain that quarrel against any Gentleman on earth undefamed, than which nothing more could be required. And as to her alledged captivity, the contrary was known to the whole subjects, her marriage with him being publickly contracted, and solemnized with their own consents as their hand-writs could testifie. Albeit to give their Treason a fair shew, they made now a buckler of the Prince her Son, being an Infant, and in their hands; whereas their intention only was to overthrow her and her posterity, that they might rule all things at their pleasure and without controlment. Seeing therefore no wilfulness nor particularity, but very necessity had forced her to take Arms for defence of her life, as her hope was to have the assistance of all her faithful subjects against those unnatural Rebels, so she doubted not but such as were already assembled, would with good hearts stand to her defence, considering especially the goodness of her cause, promising them in recompence of their valorous service the lands and possessions of the Rebels, which should be distributed according to the merit of every man.*

The Lords cast themselves in the Queens way.

This proclaimed, the Army did set forward, the Queen lodging that night in *Seaton*: a little before midnight word was brought to *Edinburgh* of the Queens approach, who without long suspence made to their Armour. And at Sun-rising, putting themselves in order, they marched directly to *Musselburgh*, a Village two miles distant from *Preston*: there they refreshed themselves with food, and a little rest: for the Queens Camp was not as yet stirring. About the midst of the day the horsemen who were sent to observe when the Queens Army did advance, brought word that they were marching. The Lords thereupon made haste, and drawing their Companies forth of the Village, ranged them in two battels. The first was conducted by the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home*; the second by the Earls of *Athol*, *Marre* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Lindsay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple* and *Sanghuar*, with the Laird of *Drumlanrig*, *Tulibardin*, *Selfourd*, *Grange*; and divers others of good sort were assisting, in number not much inferior to the Queens Army, and in this superior, that the most part of them were Gentlemen practised and of good experience in War. The Queen stood with her Army on the top of the hill called *Carberry*-hill, which the Lords, because of the ascent wherewith it riseth, could not come at in a direct course, but to their disadvantage; wherefore they inclined a little to the right hand, both to find a more plain way, and to get the Sun in their backs, when they should come unto the fight. This deceived the Queen, who supposed they were flying towards *Dalkeith*, a little Village pertaining to the Earl of *Morton*; but when they were past the straight of the hill, and that she saw them making directly to the place where she with her Army stood, she perceived her errour.

The order of the Lords Army.

The meeting at *Carberry*-hill.

The *French* Ambassador laboureth to compose matters.

The *French* Ambassador, seeing them ready to joyn, interposed himself, and coming to the Lords, desired that matters might be composed without bloudshed, for the good of both parties; saying, that he found the Queen peaceably inclined,

and

and diſpoſed both to forgive the Inſurrection they had now made, and to forget all by-paſt offences. The Earl of *Morton* replied, *That they had taken Arms, not againſt the Queen, but againſt the Murtherer of the King, whom if ſhe would deliver to be puniſhed, or then put him from her company, ſhe ſhould find nothing more deſired of them and all other ſubjects, than to continue in their dutiful obedience towards her; otherwiſe no Peace could be made*: Neither are we come, ſaid he, *to aſk pardon for any offence that we have done, but rather to give pardon to thoſe that have offended.* The Ambaſſador perceiving this to be their reſolution, and judging it reaſonable which they required, but not like to be obtained, took his leave and departed to *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1567.

Bothwell offereth to try the cauſe in Combat.

During the Treaty of the *French* Ambaſſador, the Queens Army keeping within the Trenches that the *Engliſh* of old had made, *Bothwell* advanced himſelf upon a ſtrong and luſty horſe, appealing any one of the adverſe party to ſingle combat. *James Murray*, brother to *Tulibardin* (he that before had offered himſelf to fight, but ſuppreſſed his name, as we ſhewed) made anſwer that he would accept the Challenge. *Bothwell* refuſing to hazard with him, as not being his equal in honor and eſtate, *William Murray* his eldeſt brother made offer to take his place, ſaying, that in wealth he was not inferior to *Bothwell*, and for antipuity of his Houſe, and honeſty of reputation he eſteemed himſelf more than his equal; yet he likewiſe was refuſed, as being a Knight only, and of a lower degree. Divers Noblemen did thereupon offer themſelves; the Lord *Lindeſay* eſpecially ſhewed a great forwardneſs, deſiring he might be permitted to try himſelf with *Bothwell*, which he would take as a ſingular honor, and eſteem it as a recompence of all his ſervice done to the State. Here whenas *Bothwell* could not honeſtly ſhift the combat, the Queen interpoſing her Authority did prohibit him to fight. Thereafter taking a view of the Army on Horſeback, and incouraging them to battel, ſhe found *Bothwell*'s friends and followers very deſirous to fight; but in the reſt there appeared no ſuch willingneſs: ſome ſaying that the Battel would prove dangerous to the Queen, becauſe howſoever Gentlemen were ready to hazard themſelves, the Commons, who were the greateſt number ſeemed not to be ſo diſpoſed, nor well affected to the cauſe: others more plainly declaring their minds, ſaid that it were much better that *Bothwell* ſhould defend his own quarrel by combat, than to expoſe the Queen and ſo many Gentlemen to peril. And there were ſome that counſelled to delay the Battel to the next day, for that the *Hamiltons* were ſaid to be coming, who would greatly increaſe her forces.

It is accepted, and the Queen inhibiteth the fight.

The Queens Army unwilling to fight.

Bothwell flyeth, and the Queen rendereth her ſelf to the Lords.

All theſe things the Queen heard impatiently, and burſting forth in many tears, ſaid, they were but Cowards and Traitors. After which, perceiving divers of the Army to ſteal away, ſhe adviſed *Bothwell* to look to his own ſafety, for ſhe could render her ſelf to the Noblemen. Then ſending for *William Kircaldy* of *Grange*, ſhe talked with him a good ſpace, and when ſhe thought *Bothwell* was paſt all danger, went with him to the Lords, unto whom ſhe ſpake on this manner, *My Lords, I am come unto you not out of any fear I had of my life, or yet doubting of the Victory if matters had gone to the worſt; but I abhor the ſhedding of Chriſtian blood, eſpecially of thoſe that are my own ſubjects; and will therefore yield unto you, and be ruled hereafter by your counſels, truſting you will reſpect me as your born Princeſs and Queen.* They receiving her with the wonted reverence, anſwered dutifully at firſt; but when ſhe could not be permitted to go unto the *Hamiltons* (whom ſhe had a deſire to ſee) although ſhe gave her promiſe to return, and ſo found her liberty reſtrained, ſhe waxed angry, and fell a complaining of their ingratitude. They replied nothing, but taking their way towards *Edinburgh*, led her along with them, and kept her that night in *Craigmillar* his lodging, who was then Provoſt of the Town. It was night before they came thither, albeit the day was then at the full length, becauſe of the ſtays ſhe made by the way, either looking for ſome relief by the *Hamiltons*, as many ſuppoſed, or not liking to be gazed on by the multitude, and ſeen in the eſtate of a priſoner. The next day towards the evening ſhe was by the direction of the Noblemen ſent to be kept in the houſe of *Lochlevin*, and con-

The Queen ſent priſoner to *Lochlevin*.

An. 1567. conveighed thither by the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindesay*, becauſe *Balfour* had not as yet tranſacted with the Lords upon the delivery of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, though even then he betrayed the truſt which *Bothwell* had in him. For how ſoon it was known that the Queen was made priſoner, *Bothwell* having ſent one of his ſervants to the Caſtle to bring a little ſilver Cabinet which the Queen had given him, and wherein he reſerved all the Letters ſhe had written unto him at any time, *Balfour* delivered the Cabinet to *Bothwell*'s ſervant, but withal adverti ſed the Lords what he carried, and made him to be apprehended. Theſe Letters were afterwards divulged in Print, and adjected to a Libel intituled, *The Detections of the doings of Queen Mary*, penned with great bitterneſs by Mr. *George Buchanan*.

Sir *James Balfour* betrayed his truſt to *Bothwell*.

Some two days after the Queen was committed, the Earl of *Glencarn*, taking with him his domeſticks only, went to the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe*, and demoliſhed the Altar, breaking the Pictures and defacing all the Ornaments within the ſame. The Preachers did commend it as a work of great piety and zeal; but the other Noblemen were not a little diſpleaſed, for that he had done it without direction, and before they had reſolved how to deal with the Queen: neither did matters frame with them according to their expectation, divers of the Nobility, of whoſe aſſiſtence they held themſelves aſſured, lying back, and giving no concurrence; and thoſe that favored the Queen (of which number were the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, and many others who were at the ſame time at *Hamilton*) profeſſing open enmity, and condemning the action as a crime of the higheſt Treaſon that could be committed. The common people alſo, who a little before ſeemed moſt incenſed, pitying the Queens eſtate, did heavily lament the calamity wherein ſhe was fallen. In this uncertainty of things they reſolved to write unto the Lords convened at *Hamilton*, and intreat their concurrence for re-ordering of the Eſtate, and eſtabliſhing of matters by a common conſent. But neither would they admit the meſſenger, nor receive their Letters, ſo highly did they offend with their proceedings, and ſo confident they were to repair things by their own power.

The Earl of *Glencarn* demoliſheth the Altar.

The Lords write to the Noblemen of the Queens party.

The Noblemen hereupon made a motion to the Aſſembly of the Church, which was then convened at *Edinburgh*, to deal with thoſe of the other Faction, and perſwade them to a general Meeting for matters of the Church, wherein they hoped ſome good might be done, and all occaſions of civil diſcord removed. The Aſſembly liking well the motion, condeſcended to prorogue their Meeting unto the 20 of *July* next, and in the mean ſeaſon to direct Letters to the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntly*, *Cathnes*, *Rothes*, *Crawford*, and *Menteith*: the Lords *Boyd*, *Drummond*, *Hereis*, *Cathcart*, *Teſter*, *Fleming*, *Levingſton*, *Seaton*, *Glammis*, *Ochiltrie*, *Gray*, *Oliphant*, *Methven*, *Innermaith* and *Sommervaile*, and to the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, *Kilwinning*, *Dunfermlin*, St. *Columb*, *Newbottle*, and *Halirudhouſe*, who did either aſſiſt the adverſe party, or then behaved themſelves as Neuters. To procure the greater reſpect to theſe Letters, *John Knox*, Mr. *John Douglas*, Mr. *John Row*, and Mr. *John Craig*, were choſen Commiſſioners, and had inſtructions given them to this purpoſe. 'That Satan by his inſtruments had of long time and by ma-'ny ſubtile ways laboured to hinder the progreſs of true Religion within this 'Realm, and that now the ſame was in hazard to be utterly ſubverted, chiefly 'through the poverty of the Miniſters that ought to preach the word of life un-'to the people: ſome being compelled to leave their Vocation, and betake 'them to civil Callings; others ſo diſtracted through worldly cares, as they could 'not wait upon the Preaching of the Word ſo diligently as they wiſhed. In con-'ſideration whereof the Aſſembly of the Church being convened at *Edinburgh* 'had thought it neceſſary to prorogue their Meeting to the 20 of *July*, and 'to intreat and admoniſh all perſons truly profeſſing the Lord Jeſus within 'the Realm, as well Noblemen as Barons, and thoſe of the other Eſtates, to 'meet and give their perſonal appearance at *Edinburgh* the ſaid day, for giving 'their advice, counſel and concurrence in matters then to be propoſed; eſpe-'cially

The Noblemen made a motion to the Aſſembly, and the Aſſemblies Commiſſion to the Lords.

Inſtructions given to thoſe that were ſent from the Aſſembly.

'cially for purging the Realm of Popery, the eſtabliſhing of the Policy of the 'Church, and reſtoring the Patrimony thereof to the juſt poſſeſſors. Aſſu- 'ring thoſe that ſhould abſent themſelves at the time, due and lawful advertiſe- 'ment being made, that they ſhould be reputed hinderers of the good work intend- 'ed, and as diſſimulate profeſſors be eſteemed unworthy of the fellowſhip of 'Chriſts Flock: conſidering chiefly that God in his mercy had offered a bet- 'ter occaſion for effecting theſe things than in times paſt, and that he 'had begun to tread down Satan under foot. This they were willed to ſpeak, and by all fair perſuaſions, to move them to keep the day and place appointed. *An.* 1567.

The miſſive Letters were for the moſt part to the ſame effect; but in theſe, beſides the proviſion of the Miniſters, I find the *poor and indigent members of Chriſt* alſo mentioned, and ſomewhat ſaid concerning an *union to be made amongſt the Profeſſors, and ſuch a conjunction as might make them able to withſtand the craft and violence of their enemies.* But neither did the Letters nor the credit given to the Commiſſioners prevail with thoſe to whom they went, all almoſt excuſing themſelves (ſome by word, others by letter) and ſaying, 'That in re- 'gard of the preſent diviſion cauſed by the Queens impriſonment, and that 'the Town of *Edinburgh*, where they were required to meet, was ſtraitly 'kept by a part of the Nobility and ſome hired ſouldiers, they could not come 'to the place appointed without trouble and danger of their lives. Not 'the leſs they did aſſure the Church of their willingneſs to every thing that 'might ſerve to advance the Goſpel, and further the proviſion of the Miniſters, 'for the better and more diligent attendance on their Callings. The Earl of *Argile* did anſwer more particularly, and touching the Policy deſired, that *no Novations nor alterations ſhould be made before a general Meeting of the Eſtates.* In like ſort the Lord *Boyde* did by his anſwer promiſe *to hold hand to the forth-ſetting of the Policy*, but with an exception, *ſo far as it might ſtand with Law.* Yet had both the one and other ratified the Book of Policy by their Subſcriptions long before, and made no ſcruple either of Law or Cuſtom at that time. The Noblemen that remained at *Edinburgh*, perceiving they could not be drawn to a meeting, reſolved to proſecute their purpoſe at all hazards, and joyning with the Aſſembly, condeſcended to all the Articles proponed for the good of the Church, and made great promiſes of performance; howbeit, having once attained their ends, they did forget all, and turned adverſaries to the Church in the ſame things whereunto they had conſented. Always the Articles agreed unto were as followeth.

The Earl of *Argile* his anſwer.

The Lord *Boyd* his anſwer.

1. That the Acts made in the Parliament holden at *Edinburgh* the twenty fourth of *Auguſt*, 1560. touching Religion and the aboliſhing of the Popes Authority, ſhould be extracted forth of the Regiſters, and have the force of a publick Law; and that the ſaid Parliament, in ſo far as concerning Religion ſhould be maintained and defended by them, as a Parliament lawful, and holden by ſufficient commiſſion from the Queen then being in *France*, and be ratified in the firſt Parliament which ſhould happen to be kept within the Realm.

Articles agreed in the Aſſembly of the Church.

2. That until the perfect order might be taken for reſtoring the Patrimony of the Church, the Act of Aſſignation of the thirds of Benefices for the ſuſtentation of the Miniſtery ſhould be put in due execution.

3. That an Act of Council made with conſent of her Majeſty touching the conferring of ſmall Benefices within the value of 300 Marks to Miniſters, ſhould be put in practice; as likewiſe the Act for Annuals, Obits, and Aulterages, eſpecially within Burghs.

4. That in firſt lawful Parliament which ſhould be kept, or ſooner if occaſion might ſerve, the Church of Chriſt within this Kingdom ſhould be fully reſtored unto the Patrimony belonging to the ſame, and nothing be paſt in Parliament before that and other matters of the Church were firſt conſidered and approved. In the mean while the Noblemen, Barons and other Profeſſors then preſent did

An. 1567. willingly offer and conſent to reform themſelves in the matter of the Church-Patrimony according to the Book of God, and to put the ſame in practice for their own parts, ordaining the refuſers and contraveners of the ſame to be ſecluded from all benefits of the Church. It was farther agreed, That in the next Parliament, or otherwiſe at the firſt occaſion, order ſhould be taken for the eaſe of the labourers of the ground in the payment of their Tithes, and that the ſame ſhould not be diſponed to any others without their advice and conſent.

5. That none ſhould be permitted to bear charge in Schools, Colleges and Univerſities, nor allowed publickly or privately to inſtruct the youth, except ſuch as ſhould firſt be tried by the Superintendents and Viſitours of the Church, who being found meet ſhould be admitted by them to their Charges.

6. That all crimes and offences committed againſt the Law of God ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed according to the Word of God, and Judges deputed for execution thereof; or if there be no Laws as yet made nor Judges appointed for the puniſhment of ſuch crimes, that the ſame ſhould be done in the firſt Parliament.

7. That ſeeing the horrible Murther of the King her Majeſties Husband is a crime moſt odious before God, and tending to the perpetual ſhame and infamy of the whole Realm, if the ſame ſhould not be exemplary puniſhed; the Noblemen, Barons and other Profeſſors ſhould imploy their whole forces, ſtrength and power for the juſt puniſhment of all and whatſoever perſons that ſhould be tried and found guilty of the ſame.

8. Sith it hath pleaſed God to give a native Prince unto the Country, who in all appearance ſhall become their King and Sovereign, leſt he ſhould be murthered and wickedly taken away as his Father was; the Nobility, Barons and others under ſubſcribing ſhould aſſiſt, maintain and defend the Prince againſt all that ſhould attempt to do him injury.

9. That all Kings and Princes that in any time hereafter ſhall happen to reign and have the rule of the Realm, ſhould in their firſt entry, and before they be either crowned or inaugurated, give their oath and faithfully promiſe unto the true Church of God, for maintaining and defending by all means the true Religion of Chriſt preſently profeſſed within the Kingdom.

10. That the Prince ſhould be committed to the education of ſome wiſe, godly and grave man, to be trained up in vertue and the fear of God; that when he cometh to years, he may diſcharge himſelf ſufficiently of that place and honor whereunto he is called.

11. That the Nobility, Barons and others underſcribing, ſhould faithfully promiſe to convene themſelves in arms for the rooting out of Idolatry, eſpecially the blaſphemous Maſs, without exception of place or perſon. And likewiſe ſhould remove all Idolaters, and others not admitted to the Preaching of the Word, from the bearing of any function in the Church, which may be a hindrance to the Miniſtery in any ſort; and in their places appoint Superintendents, Miniſters, and other needful members of the Church. And farther, ſhould faithfully bind themſelves to reform all Schools, Colledges and Univerſities throughout the Realm, by removing all ſuch as be of contrary profeſſion, and bear any charge therein, and planting faithful Teachers in their rooms; leſt the youth ſhould be corrupted with poiſonable Doctrine in their leſſer years, which afterwards would not eaſily be removed.

The Articles ſubſcribed.

These were the Articles agreed unto by a common conſent, and ſubſcribed in the preſence of the Aſſembly, by the Earls of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and *Marre*, the Lords *Home*, *Ruthven*, *Sanghuar*, *Lindeſay*, *Grahame*, *Innermaith*, and *Ochiltrie*, and many Barons, beſides the Commiſſioners of Burgeſſes.

The Queen moved to make reſignation of the Crown.

Upon the diſſolving of this Aſſembly, the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay* were directed to *Lochlevin* to deal with the Queen for Reſignation of the Government in favors of the Prince her Son, and the appointing of ſome to be Regent, who ſhould have

have the administration of affairs during his Minority. At first she took the proposition grievously, answering in passion, that she could *sooner renounce her Life than her Crown*: yet after some rude speeches used by the Lord *Lindesay*, she was induced to put her hand to the Renunciation they presented, by the persuasion chiefly of *Robert Melvil*, who was sent from the Earl of *Athol* and *Lethington*, to advise her as she loved her life not to refuse any thing they did require. He likewise brought a Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Ambassador of *England*, (who was come a few daies before to visit her, but was denied access) to the same effect, declaring that *no Resignation made in the time of her captivity would be of force, and in Law was null, because done out of a just fear*; which having considered with her self a while, without reading any one of the writs presented, she set her hand to the same, the tears running down in abundance from her eyes. One of the Writs contained a Renunciation of the Crown and Royal dignity, with a Commission to invest the Prince into the Kingdom by the Solemnites accustomed. And to that purpose a Procuration was given to the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindesay* for dimitting and resigning in presence of the three Estates the Rule and Government; and to the Earls of *Morton*, *Athol*, *Marre*, *Glencarne* and *Mentieth*, and to the Lords *Grahame* and *Home*, with the Bishop of *Orkney*, and the Provost of *Dundy* and *Montross*, for inaugurating the Prince her Son. The other Writ did appoint the Earl of *Murray* Regent during the Prince his Minority, if at his return he should accept of the Charge. And in case of his refuse, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, the Earls of *Lenox*, *Argile*, *Athol*, *Morton*, *Glencarn* and *Marre*, who should joyntly govern and administrate the publick affairs. *An.* 1567.

Both the Renunciation and Commission for Government of the Realm were the next day published at the Market-Cross of *Edinburgh*; and the third day after the publication (which was the 29 of *July*) was the Prince crowned and anointed King in the Church of *Striveling* by the Bishop of *Orkney*, assisted by two of the Superintendents. The Sermon was made by *John Knox*: the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Home* took the Oath for the King, that he should maintain the Religion received, and minister justice equally to all the subjects. The *English* Ambassador, though he was in town, refused his presence to that Solemnity, lest he should seem to approve the abdication of the Queens Government. Now how soon the news came to *France* (and they came in great haste) the Earl of *Murray* prepared to return; whereof the Archbishop of *Glasgow* getting intelligence (who lay there Ambassador for the Queen) he laboured earnestly to have him detained, informing that he was the head of the Faction raised against the Queen, and that he was called home to be their Leader. But he had taken his leave some hours before of the Court, and used such diligence, as they who were sent to stay him found that he was loosed from *Deip* before their coming. The King crowned at *Striveling*. The Earl of *Murray* returneth from *France*.

Returning by *England*, he came the 11 of *August* to *Edinburgh*, where he was received with a wonderful joy. Great instance was used to have him accept the Regency; at which they said no man would grudge, he being named by the Queen, and having given all good men experiments of his worth. Some few daies he desired to advise, in which time he visited the Queen, at *Lochlevin*, and sent Letters to the Noblemen of the other Faction, especially to the Earl of *Argile*, with whom he had kept an intire friendship of a long time, shewing in what sort he was pressed by the Lords that maintained the Kings authority, and intreating him by the bonds of kindred, the familiarity they had long kept, and by the love he bare to his native Country, to appoint a place where he might confer with him, and have his counsel in that business. He visiteth the Queen at *Lochlevin*.

To the rest he wrote according to the acquaintance he had with them, and as their place and dignity required. Of them all in common he desired that they would be pleased to design a place of meeting, where they might by common advice provide for the safety of the Kingdome, which in that

An. 1567. that troubled time could not long ſubſiſt, without ſome one to rule and govern.

But finding them all to decline the meeting, and being importuned on the other ſide by thoſe of the Kings Faction to undertake the charge, he reſolved to accept the ſame; and in a Convention of Noblemen and others of the Eſtates kept at *Edinburgh* the 20 of *Auguſt*, was elected Regent with a great applauſe of all that were preſent. The ſame day was his Election publiſhed, and charge given to all the ſubjects for acknowledging and obeying him as Regent and Governor of the Realm unto the Kings Majority.

The Earl of *Murray* elected Regent.

THE

An. 1567.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Fifth BOOK.

The Contents.

How matters passed in the State and Church during the Government of the four Regents, his Majesty being yet minor.

Bothwell after his flight at *Carberry*, having stayed a few days in the Fort of *Dumbar*, for that he feared to be incloſed, made to the Sea with two or three Ships which he had prepared, and went into *Orkney*; his purpoſe was to have remained in the Caſtle of *Kirkwall*, and if any did purſue him to take himſelf to the Ships; but the keeper *Gilbert Balfour* would not receive him, ſo as he was forced to return to Sea, and there playing the Pirate made ſpoil of all that came in his way. The Regent, advertiſed of this, ſent *William Kircaldy* of *Grange* with five Ships well manned to purſue him; who coming upon him unlooked for, as he lay in one of the Creeks of *Orkney*, gave him the chaſe, and had certainly taken him, if they had not been hindred by Rocks and ſhallow waters. The Unicorn, one of *Grange*'s beſt Ships, was caſt away upon a Rock; *Bothwell* with his, that were not of ſuch a burthen, eſcaping. Shortly after he was taken upon the Coaſt of *Norway*, and conveighed to *Denmark*, where being detected by ſome *Scottiſh* Merchants, he was put in a vile and loathſome priſon, and falling in a frenſie, which kept him ſome ten years, made an ignominious and deſperate end, ſuch as his wicked and flagitious life had deſerved.

Bothwell taketh the Sea, and is purſued by *Grange*.

His death.

Grange at his return had the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* committed to his keeping, which a little before was ſold by Sir *James Balfour* to the Regent for the ſum of 5000 pounds, and the gift of the Priory of *Pittinweene*. At the ſame time *Patrick Whitlaw*, keeper of *Dumbar* Caſtle, being charged to render the ſame, did at the perſuaſion of his friends yield up the Fort, which otherwiſe was held impregnable.

The cuſtody of *Edinburgh* Caſtle committed to *Grange*.

The Lords who were convened at *Hamilton*, perceiving how matters went, and that all things grew ſtrong on the Regents ſide, upon a new deliberation did write unto him and the reſt that ſtood for the Kings Authority, deſiring a Conference, and offering to ſend the Earl of *Argile* with ſome others to any place they would for meeting, but becauſe in the Superſcription they gave not the Regent his due title, ſtyling him only *Earl of Murray*, the Letter was rejected by the Council, and the meſſenger dimitted without anſwer. *Argile*, knowing what had given the offence, reſolved to go unto the Regent, and taking with him the Lord *Boyde* and the Abbot of *Kilwinning* came to *Edinburgh*. There it being declared that the election of the Regent was not made upon any contempt or miſregard of the Noblemen who were abſent, but upon neceſſity to keep the Realm in order, it was agreed that a Parliament ſhould be called for ſetling all affairs by advice and conſent

The Lords convened at *Hamilton* write to the Regent.

An. 1567. consent of the Estates, and that the same should be kept at *Edinburgh* the 15 day of *December* next.

The first Parliament of King *James* the Sixth.

When the Diet appointed for Parliament came, it was kept with such a frequency, as the like was not remembred to have been seen a long time. The honors accustomed of Crown, Scepter and Sword, were carried by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Argile*, and every thing done with the greatest shew of Solemnity that could be used. Beginning was made at the affairs of the Church, and divers Acts concluded in their favors. As an Act abolishing the Pope his Jurisdiction and usurped Authority within the Realm; another for repealing the Statutes made in former times for maintenance of Idolatry and Superstition, with the ratifying of the Confession of Faith; and some others, which may be seen in the first Parliament of King *James* the Sixth. The matter of Policy and Jurisdiction of the Church was referred to the consideration of certain Lords delegated by the Estates; but for the restitution of the Patrimony, which was promised to be the first work of the Parliament, though the Regent did what he could to have the Church possessed with the same, it could not be obtained. Only the thirds of Benefices were granted to the Church, for provision of the Ministers; the *superplus*, or what should be found remaining after the Ministers were provided, being applied to the support of the publick affairs of the Estate. Touching the Queen, a long consultation was held what course should be taken with her. Some urged that she should be arraigned, and punished according to the Law: others reasoned, that whatsoever Authority was in the kingdom was derived from her, and was revocable at her pleasure, so as she could not be arraigned or brought to trial before any inferior Judge: and when it was replied, that the *Scots* from the very beginning of the Kingdom had been in use to censure and punish their Kings, in case of grievous crimes; the greater number disliking that course, it was concluded that she should be detained and kept in perpetual prison.

The Acts concluded in Parliament.

The Queen ordained to be kept in prison.

The Bishop of *Orkney* deposed for marrying the Queen.

Some ten days after in an Assembly of the Church the Bishop of *Orkney* was convened for joyning the Queen and *Bothwell* in Marriage, and deposed from his Function and office. The Countess of *Argile* being cited to appear before the same Assembly for assisting the Baptism of the King, and giving her presence at the Papistical Rites then used, did submit her self to censure, and was ordained to make publick satisfaction in the Chappel of *Striveling*, where the offence was committed, upon a Sunday after Sermon, in such manner and at such time as the Superintendent of *Lothian* should appoint.

The confession of those that were executed for the Kings murther.

In the month of *January John Hepburn* called *Bolton*, *John Hay* younger of *Tallow*, and two Chamber-boys of *Bothwell*'s, *Powrie* and *Dalgleish*, were brought to Trial for the Kings Murther, and found guilty by their own confessions. The sum whereof was, that they were enticed unto that wicked fact by *Bothwell*, who did assure them that most of the Noblemen within the Realm had consented thereto, and that a Contract was shewed them subscribed by the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, young *Lethington* and others; but whether these subscriptions were the Noblemens own or counterfeit, they could not tell. They farther said that *Bothwell* made them believe that the Lords who had subscribed would each of them have one or two of their servants present at the Murther; yet were they but eight persons in all, besides *Bothwell* himself, that came unto the place; namely, Sir *James Balfour*, the Laird of *Ormeston* in *Teviotdale*, *Robert Ormeston* his Cousen, one ..... *Wilson* a man of *Hadington*, and the four who were then to suffer. The Sentence upon their conviction was, that they should be hanged, their heads cut off, their bodies quartered, and cast into the fire. A manifold execution, which the treacherous Parricide they had committed did well deserve.

An. 1568. The Queen escapeth from *Lochlevin*.

At the opening of the spring, the Regent purposing to hold justice Courts through the whole Kingdom, made his beginning in the West parts, because of some broken people in *Lenox* and the Highlands adjoyning. Whilest he remained at *Glasgow*, (for the first Court was there affixed) the Queen made an escape from *Lochlevin*, to the great contentment of many who stood in fear of the Regents Severity, or (as the vulgar called it) Cruelty. And even some that were the principal workers of her Imprisonment,

priſonment, having changed their minds, did earneſtly wiſh her Liberty. *Lethington* who hating *Bothwell* to the death, was enemy to the Queen for his reſpect, as ſoon as he underſtood of his arreſting in *Denmark*, and ſaw that he was no more to be feared, deſired greatly to have her reſtored, as thinking his credit and ſafety ſhould that way be moſt aſſured. Sir *James Balfour* followed always his courſe. *William Murray* of *Tulibardin*, though he had ſhewed great forwardneſs at the hill of *Carberry*, where the Queen was taken, yet, being Popiſhly ſet, upon ſome private diſcontents forſook the Regent, and carried with him divers of his friendſhip. The *Hamilton*'s were known to deſire nothing more than her Freedom. The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, howbeit they had been preſent at the late Parliament, and given their aſſiſtence for eſtabliſhing the Kings Authority, turned their Coats and joyned with the reſt for repoſſeſſing the Queen. And beſides theſe many others, ſome led with hopes of advancement, and ſome truſting to have their diſtreſſed eſtates bettered by a change, longed much to have her relieved, which by this means came to paſs. *An.* 1568.

George Douglas, the Regents youngeſt brother, a Gentleman of good ſpirit, who remained with her in the Caſtle of *Lochlevin*, allured by her courteſies and fair promiſes, having corrupted the Keepers, although he himſelf upon ſuſpicion was ſome days before ſent forth of the Iſle, got her tranſported (whileſt the reſt were at dinner) in a little veſſel to the ſide of the Lake, where he with the Lord *Seaton* and ſome horſemen were attending. The firſt night ſhe lodged at *Nudree* in Weſt *Lothian*, and the next day was conveighed to *Hamilton*, whither repaired unto her the Earls of *Argile*, *Caſſils*, *Eglinton* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Sommervil*, *Teſter*, *Borthwick*, *Levingſton*, *Hereis*, *Maxwell*, *Sanqhuar* and *Roſs*, with many other Barons and Gentlemen. The Lords meeting in Council, the Queen declared that the Reſignation ſhe had made of the Crown was extorted by fear; as likewiſe the Commiſſion granted for inaugurating the Prince her Son; qualifying the ſame by the teſtimony of *Robert Melvile* there preſent and others. Thereupon was the Reſignation decerned void and null, and Proclamations made in her Majeſties name, commanding all the Lieges to meet in Arms at *Hamilton* for purſuing the Rebels that had uſurped the Royal Authority. The manner of the Queens eſcape. The Queens reſignation decerned null.

The news hereof brought unto *Glaſgow* (which is only eight miles diſtant) where the Regent then abode, were ſcarce at firſt believed; but within two hours or leſs being aſſured, a ſtrong alteration might have been obſerved in the minds of moſt that were there attending. The report of the Queens forces made divers to ſlide away; others ſent quietly to beg pardon for what they had done, reſolving not to enter in the cauſe any farther, but to govern themſelves as the event ſhould lead and direct them. And there were that made open defection, not a few, nor of the meaner ſort. Amongſt whom the Lord *Boyd* was eſpecially noted, and in the mouths of all men; for that being very inward with the Regent, and admitted to his moſt ſecret counſels, when he ſaw matters like to turn, he withdrew himſelf and went to the Queen. The Regent advertiſed of the Queens eſcape. The Lord *Boyd* falleth to the Queen.

Yet the Regent nothing diſcouraged, and eſteeming his life could not be more honorably beſtowed than in the defence of the King, albeit many did adviſe him to retire unto *Striveling*, would not condeſcend to ſtir, ſaying, *That his retreat would be interpreted a Flight, and the adverſaries thereby animated, and his friends diſheartned.* In the mean ſeaſon he ſent advertiſement to his friends in *Mers*, *Lothian* and *Striveling ſhire*. The Earl of *Glencarn* and Lord *Semple*, with the men of *Lenox*, and others well affected to the cauſe, that lay near to the City, made haſte unto his ſuccourſe, ſo as in a day or two his company increaſed to 4000 and above. There was with the Queen a *French* Ambaſſador, who had arrived a few days before, and moved the Regent for acceſs to the Queen before the eſcape ſhe made; he was ſtill poſting between *Hamilton* and *Glaſgow*, rather to eſpie and obſerve things, than to make the Peace he pretended; for when he ſaw the Regents forces to be few, as at firſt they were, and that the Queens power was much greater, he did perſuade her to take the field, and put it to the trial of a day; which ſhe reſolved to do. Thereupon warning given to make ready againſt the next morning, the Earl of The Regent reſolveth to ſtay at *Glaſgow* and aſſemble forces.

Argile

An. 1568. *Argile* was proclaimed Lieutenant, and concluſion taken to march with the Army by *Glaſgow* towards the Caſtle of *Dumbarton*, where they purpoſed to place the Queen, and either to give Battel, or draw the War at length as they pleaſed: or if the Regent (which they did not expect) ſhould meet them in the way, to fight him, accounting the victory certain, becauſe of their numbers.

The Battel of *Landſide*. 13 *May* 1568. The Regent, advertiſed of the Queens intentions, took the fields the next day early, and ſtood with his companies ſome hours in battel array upon the Moor of *Glaſgow*, where it was believed the Queens Army ſhould paſs: but when he ſaw them keep the other ſide of the River, he directed the horſemen to paſs the Fords, the water being then ebbed, and leading the foot along the bridge went towards *Landſide*, which lay in the way to *Dumbarton*. This is a little Village upon the water of *Carthe*, ſituated at the foot of a hill towards the Weſt: on the Eaſt and North the aſcent unto it is ſomewhat ſteep, the other parts of the hill are more even and plain. Both Armies contending who ſhould firſt poſſeſs it, that of the Regents prevented the other by occaſion of *Argile*'s ſickneſs, who was on the ſuddain taken with a fit of the Epilepſie, and ſo retarded the march of the Queens Army. When they approached near and ſaw themſelves prevented, they went to a little oppoſite hill, and there ranged themſelves in two battels, placing in the firſt their whole ſtrength almoſt; for if they ſhould at the firſt encounter repulſe their enemies, the reſt they made account would ſoon disband and take the chaſe. The order of the Regents Army. Regent had likewiſe put his troops in two battels: on the right hand were placed the Earl of *Morton*, the Lords *Home*, *Semple* and *Lindeſay*, with their clients and vaſſals; on the left, the Earls of *Marre*, *Glencarn* and *Menteith*, with the Citizens of *Glaſgow*: the Harquebuſiers were planted in the Village beneath, and within the hedges upon the hig-hway. Before the joyning both ſides played with their Ordnance upon others; but the advantage was on the Regents part, the Queens Cannoniers being forced to quit their munition. His Cavalry, on the other ſide, being much inferior to the Queens, was compelled to give ground: but when they entered upon the foot, thinking to put them in diſorder, the Archers from the Regents ſide rained ſuch a ſhower of Arrows upon them, as they could not hold up their faces, and were forced to turn back. The left wing of the Queens Army advancing it ſelf in the mean while, howbeit greatly annoyed by the Harquebuſiers, that beat them in the ſtreight on both ſides, got into the plain and diſplayed it ſelf. Then did the Armies joyn and enter into a hot fight, ſtriving in thick ranks to maintain their places, and by force of ſpears to break and bear down one another. For the ſpace of half an hour and more the fight continued doubtful, and ſo eagerly they ſtrove, that they whoſe ſpears were broke ſtood throwing their ponyards, ſtones, and what came readieſt to their hands, in the faces of their adverſaries. The Regents ſecond battel perceiving that none came againſt them, and fearing the other ſhould be overlaid (for they ſaw ſome in the laſt ranks recoiling) went unto their aid, whereupon the Queens Army gave back, and ſo were put to rout. The Regent and thoſe on his ſide ſhewed great manhood, all their hopes conſiſting in the victory: nor were his enemies any leſs couragious, but the advantage of the ground were to thoſe of his part no ſmall help. There were not many ſlain on the place, moſt of the ſlaughter being made in the chaſe; and unleſs the Regent had with his preſence whereſoever he came, and by ſending horſe into all parts, ſtayed the fury of thoſe that purſued, the Victory had been much more bloody. The Queen, who ſtood a mile off from the Battel on a little height, perceiving the field loſt, made towards the Borders. The number of the ſlain. The reſt that eſcaped fled the readieſt way they could find, every man to his own home. The number of the ſlain was about 300, many were taken priſoners; amongſt whom the moſt eminent were the Lords of *Seaton* and *Roſs*, the Maſters of *Caſſils* and *Eglington*, Sir *James Hamilton* of *Avendale*, and the Sheriffs of *Aire* and *Linlithgow*. The priſoners that were taken. Of the Regents ſide one only was ſlain, the Lords *Home* and *Ochiltry* wounded. All the reſt, a few excepted that followed the chaſe too far, returned with him to *Glaſgow*; where they went firſt to Church, and gave thanks to God for the Victory they had obtained almoſt without any effuſion of bloud. This Conflict happened upon the 13 of *May*, the eleventh day

after

after her escape from *Lochlevin*. The *French* Ambassador, who had conceived an assured hope of her prevailing, perceiving things fall out otherwise, took horse, and made away to *England*, not once saluting the Regent, to whom, as he pretended, he was sent. By the way he fell in the hands of some robbers that rifled all his baggage; which the Laird of *Drumlanrig*, for the respects he carried to the title of an Ambassador, caused to be restored. *An.* 1568.

The rest of that day the Regent bestowed in taking order with the prisoners: some he freely dimitted, others upon surety; but the Principals were detained (they especially of the Surname of *Hamilton*) and committed to several prisons. The next day, taking with him 500 horse, he rode unto *Hamilton*, and had the Castle thereof, with the house of *Draffan*, another strong hold belonging to the Duke, rendered in his hands. Such a terror this defeat wrought, that the whole inhabitants of *Cluid* did relinquish and forsake their houses. Upon the like fear did the Queen, against the counsel of her best friends, take Sea at *Kirkcadbright*, and sail into *England*, landing at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland* near to the mouth of the river *Derwent*; from which place she sent a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, declaring that she was come into her Kingdom upon hope of aid and assistance from her, requesting she might be conducted to her with all speed, because of her present distress. *John Beaton*, one of her domesticks, was some days before sent with the Diamond she had received from the Queen of *England* for a token of kindness, to signifie her purpose of coming into *England*, if she should be farther pursued by her subjects: who did shortly return with large promises of love and kindness, if she should happen to come. But as soon as her coming was known, the directions sent by Sir *Francis Knowles* were not so loving; for by him she was desired to go unto *Carlile*, as a place of more safety, whither the Lieutenant of the Country should conduct her, and stay there till the Queen was informed of the equity of her cause.

The Castles of *Hamilton* and *Draffan* rendered to the Regent.

The Queen flieth to *England*, & writes to Queen *Elizabeth*.

This direction did much displease her, and then began she to see her error: but seeming to take all in good part, she sent the Lord *Hereis* 'to intreat the Queen 'for an hearing in her own presence, where she might both clear her self, and shew 'how injuriously she had been dealt with by those whom at her intercession she 'had recalled from Exile; or if that could not be obtained, to crave that she might 'be permitted to depart forth of *England*, and not detained as a prisoner, seeing 'she came willingly thither, in confidence of her kindness often promised, and 'confirmed as well by letters as messages. Queen *Elizabeth* moved with these speeches said, 'that she would send to the Regent, and desire him to stay all pro-'ceeding against the subjects that stood in her defence, till matters were brought 'to an hearing. For the Regent at the same time had called a Parliament to the 25 of *June*, for proceding against those that had accompanied the Queen in the fields by course of Law. They of the Queens Faction were in the mean time preparing to hinder the meeting; and whenas the Diet drew near, the Earl of *Argile* with his forces met Lord *Claude Hamilton* at *Glasgow*; the Earl of *Huntley* brought from the North 1000 foot, with as many horsemen almost, and came as far as *Perth*, but was not permitted to cross the River of *Tay*, the chanels and passages being all guarded by the Lord *Ruthven*, and such in those quarters as maintained the Kings Authority. So being forced to return home, the Earl of *Argile* and other Lords, not seeing how they could hinder the meeting of the Parliament, dissolved their Companies, and returned to their own Country.

The Queen of *Scots* begins to see her error.

A Parliament called by the Regent.

At this time came the Letters promised by the Queen of *England*, whereby the Regent was desired to delay the Parliament, and not to precipitate the giving of sentence in these matters, till she was rightly informed of the whole cause.

The Queen of *England* desires the Parliament to be delayed.

But the Regent, considering that the delay of the Parliament would be constructed to proceed of fear, resolved to keep the Diet. At the meeting it was long disputed, *Whether all they that had taken Arms against the King, and not sued for pardon, should be forfeited; or if sentence should be given against a few only, to terrifie the rest, and hope of favor left unto others upon their obedience.* Secretary *Lethington*,

The Regent refuseth.

An. 1568. who did ſecretly favor the other Faction, maintained the calmeſt courſe to be the beſt, and, by the perſuaſions he uſed, wrought ſo as the Proceſs againſt the better ſort was continued, and ſome of meaner note only proſcribed; which was interpreted, even as the Regent conceived, to proceed of fear, and not of a mind to reclaim them. The Earl of *Rothes* only of all the Noblemen of that ſide reconciled himſelf, accepting three years exile for his puniſhment. Some others of meaner ſort the Regent received into favor, and ſuch as ſtood out he purſued by force of Arms, making an expedition into the countries of *Nidiſdale*, *Annandale*, and the lower parts of *Galloway*, where he put Gariſons in the Caſtles and ſtrong Forts that were judged neceſſary to be kept; others he demoliſhed and threw to the ground; and had in a ſhort ſpace (as it was thought) reduced the whole Country to his obedience, if he had not been ſtayed by other Letters by the Queen of *England*: for ſhe offending that he ſhould have gone on in that manner, whereas ſhe had willed him to defer all things till ſhe was informed of the whole cauſe, ſent by one of her ſervants, called *Middlemore*, a ſharp Letter unto him, declaring that, *She would not endure the ſacred Authority of Kings to be in that ſort abuſed at the appetite of factious ſubjects; and howſoever they had forgot their duties to their Sovereign, ſhe would not neglect her Siſter and neighbor Queen.* Therefore willed him to direct certain Commiſſioners to inform her how matters had paſſed, men that could anſwer the complaints made by the Queen of *Scotland* againſt him and his Complices; which if he failed to do, ſhe would reſtore her to her Kingdom with all the power ſhe could make.

The Queen of *England* writeth to the Regent.

The Regent took it grievouſly, that matters determined in Parliament ſhould be brought again in queſtion, and to plead before forein Judges he held it diſhonorable; yet conſidering the adverſaries he had (the Cardinal of *Lorain* abroad, who ſwayed all things in the *French* Court, and at home many of the Nobility) and that if he did offend the Queen of *England*, his difficulties ſhould be every way great, he was glad to yield to the conditions required, though againſt his will. Thus it being condeſcended the Commiſſioners ſhould be ſent, whenas they could not agree upon the perſons (the principal Noblemen refuſing the employment) the Regent himſelf offered to undertake the journey; and to accompany him, choice was made of the Biſhop of *Orkney* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin* for the ſpiritual eſtate; of the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Lindeſay* for the temporal, and of Mr. *James Macgill* and Mr. *Henry Balnaves*, Senators of the College of Juſtice: beſides theſe there went with him Secretary *Lethington* and Mr. *George Buchanan*. The Secretary had long withſtood the ſending of any Commiſſioners thither, and ſimply refuſed to go in that journey; yet the Regent not holding it ſafe to leave him at home, whom he knew to be a buſie man, and a practiſer under-hand with the other party, did inſiſt ſo with him, as in end he conſented.

Commiſſioners choſen to go into *England*.

The Commiſſion was given in the Kings name, under the Great Seal, to the Regent, the Earl of *Morton*, the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord *Lindeſay*, or to any three of them, 'for convening with the Deputies of the 'Queen of *England* at *Yorke*, or any other place or places they ſhould think expedi-'ent, there to make plain and ample declarations to them, (I keep the very words of the Commiſſion) 'for informing his good Siſter of the true cauſes whereupon 'divers of the Nobility and good ſubjects, during the time that the Queen his Mo-'ther was yet poſſeſſor of the Crown, took occaſion to put on Arms, to take, detain 'and ſequeſtrate her perſon for a time, with all cauſes, actions, circumſtances, and 'other their proceedings whatſoever towards her or any other ſubjects of the Realm 'ſince that time, unto the day and date of the ſaid Commiſſion, or that ſhould fall 'out until the return of the ſaid Commiſſioners; whereby the Juſtice of their cauſe 'and honorable dealing might de manifeſted to the world: As likewiſe to com-'mune, treat, determine and conclude with his ſaid Siſter, or her Commiſſioners 'having ſufficient authority, upon all differences, cauſes or matters depending 'betwixt the ſubjects of either Realm, or for farther confirmation or augmenta-'tion of any Treaty of Peace heretofore made and concluded betwixt the Realms,

The tenor of the Commiſſion.

'or

'or for contracting and perfecting any other Treaty or Confederation, as well *An.* 1568.
'for maintenance of the true Religion publickly profeſſed by the inhabitants of
'both the Realms, as for reſiſting any forein, or inteſtine power that might be
'ſtirred up within the ſame, to diſturb the preſent quietneſs that it hath pleaſed
'the Almighty God to grant unto both the Kingdoms in the unity of the ſaid
'Religion, and for increaſe of amity, peace and concord betwixt him and his ſaid
'Siſter, their Realms, dominions, people and ſubjects. And generally to do
'and conclude all things which by them, or any three of them, ſhould ſeem conve-
'nient and neceſſary for the premiſſes, or any part thereof; promiſing to hold
'firm and ſtable, *&c.* This Commiſſion is of the date at *Edinburgh* the 18 of *September*, 1568.

In *July* preceeding there was an Aſſembly of the Church kept at *Edinburgh*, wherein Mr. *John Willock* Superintendent of the Weſt, being elected to moderate the Meeting, made difficulty to accept the place, unleſs ſome better order was obſerved than had been in former times; for even then the multitudes that convened, and indiſcreet behavior of ſome who loved to ſeem more zealous than others, did cauſe a great confuſion. Obedience being promiſed by the whole number, he aſſumed the Charge. And there it was enacted, *That none ſhould be admitted to have voice in theſe Aſſemblies but Superintendents, Viſiters of Churches, Commiſſioners of Shires and Univerſities, and ſuch Miniſters as the Superintendents ſhould chuſe in their Dioceſan Synods and bring with them, being men of knowledge, and able to reaſon and judge of matters that ſhould happen to be proponed.* And that the Aſſembly ſhould not be troubled with unneceſſary buſineſs, it was ordained, *That no matters ſhould be moved which the Superintendents might and ought to determine in their Synods.* Some Acts of Diſcipline were alſo concluded: as, *That Papiſts continuing obſtinate after lawful admonitions ſhould be excommunicated*; and *that the committers of murther, inceſt, adultery, and other ſuch hainous crimes, ſhould not be admitted to make ſatisfaction by any particular Church, till they did firſt appear in the habit of penitents before the general Aſſembly, and there receive their injunctions.* A Supplication alſo was put up to the Regent and Council, wherein amongſt other particulars it was deſired, *That the perſons nominated in Parliament for the matter of Policy or Juriſdiction of the Church, ſhould be ordained to meet at a certain day and place for the concluding the ſame.* This was promiſed, and the 8. of *Auguſt* appointed to that effect; but the Diet did not hold, and ſo theſe matters continued unreſolved as before. In the end of the Aſſembly the Biſhop of *Orkney*, who had been depoſed from all Function in the Church for the Marriage of *Bothwell* with the Queen, was upon his ſubmiſſion reponed to his place; and, for removing the ſcandal, he was injoyned in his firſt Sermon to make publick acknowedgement of his fault, and crave forgiveneſs of God, the Church and Eſtate which he had offended.

An Aſſembly of the Church.

Who ſhould have voice in Aſſemblies.

Acts of Diſcipline.

The Biſhop of *Orkney* reponed.

About the end of *September* the Regent and thoſe that were joyned with him in Commiſſion took their journey into *England*, and came to *York* the fifth of *October*. The ſame day and almoſt the ſame hour came *Thomas Howard* Duke of *Norfolk*, *Thomas* Earl of *Suſſex*, and Sir *Ralph Sadler* Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, having Commiſſion from the Queen of *England* to hear and determine all queſtions, controverſies, debates and contentions betwixt her Siſter the Queen of *Scots* and the ſubjects adhering unto her, on the one part, and the Earl of *Murray* and others refuſing to acknowledge her Authority and adhering to the Prince her Son, on the other: as likewiſe to decide all matters depending betwixt them two, to confirm the peace before that time contracted or eſtabliſh a new Confederation betwixt them, their people and ſubjects, as they ſhould think moſt convenient. Some two days after *John Leſly* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, *Gawan Hamilton* Commendator of *Kilwinning*, and *James Cockburn* of *Skirling*, Commiſſioners for the *Scottiſh* Queen, came to the City; where being all convened, and the Commiſſions exhibited, an Oath was preſented to both parties by the Commiſſioners of *England*, by which they were required to ſwear, *That they ſhould proceed ſincerely in that Conference and Treaty, and neither for affection, malice,*

A meeting of the *Engliſh* & *Scots* Commiſſioners at *York*.

Commiſſioners for the *Scottiſh* Queen.

An. 1568. *or any other worldly respect, propone any thing before the Commissioners which in their Consciences they did not hold to be true, just and godly, and reasonable; as also not to withdraw, hide or conceal any matter fit to be opened and declared for the better knowledge of the truth in the controversies standing amongst them.*

Protestation for the Queen of *Scotland*.

The Commissioners of the Queen of *Scotland*, before they took the oath, protested, 'That although the Queen their Mistress was pleased to have the differ-'ences betwixt her and her disobedient subjects considered and dressed by her 'dearest Sister and Cousin the Queen of *England*, or by the Commissioners autho-'rized by her; yet she did not acknowledge her self subject to any Judge on 'earth, she being a free Princess, and holding her imperial Crown of God alone. This their Protestation they desired to be put in record, lest the Queen or her posterity should be prejudiced in their Sovereignty by the present proceedings.

Commissioners of *England* protest in the contrary.

The Commissioners of *England* did contrariwise protest, 'That they did nei-'ther admit nor allow that Protestation in any sort, to the hurt or preju-'dice of that right which the Kings of *England* have claimed, had and en-'joyed as Superiors over the Realm of *Scotland*, which Superiority they 'protested should belong and appertain to the Queen their Mistress in the 'right of the Crown of *England*. These Protestations made, both parties took the oath in manner as was required; and this was the Act of the first meeting.

A Declaration in behalf of the Queen of *Scotland*.

The next day the Commissioners of the Queen of *Scotland* presented a Declaration in writing, bearing, 'That *James* Earl of *Morton*, *John* Earl of *Marre*, '*Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, the Lords *Homes*, *Lindesay*, *Ruthven*, *Semple*, '*Cathcart*, *Ochiltrie*, and others their assistents, had levied an Army in the 'Queens name against the Queen, taking her most Noble Person, used her in 'vile manner, and thrust into Prison in *Lochlevin*, and forcibly broken her Mint-'house, taken away the printing Irons, with all the silver and gold coined and 'uncoined which was in the house for the time: and going to the Castle of '*Striveling*, had made a fashion to crown her Son the Prince, being then but thir-'teen months old. That *James* Earl of *Murray*, taking upon him the name of Re-'gent, had usurped the Royal Authority, and possessed himself with the whole 'Forts, Castles, Munition, Jewels and Revenues of the Kingdom. And when it 'had pleased God to relieve her out of that prison (wherein she was so straitly 'detained by the space of eleven months, as none of her friends and true subjects 'could once be permitted to see or speak with her) and that she had publickly de-'clared by a solemn oath, in the presence of divers of the Nobility at *Hambleton*, 'that whatsoever was done by her in prison was extorted by force, threats and 'fear of death; she, out of that natural affection which she carried to her Realm 'and subjects, did appoint the Earls of *Argile*, *Eglington*, *Cassils* and *Rothes*, to 'agree and make a Pacification with the said Regent and his partakers: but they 'were so far from admitting any peaceable Treaty, as they did invade her, in her 'passing to *Dumbritton*, with the men of War whom she had hired with her own 'monys, killed divers of her faithful subjects, lead others away prisoners, and 'banished some of good note for no other cause but for serving faithfully their 'lawful Princess; and so after a great many injuries had forced her to fly into *Eng-'land*, to request the help of Queen *Elizabeth* her dearest Sister, and in blood the 'neareſt Cousin she had in the world, for restoring her in her former estate, 'and compelling her rebellious subjects to acknowledge their due obedience 'unto her Majesty, which they in her Highness name did most instantly in-'treat.

The Regents desire to the Commissioners of *England*.

The day following, which was the ninth of *October*, the Regent and rest of the Commissioners for the young King appearing, before they would give any answer to the preceding Writ, craved first to be resolved, *Whether the Duke and those that were appointed with him for hearing their controversies, had power to pronounce in the cause of the Kings Mother, guilty or not guilty; and if according to the same they meant to give sentence without delay: As likewise, if it should*

ſhould appear by the Declaration they were to make that the Queen of Scots *was guilty, whether ſhe ſhould be delivered in their hands, or detained in* England; *and if the Queen of* England *would from thenceforth maintain the Authority of the King, and the Regency eſtabliſhed in the perſon of the Earl of* Murray. Which points they deſired to have cleared, before they could enter into the Accuſation intended. The Duke of *Norfolk* replied, that they would proceed according to the Commiſſion given unto them, and render an account to her who had truſted them therewith. *Lethington* upon this turning himſelf to the Regent ſaid, *That it ſeemed the* Engliſh *had no other purpoſe but to defame and diſgrace the reputation of the Queen their Kings Mother; therefore willed him and his aſſociates to conſider what hurt and danger they ſhould draw upon themſelves, by accuſing her in ſuch a publick form, not only with thoſe of her own Nation that loved the Queen, but alſo with other Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially with her Couſins in* France: *and what could they anſwer unto the King, when he being of ripe years would eſteem that manner of doing diſhonorable to himſelf, his Mother and whole Kingdom?*

An. 1568.

The Duke of *Norfolks* anſwer.

Lethington diſſuadeth the Regent from accuſing the Queen.

The Information preſented againſt the Queen of *Scots*.

They notwithſtanding went on, and preſented their anſwer, conceived in the terms following. 'That King *Henry*, Father to their Sovereign Lord the King 'now reigning, being horribly murthered in his bed, *James* ſometimes Earl of 'Bothwell, who was known to be the chief Author thereof, entered in ſuch credit 'with the Queen, then their Sovereign, as within two months after the Murther 'committed he openly attempted a Rape of her Perſon, and carried her to *Dumbar* 'Caſtle, where he did keep her as captive a certain ſpace, cauſing a Divorce to be 'led betwixt him and his lawful Wife, and upon the concluſion thereof did ſud-'denly accompliſh a pretended Marriage with the Queen: which inſolent pro-'ceedings, together with the ſhameful report that paſſed in all Nations of the 'Kings Murther, as if the whole Nobility had been alike culpable thereof, ſo 'moved the hearts of a good number of them, as they thought nothing could be 'performed more honorable to themſelves in the ſight of all the world, than by 'puniſhing the ſaid Earl who had committed the Murther, to free themſelves of the 'vile reports ſpread every where; to ſet the Queen at liberty from the bondage of 'that Traitor, who had ſo preſumptuouſly interpriſed the Rape and Marriage of 'her, whoſe lawful Husband he could not be; and to preſerve the innocent perſon 'of the King from the hands of him that had murthered his Father. For which pur-'poſe they taking Arms, when the ſaid Earl came againſt them with Forces, lead-'ing in his company the Queen to defend his wickedneſs, they offered, for ſpa-'ring the blood of innocent men, to decide the quarrel in a ſingle Combat, 'whereof himſelf by Cartel and Proclamation had ſundry times made offer. 'But after many ſhifts he in end directly refuſed the ſame, and the Queen prefer-'ring his impunity to her own honor, that he might have leiſure to eſcape, came 'willingly to the Noblemen that were in Arms, and conferred with them a certain 'ſpace; after which they conveyed her to *Edinburgh*, informing her of the true 'cauſes that moved them to that form of dealing, and did humbly intreat her Ma-'jeſty to ſuffer the ſaid Earl and others, the King her Husbands Murthers, to be 'puniſhed according to the Laws; and the pretended Marriage, wherein ſhe was 'raſhly entered, to be diſſolved, as well for her own honor, as for the ſafety of her 'Son and quietneſs of the Realm and Subjects. But having received no other 'anſwer but rigorous threats againſt the Noblemen, and ſhe avouching to be re-'venged upon all thoſe that had ſhewn themſelves in that cauſe; they were driven 'by neceſſity to ſequeſtrate her Perſon for a ſeaſon from the company of *Both-'well*, and the keeping of any intelligence with him, until puniſhment might be 'taken of him as Murtherer of the King her Husband. In the mean time ſhe finding 'her ſelf wearied with the troubles of Government, and perceiving by things that 'had paſſed before that time betwixt her and the people, that neither could ſhe 'well allow of their doings, nor they like of her forms, upon theſe and other conſi-'derations ſhe voluntarily reſigned her Kingdom, and transferred the ſame unto 'her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* (who was at that time abſent forth of the 'Realm) to be Regent during her Sons Minority; and in caſe of the ſaid

An. 1568. ‘Earls deceaſe or not acceptance of the ſaid Office, divers other Noblemen, ‘whoſe names are expreſſed in the Commiſſions ſigned by her ſelf, and ſealed ‘with the Seals of the Kingdom. The King hereupon being duly, rightly and ‘orderly Crowned and Anointed, and the Earl of *Murray* after his return lawfully ‘placed and admitted Regent, all thoſe things were ratified and confirmed by the ‘three Eſtates of Parliament, moſt of theſe that had withdrawn themſelves from ‘his Authority being preſent and giving their conſent to the ſame. Nottheleſs, ‘whenas matters were thus eſtabliſhed, and the Kings Authority univerſally obey-‘ed without contradiction, certain perſons, envying the publick quietneſs, had by ‘their ſubtile practices firſt brought the Queen out of *Lochlevin*, and afterwards ‘by open force againſt their promiſed fidelity gone about to ſubvert the Govern-‘ment received; wherein as they were proceeding, it pleaſed God to diſappoint ‘their enterpriſe, and give unto the King and thoſe who ſtood for his Authority a ‘notable Victory upon the 13 day of *May* laſt. Wherefore their deſire was, that ‘the King and the Regent might peaceably rule and govern the ſubjects according ‘to the Authority they had received of God, and that the ſame might be conſerved ‘and eſtabliſhed againſt the Factions of turbulent ſubjects.

The Commiſſioners of the Queen of *Scots* reply.

The Commiſſioners of the Queen of *Scots* having ſeen this anſwer made a long and particular reply to all the points thereof, wherein, adhering to their former ‘Proteſtation, firſt they ſaid, ‘That the pretext of taking Arms againſt the Queen, ‘becauſe *Bothwell* (the author of her Husbands Murther) was in ſuch favor with ‘her, could not warrant their rebellion, ſith it never was made known to the ‘Queen that he was the Murtherer. But to the contrary, *Bothwell* being indited, ‘and orderly ſummoned to underly the tryal of Law, he was by the judgment of ‘his Peers abſolved, and the ſame Abſolution ratified by the Authority of Parlia-‘ment, where the principals that now accuſe him, and had withdrawn themſelves ‘from her Majeſties obedience, were preſent, and not only conſented to his Pur-‘gation, but ſolicited the Queen to take him to her Husband, as the man moſt ‘worthy to bear rule of any other in all the realm, giving their Bonds to defend ‘him againſt all that ſhould purſue him for the ſaid crime, as their Subſcriptions ‘would teſtifie. And ſo neither before the Marriage with *Bothwell* nor after did ‘they or any of them (which had been the duty of true ſubjects) ſo much as in ‘words utter their diſlike of it, or advertiſe her Majeſty of the ſuſpicions that were ‘taken of him, until they had drawn the keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* and ‘the Provoſt of the Town to their Faction. Then ſecretly putting themſelves ‘in Arms, they ſuddenly under ſilence of night invironed the Caſtle of *Borthwick*, ‘where her Majeſty remained; and after ſhe had eſcaped to *Dumbar*, levied an ‘Army, under pretence to defend the Queen, wherewith invading her Perſon in ‘the way betwixt *Dumbar* and *Edinburgh*, they did take her Majeſty captive.

And where they alledge, That her Majeſty preferring the impunity of *Bothwell* to her own honor, made him to be conveyed ſafely away; ‘The ſame was moſt ‘untrue, for they themſelves ſent the Laird of *Grange* to her Majeſty, deſiring her ‘to cauſe *Bothwell* paſs out of the fields as ſuſpected of the Kings Murther, till the ‘ſame might be tried, and that ſhe would go with them and follow the counſel ‘of the Nobility; which if ſhe would do, they would honor, ſerve and obey her ‘as their Princeſs and Sovereign: whereunto her Majeſty, for the love ſhe bare ‘unto her ſubjects, and to avoid the effuſion of Chriſtian blood, did willingly ‘aſſent. In verification whereof, the ſaid Laird of *Grange* took the Earl of *Both-*‘*well* at the ſame time by the hand, and willed him to depart, giving his word ‘that no man ſhould purſue him. So as nothing is more clear than that he paſſed ‘away by their own conſents; for if they had been minded againſt him only, ‘would they not have purſued him ſo long as he was in the Country, for he re-‘mained a great ſpace after that in his own houſe, and might more eaſily have been ‘taken there than upon the Seas, where they in a coloured manner did purſue ‘him? Hereby (ſaid they) may all men of ſound judgment perceive that they ‘cared not what became of him, if ſo they might advance their own ambitious ‘purpoſes and deſigns.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, where ſhe is charged to have uſed them with threats and menacings; *An.* 1568.
'That (they ſaid) was not to be thought ſtrange, conſidering their undutiful be-
'haviour, and the rude and vile uſage her Majeſty ſuffered by them. For when the
'Earl of *Morton*, at her Highneſs firſt coming to them had reverently, as it be-
'came him, ſaid, Madam, here is the place where your Grace ſhould be, and we
'will honor and ſerve you as truly as ever the Nobility of the Realm did any of
'your progenitors in former times, ratifying thereby the promiſe made by the
'Laird *Grange* in their names to her Majeſty, and that ſhe truſting their ſpeeches
'had gone with him to *Edinburgh*; they firſt lodging her in a ſimple Burgeſs
'houſe, contrary to their promiſes did moſt rudely intreat her; Whereupon ſhe
'ſent *Lethington* her Secretary, and made offer unto them, that for any thing
'wherewith they or any of the ſubjects were offended ſhe was content the ſame
'ſhould be reformed by the Nobility and the Eſtates of the Realm, her Highneſs
'being preſent, and permitted to anſwer for her ſelf: yet would they not hearken
'once to the motion, but in the night ſecretly and againſt her will carried her to
'*Lochlevin*, and put her in Priſon.

As to that they ſay, That ſhe wearied with the moleſtations of Government did make a voluntary Reſignation of the Kingdom in favors of the Prince her Son, appointing the Earl of *Murray* his Regent during his Minority; 'The falſhood 'thereof did (as they ſaid) many ways appear. For firſt, her Majeſty is neither 'decayed by age, nor weakned by ſickneſs, but (praiſed be God) both in mind and 'body able to diſcharge the moſt weighty affairs. As alſo the truth is that the 'Earl of *Athol*, the Lairds of *Tullibardin* and *Lethington* (who were of their Coun-'cil) ſent *Robert Melvil* with a Ring and ſome other tokens to her Majeſty, advi-'ſing her to ſubſcribe the Letters of Reſignation, and what elſe ſhould be preſen-'ted unto her to ſave her own Life, and avoid the death which was aſſuredly pre-'pared for her if ſhe ſhould happen to refuſe the ſame; and at the ſame time the 'ſaid Gentleman did bring unto her Majeſty a Letter written by Sir *Nicholas Throg-'morton*, Ambaſſador of *England*, requeſting her Highneſs to ſet her hand to 'whatſoever they ſhould deſire of her. To whom her Majeſty anſwered, that ſhe 'would follow his counſel; praying him to declare to her deareſt Siſter, the 'Queen of *England*, how ſhe was uſed by her ſubjects, and that the Reſignation 'of the Crown made by her was extorted by fear, which her Highneſs doubted 'not but the ſaid *Nicholas* performed.

'Farther, it is notorious that the Lord *Lindeſay*, at the preſenting of the Letters 'of Reſignation unto her Majeſty, did menace to put her in cloſe priſon if ſhe re-'fuſed to put her hand to the ſame; adding, that in that caſe worſe would ſhortly 'follow; and that her Highneſs never looked what was in the Writings preſented, 'but ſigned the ſame with many tears, proteſting that, if ever ſhe ſhould recover 'her Liberty, ſhe would diſavow that which he compelled her at that time to do. 'And to teſtifie that the ſaid Reſignation was made againſt her will, the Laird of '*Lochlevin*, who was then her Keeper, refuſed to ſubſcrive it as Witneſs, and did 'obtain a Teſtificat under her Majeſties own hand, declaring that he refuſed to be 'preſent at the ſaid Reſignation.

'Neither can that Renunciation be ſuſtained by any reaſon, conſidering that no 'portion of Revenue was reſerved for her to live upon, neither was her Liberty 'granted, or any ſecurity given her of her Life. All which weighed in the balance 'of Reaſon will to men of indifferent judgment make manifeſt that the alledged 'Dimiſſion, ſo unlawfully procured, can never prejudge her Majeſty in her Royal 'eſtate: eſpecially conſidering that at her firſt eſcape out of priſon ſhe did revoke 'the ſame, and in the preſence of a great part of the Nobility at *Hamilton*, by a 'ſolemn Oath, declared that what ſhe had done was by compulſion, and upon juſt 'cauſe of her Life.

For the Coronation of her Highneſs Son, they ſaid, 'That the ſame was moſt 'unorderly done; becauſe there being in the Realm above an hundred Earls, Bi-'ſhops and Lords having voice in Parliament (of whom the greateſt part at leaſt 'ought to have conſented thereto, it being an Action of ſuch conſequence) four

'Earls

An. 1568. 'Earls and ſix Lords (the ſame that were preſent at her Apprehenſion) with one 'Biſhop, and two or three Abbots and Priors, were only aſſiſting; and of the ſame 'number ſome did put in a Proteſtation, that nothing then done ſhould prejudge 'the Queen or her Succeſſor, by reaſon ſhe was at that time a Captive. Nor can 'any man think that if the Dimiſſion had been willingly made by her Highneſs, 'ſhe would ever have nominated the Earl of *Murray* Regent, there being many 'others more lawful, and that have better right thereto than he; of whom ſome 'have been Governors of the Realm in former times, and during her Majeſties 'Minority had worthily exerced that place.

It is to as little purpoſe that they object of the Parliament, and the Ratification made therein, 'Seeing the principals of the Nobility diſaſſented, and put in 'their Proteſtations both to the Lords of the Articles and in the open Parliament 'againſt their proceedings, affirming that they would never agree to any thing 'that might hurt the Queens Majeſties Perſon, her Crown and Royal eſtate, 'farther than her Highneſs ſelf being at liberty would freely approve. Laſtly, where they would have it ſeen that the Authority eſtabliſhed by them was univerſally obeyed in the Realm, and all things well and juſtly adminiſtred; 'Both theſe 'are alike untrue. For a great part of the Nobility have never acknowledged an- 'other Authority than that of the Queen, keeping and holding their Courts in 'her Majeſties name. And for the adminiſtration of affairs, it is apparent that 'wickedneſs did never reign more and with leſs controlment in the Realm, Mur- 'ther, Bloodſhed, with Theft and Robbery every where abounding; Policy de- 'ſtroyed, Churches thrown down, honorable Families ruinated, and true men 'bereft of their goods, for ſatisfying the ſoldiers hired by them to maintain the 'Regents uſurped Government, the like whereof hath not been ſeen nor heard 'for many Ages before. In regard whereof they in behalf of the Queen of *Scot-* 'land, their Miſtreſs, did earneſtly requeſt the ſupport and aſſiſtance of the Queen 'of *England* her Couſin, for reſtoring her to her Crown, and ſuppreſſing the Re- 'bels that had attempted againſt her.

The Commiſſioners of *England* deſire the Regent to give better reaſons.

The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners having peruſed the Writings of both ſides, declared, that as yet they were not ſatisfied with any thing the Regent had ſhewed, requiring him to produce ſome better and more ſound reaſons for the Severity they had uſed againſt their Sovereign, otherwiſe they could not but think ſhe had been too hardly dealt with, and report ſo much to the Queen their Miſtreſs. The Regent (who diſliked nothing more than to be drawn into the Accuſation of the Queen his Siſter) anſwered, that he could not be more particular till he ſhould be aſſured that the Queen of *England* would undertake the protection of the young King, and relinquiſh the cauſe of his Mother. The Commiſſioners replying, that they had no warrant to promiſe any ſuch thing; he beſought them to try the Queens mind, that her pleaſure being known he might ſooner reſolve what to do. Letters hereupon were ſent to the Queen, who willed the Regent to direct ſome one or more of his ſide to Court, for her better information. To this effect Secretary *Lethington* and Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of the Rolls were ſent thither, with whom the Queen having conferred a little time, ſhe gave order to recal her Commiſſioners, and advertiſe the Regent himſelf to come unto her. At his coming the Queen laid to his charge the proceeding againſt his Siſter the Queen of *Scots*, ſaying, that *ſhe did not ſee how he and the reſt of his Faction could well be excuſed, & that unleſs matters were better cleared on their parts, ſhe could not deny the help and aſſiſtance that was required at her hands.* The Regent, according to the condition propoſed at *York*, anſwered, *That if ſhe would take upon her the defence of the King, they ſhould be more particular in their reaſons for rejecting the Queens Authority, and clear every thing they ſhould ſpeak ſufficiently; otherwiſe to accuſe his Siſter and Queen, would be held odious in the judgment of all men.*

Rumors diſperſed of the Regents impriſonment.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing in *England*, the Queens Faction at home ſought all occaſions to make trouble, abuſing the popular ſort with rumors they diſperſed: ſometimes giving out that the Regent was made Priſoner in the Tower; at other times, that he had promiſed to ſubject the Kingdom of *Scotland* to

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the *Engliſh*, to deliver the young King to be brought up in *England*, and put all the Forts and ſtrong Holds in the Realm in their hands. Nor was any man more buſied in diſperſing ſuch lies, and uſing all means elſe for the ſtirring up tumult, than Sir *James Balfour*, inſtigated thereto by advertiſement from the Secretary, as was commonly thought. For by his advice it was that the *Scotiſh* Queen at the ſame time ſent Commiſſions of Lieutenandry to divers Noblemen for erecting again her Authority, like as all the while he remained in *England* he did ever keep intelligence with the Biſhop of *Roſſe* and others the Queens Agents, and was one of the chief plotters of the Match intended betwixt her and the Duke of *Norfolk*, which came ſhortly after to be detected. The Regent, who was not ignorant of theſe ſecret workings, did find there was a neceſſity of his returning home, to prevent the Commotions that were breeding, before they grew into a greater ripeneſs: and fearing to offend the Queen of *England*, if he ſhould depart without giving her ſatisfaction in the particulars ſhe deſired to be informed of touching the Queen of *Scots*, reſolved to do it, but with a Proteſtation, which he preſented in writing to the Council at *Weſtminſter* the 28 of *November* in this form. *An.* 1568.

A Declaration preſented in writing by the Regent.

Albeit our whole proceedings from the beginning of our enterpriſe, directed only for the puniſhment of the Kings Murther, and the purging of our Nation from the ſcandal of that abominable fact, may let the world ſee how unwilling we have been to touch the Queen our Sovereign Lords Mother in honour, or to publiſh unto ſtrangers matters tending to her infamy; yet ſhall it not be amiſs upon the preſent occaſion to ſhew briefly what hath been, and ſtill is our meaning therein. Such and ſo great was our devotion toward her, as well for private affection, whereby every one of us was led to wiſh her well, as for publick reſpects, that rather than we would blemiſh her honor with the foreknowledge of that deteſtable Murther, we choſe to wink at the ſhrewd reports of the world, and let our ſelves to be blazoned as Rebels and Traitors to our native Prince; which had been eaſie for us to have wiped away with the uttering of a few words, if the deſire we had to ſave her Reputation had not made us content that the world ſhould ſtill live in doubt of the juſtice of our quarrel, and ſpeak every one as their affections were inclined. So when we were urged by the Queens Majeſty of England, *and the* French *Kings Ambaſſadors, to give a reaſon why we detained our Queen at* Lochlevin, *we gave no other anſwer, but that her affection was ſo exceſſively towards* Bothwell, *the committer of that odious Murther, that ſhe being at liberty it would not be poſſible to puniſh him, and that it behoved us for a ſeaſon to ſequeſtrate her Perſon, till he might be apprehended and puniſhed. In what danger this dealing brought us we have no need to ſhew. From* France *we had nothing to expect but open Hoſtility, and by keeping up the chief cauſes of her Rejection we had reaſon to fear that the Queen of* England *ſhould call our proceedings in doubt, and ſo leave us deſtitute of her Majeſties aid, at whoſe hands we look principally to receive comfort in time of danger. This courſe nottheleſs we ſhould ſtill have kept, if the importunity of our adverſaries had not forced us to take another way: For remembring what a Perſon ſhe is whom we are brought to accuſe, the Mother of our King and Sovereign Lord, a Lady to whom in particular the greateſt part of us are ſo far obliged for benefits received, that if with the perpetual exile of any one, or of a number of us, forth of our Native Country, we could redeem her honor without the danger of the King and whole ſtate, we would willingly baniſh our ſelves to that end. And therefore ere we dip farther in the matter which to this hour we have ſhunned, we ſolemnly proteſt, that it is not any delight we take in accuſing her, but a neceſſity that is laid upon us to purge our ſelves, that draws us unto it. For if our adverſaries would reſted content with our former anſwer, which they know to be true, no farther would be needed: but againſt our hearts, in defence of our juſt cauſe, they compelled us to utter the things which we wiſh were buried in perpetual oblivion. So if our doing ſeem hateful to any, let theſe bear the blame who force us to anſwer, which they know we may, and in the end muſt give. One thing only we deſire, that they who have brought us to this neceſſity may be preſent and hear what is ſaid, that, if we ſpeak any untruth, they may refute the ſame, for even in point of greateſt moment we will uſe their own teſtimony.*

This

An. 1568. This being communicated with the Agents of the *Scottiſh* Queen, they anſwered,

The anſwer of the Commiſſioners for the Queen of *Scots.*

'That they did not force them to any Accuſations; and if they did utter untruths,
'or calumniate the Queen in any ſort, they would not patiently hear it. That all
'their deſires were to have their Queen reſtored to her Kingdom, from which by
'force of Arms ſhe was expulſed; or if it ſhould pleaſe the Queen of *England* to
'hear any more of that matter, they requeſted that the Queen of *Scots* might be
'ſent for, and permitted to ſpeak for her ſelf.

Mean while by a new Patent there were joyned to the other Commiſſioners, *Bacon* Keeper of the great Seal, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Leiceſter*, with the Lord Admiral, and Sir *William Cecill*, and a time aſſigned to the Regent for producing the reaſons for the Queens rejecting. When the day was come, he preſented the Confeſſions of ſome that were executed for the Kings Murther; the Statutes of Parliament ratifying her Reſignation of the Crown and her Sons Coronation, ſubſcribed by divers of her own party; certain amatory verſes and epiſtles written to *Bothwell* (as they ſaid) with her own hand; three ſeveral Contracts of Marriage betwixt her and *Bothwell*; with a number of preſumptuous likelihoods and conjectures, to make it appear that ſhe was privy to the Murther *Bothwell* had committed.

The Queen of *England* doubteth how to carry her ſelf in the buſineſs.

The Queen of *England*, having ſeen and peruſed all theſe, ſtood doubtful what to do: for albeit ſhe was content to have ſome blot rubbed upon the Queen of *Scots*, as many ſuppoſed; yet the pity of her misfortune made her ſometimes to think of compoſing matters betwixt her and her Subjects. The terms beſides wherein ſhe ſtood with the *French* King, who was daily by his Ambaſſadors ſoliciting the Queen of *Scots* liberty, made her uncertain what courſe to take: for if ſhe ſhould ſimply deny his requeſt, it would be eſteemed a breach of friendſhip; and to yield to his deſire, ſhe thought it ſcarce ſafe for her own eſtate. Therefore keeping a middle courſe, ſhe reſolved to ſuſpend her Declaration unto another time, and willed the Regent, ſeeing he could make no longer ſtay, to leave ſome of his company to anſwer the criminations, which poſſibly his adverſaries would charge him with after he was gone. But he replying ſaid, *That he was not ſo deſirous to return home, but he would willingly ſtay to hear what they could alledge againſt him. Nor was he ignorant of the rumors they had diſperſed, & what they had ſpoken to ſome of the Council and to the* French *Ambaſſador; which were more convenient to be told whileſt he was himſelf in place and might make anſwer, than to bely and calumniate him in his abſence: wherefore he did humbly intreat her to cauſe them utter the things plainly that they muttered in ſecret. Hereupon were the Queen of* Scots *Commiſſioners called, and it being inquired, Whether they had any thing to object againſt the Regent which might argue his guiltineſs of the Kings Murther*; they anſwered, *That when the Queen their Miſtreſs ſhould bid them accuſe, they would do it, but for the preſent they had nothing to ſay.* The Regent replyed, *That if the Queen or any other would accuſe him, he ſhould ever be ready to give an account of his actions, and neither decline place nor time; but in the mean while till ſhe ſhould intend her Accuſation, it was reaſon they ſhould declare if they themſelves had any thing to lay unto his charge.* After divers ſubterfuges, in end they profeſſed that they knew nothing which might make him or any of his aſſociates ſuſpected of the Murther.

The Queens Commiſſioners purge the Regent of the Kings murther.

The Duke of *Chattellerault* claimeth the Regency.

The Regent now at the point to depart, a new lett was made by the Duke of *Chattellerault*, who coming from *France* by *England*, drew himſelf into a conteſtation for the Government, pleading that the ſame did belong to him, as being the neareſt of blood, and lawful Heir to the Crown next after the Queen of *Scots* and her Succeſſion.

This he ſaid was the Law and practice of all Nations, and a cuſtom perpetually obſerved in *Scotland*: for proof whereof he alledged the Regency of *Robert Stewart*, Uncle to King *James* the Firſt, with that of his ſon Duke *Murdack*, after the fathers death; the Government of *John* Duke of *Albany* in the Minority of King *James* the fifth, and his own Regency in the nonage of the preſent Queen. Contrary to which cuſtom, a few rebels (as he complained) had moſt injuriouſly to his diſgrace, and (which was moſt unſufferable) to the contempt of the lawful blood, preferred

one

one baſe born unto the ſupreme Dignity; which honor if it ſhould be reſtored to him, the Civil Troubles he ſaid would ceaſe, and the Queen without any tumult be reſtored to her content. Whereupon he requeſted the Queen of *Englands* favor, and that by her Authority the Earl of *Murray* might be cauſed ceaſe from his uſurped Government. *An.* 1568.

To this in behalf of the Regent it was replied, 'That the Dukes Petition was 'moſt unjuſt, and contrary to the Cuſtom and Laws of the Country, which 'provided that at ſuch times as the Crown ſhould fall in the hands of Minors, 'one or more of the moſt ſage and powerful in the Eſtates ſhould be elected for 'the adminiſtration of affairs unto the Kings ripe age. This courſe they ſaid, the '*Scots* had conſtantly kept the laſt ſix hundred years, and thereby ſecured the 'Kingdom, and tranſmitted the ſame free and ſafe to their poſterity. As, for in-'ſtance, after the death of King *Robert Bruce*, *Thomas Randolph* Earl of *Murray* 'was elected Governor; upon his death, *Duncan* Earl of *Marre*; after him, *An-'drew Murray*, and then *Robert Stewart*; who were all choſen Regents one after 'another. In the Minority of King *James* the Second, Sir *Alexander Levingſton* 'was elected, a man neither of blood to the King, nor a Noble man of degree, but 'for his worth and wiſdom preferred. In like ſort King *James* the Third had four 'Tutors appointed to him by the Eſtates, none of them for any reſpect of pro-'pinquity. A reply to the Dukes Petition.

'And for the examples adduced of Duke *Murdack* and *John* Duke of *Albany*, 'they made nothing to the purpoſe. The laſt of the two in the Minority of King '*James* the Fifth being called to the Government by the Nobility, and confirmed 'therein by the Eſtates. And to ſhew that in his election no reſpect was had to 'nearneſs of blood, his elder Brother *Alexander* was then alive, who would not 'have been paſſed, if propinquity or kindred had carried the ſway. How Duke '*Murdack* and his Father before him came to govern, it was well known. King '*Robert* the Third, waxing infirm and unable to rule by himſelf, did ſubſtitute his 'Brother (called *Robert*, likewiſe) his Lieutenant in the Kingdom, commending 'his two Sons *David* and *James* to his care. But the kindneſs he ſhewed to them 'was, that the elder of the two was ſtarved to death in the Palace of *Falkland*, and 'the younger forced fly for his life, he being detained priſoner in *England*. After 'the Fathers death, the Uncle uſurped ſtill the place wherewith he was poſſeſſed, 'and at his dying left the ſame to *Murdack* his Son. As to that he ſpeaks of his 'own Regiment, they ſaid he had done more wiſely not to have mentioned it, con-'ſidering his Preferment proceeded rather of hatred born to the Cardinal, who 'had ſuppoſed a falſe Teſtament, than of any favour carried to himſelf: and that 'being poſſeſſed in the place, he ſold both it and the young Queen to the *French*, 'which had bred a great deal of trouble. And granting the cuſtom had been 'ſuch as he pretends, will any man in reaſon judge it ſafe to commit the tuition of 'an innocent child to him, whoſe Family hath entertained ſo long enmity with 'that of which the King is deſcended, and will ever be waiting and wiſhing the 'death of his Pupil? none will think it. This was the ſubſtance of the Reply; which when the Queen of *England* heard, ſhe directed certain of the Council to ſhew the Duke, that he was not to look for any help from her in that buſineſs, and to prohibit his journey into *Scotland*, till the Regent was parted and gone home.

About the ſame time there were Letters of the Queen of *Scots* intercepted, ſent to the Noblemen of her party in *Scotland*, wherein ſhe complained, *That the Queen of* England *had not kept promiſe unto her; yet deſired them to be of good heart, becauſe ſhe was aſſured of aid by ſome other means, and hoped to be with them in a ſhort time.* Theſe Letters ſent from *Scotland* to the Regent, he delivered to the Queen of *England*, who from henceforth was much eſtranged from the Queen of *Scots*, as well for that ſhe charged her with breach of promiſe, as becauſe it appeared ſhe leaned to ſome others beſides her ſelf. The Queen of *Scots* Letters intercepted.

The Regent preſently after took his journy homewards, and being attended by the Sheriffs and Gentlemen of the Country at the Queen of *Englands* direction, came The Regent returneth to *Scotland*.

An. 1568. came ſafely to *Berwick* the firſt of *February*, and the day following to *Edinburgh*: within a few days he went to *Striveling*, and in a Convention of the Eſtates having related the proceedings in *England*, had all ratified and approved.

The Duke made Deputy by the Queen of *Scots*.

The twentieth of the ſame month the Duke of *Chattellerault* returned, and being made Deputy by the Queen of *Scots*, cauſed publiſh his Letters, prohibiting the ſubjects to acknowledge any other Sovereign than the Queen. Hereupon the Regent gave forth Proclamations, charging the Leiges in the Kings name to meet him in Arms at *Glaſgow* the tenth of *March*. The Duke in the mean time ſent to the Aſſembly of the Church, convened at that time in *Edinburgh*, a prolix Letter wherein he ſignified, 'That being in *France*, and hearing what Troubles 'were moved at home, the love he carried to his native Country made him re- 'turn with intent to pacifie theſe ſtirs at his utmoſt power: and howbeit in his 'abſence he had ſuffered wrong, yet he aſſured them that his own particular did 'not grieve him ſo much, as the danger wherein the Kingdom was brought, by the 'diverſity that had happened betwixt the Queen their native Sovereign and a part 'of her ſubjects, which he wiſhed to be removed in ſome quiet and peaceable man- 'ner; and that the Eſtates convening might (after they had conſidered the ground 'and beginning of theſe Troubles, which he conceived to be the Murther of the 'Queens late Husband) with one conſent agree upon ſome reaſonable courſe to 'be followed for redreſs thereof, and of the evils which thence had proceeded; 'whereunto he, and all the Nobility continuing in the obedience of the Queen 'their Sovereign, ſhould be found pliable. Which he did not write (as he ſaid) be- 'cauſe of the Proclamations made by the Earl of *Murray* to convene people in *Glaſ- 'gow* the tenth of *March*: for ſince theſe Troubles began he was not in the Coun- 'try; and if all *Scotland* were gathered, he would truſt for his own and his prede- 'ceſſors good deſerving to find ſuch favour, as if the Earl of *Murray* would invade 'him and his friends, he ſhould not be aſſiſted by any of them to do him wrong. 'Therefore deſired them in Gods behalf (ſo the Letter beareth) to make his mind 'and intention known to the people; or if they did not think his deſires and 'offers reaſonable, that they would come and reaſon with himſelf, whom they 'ſhould find eaſie to be ruled in all matters according to Gods Word and equity.

He writeth to the Aſſembly of the Church.

The Aſſemblies anſwer. Commiſſioners from the Churches to the Regent.

To this Letter, dated at *Hamilton* the 27 of *February* 1568, the Aſſembly anſwered, 'That they would communicate the Letter with the Regent, and know his 'pleaſure, whether or not they ſhould ſend any of their number to the Duke in 'Commiſſion to treat with his Grace. Which accordingly they did, appointing the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Fife*, with Mr. *John Row*, to go unto the Regent, and having obtained his licence to paſs to the Duke and Noblemen that were in his company, and uſe all means poſſible for reconciling them to the obedience of the King and his Regent.

Petitions in behalf of the Church.

They had alſo certain Petitions given them to be preſented to the Regent in name of the Church; as to deſire, *That beneficed perſons not bearing function in the Church, and ſubject only in payment of Thirds, ſhould be compelled to contribute for ſuſtentation of the poor: That remedy might be provided againſt the chopping and changing of Benefices, diminution of Rentals, and ſetting of Tithes in long Leaſes, to the defrauding of Miniſters and their ſucceſſors; that they who poſſeſſed plurality of Benefices might be cauſed dimit all ſaving one: That the Juriſdiction of the Church might be ſeparated from the Civil, and that they might, without his Graces offence and the Councils, uſe their Cenſures againſt the Earl of* Huntley *for depoſing the Collectors of the Church, and placing others in their rooms, by his own authority.* Such a reſpect was carried in that time to Civil power, as the Church could not proceed in Cenſures againſt men in prime places without their knowledge; the neglect whereof in after-times brought with it great Troubles both to the Church and State. I find in the ſame Aſſembly, the *Univerſity of S. Andrews* ordained to *meet*, and *form ſuch orders as they ſhould think fit for giving Degrees in Divinity:* whereby it appeareth that our firſt Reformers were not enemies to Degrees, either in Schools or in Church.

Orders for giving degrees in Divinity.

The Regent and Duke agreed.

But to return to the State: By the travels of the Superintendents matters for that time were tranſacted betwixt the Regent and the Duke in this manner.

'That

'That the Duke ſhould come to *Glaſgow*, and ſubmit himſelf to the Kings Autho- *An.* 1569.
'rity. That he and his friends ſhould be reſtored to their honours and poſſeſſions.
'That he ſhould give ſurety for his and their continuing in the Kings obedience;
'and that the reſt who were joyned with him in that cauſe ſhould be all accepted
'upon the ſame conditions. This Tranſaction not contenting the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, they refuſed to be compriſed under it, either thinking to obtain better or more eaſie conditions of the Regent; or animated by the Queen of *Scots* Letters, who had then conceived ſome hopes of liberty.

The Duke, hearing that they would not accept the conditions, did forthink what he had done, and at the day appointed for giving in his ſurety, though he came himſelf to *Edinburgh*, made divers ſhifts, deſiring that all matters might be continued to the 10 of *May*, when the two Earls were expected, and the Queens mind would be better known. It was told him, *That the Earls were treating ſeverally for themſelves, ſo as he needed not to wait on their coming. And for the Queens approbation*, being ask'd *if ſhe would deny it, what in that caſe he would do*; more ingenuouſly than profitably for himſelf he anſwered, *that he was drawn againſt his will to make the promiſe he had made, and that if he were freed of it, he would never conſent to the like.* Thereupon was he and the Lord *Hereis* (who accompanied him, and was thought had diverted him from his former reſolution) committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

He forthinketh his yielding.

The Duke and Lord *Hereis* committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

The Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, who were at the ſame time making their own appointment, had a day aſſigned them at S. *Andrews*, whither *Argile* came firſt; and with him the difficulty was not great, becauſe in the laſt Tumults he had carried himſelf more moderately than others: wherefore of him no more was craved, but that he ſhould ſwear obedience to the King and Authority in time coming, as he did. The buſineſs with *Huntley* was greater; for he during the Regents abſence had uſurped the Royal power, placing Lieutenants in the Countries of *Angus*, *Mernis* and *Strathern*, and committed great ſpoils upon the ſubjects in thoſe parts. Therefore when as divers of the Council did adviſe to put all things paſt in oblivion, it was by others oppoſed, *That the example of ſuch impunity would prove hurtful: for when they that had continued in the Kings obedience, and ſuſtained loſs in their goods, ſhould perceive the Rebels after a manner rewarded and no regard taken of their loſſes, they would undoubtedly grudge, and if troubles ſhould afterwards ariſe, be more ſlack to do ſervice; yea, granting there were no ſuch inconvenience to be feared, yet neither the Regent nor yet the King himſelf could by law remit the robbing of another mans goods, unleſs reſtitution was made of that which was ſpoiled.* And whereas ſome did object his greatneſs, and that his lying out might cauſe great unquietneſs; *It was an idle fear: for was not his father a man of greater wealth and wiſdom eaſily brought under foot, when he ſet himſelf againſt the Authority? And ſhall he, who hath not as yet repaired the calamities of his Houſe, be able to withſtand the forces of a whole kingdom? It is more* fooliſh, they ſay, *that he will ſeek to ſome forein Prince, and ſo endanger the Country; for whom ſhall he find? Princes are not wont to make accompt of ſtrangers farther than may ſerve to their own commodity. To accept him in favor*, they ſaid, *was ſufficient, albeit he gave ſatisfaction to the ſubjects whom he had wronged.* This opinion prevailing, it was concluded that, after trial of the complaints, he ſhould ſatisfie thoſe that he had wronged, at ſight of the Council.

A Treaty with *Argile* and *Huntley*.

But then aroſe another queſtion, *Whether all that had aſſiſted him in theſe laſt Troubles ſhould be compriſed in his remiſſion, and power given him to compone with them for ſatisfying ſuch as complained; or that they ſhould be ſeverally called, and every man fined as he ſhould be tried to have offended.* They who thought the Earl too rigorouſly uſed in the point of ſatisfaction, held that to be the ſmalleſt favour which could be done to him, to remit his followers to himſelf. But to the contrary it was anſwered, *That in civil wars nothing was ſo much to be looked unto as the weakening and diſſolving of Factions, which is the moſt eaſily wrought, when the Prince reſerves to himſelf the power of Pardon and Puniſhment.* It was farther ſaid, *That a ſeveral examination was neceſſary, becauſe all had not offended alike; and that no man*

Huntley remitted upon ſome conditions.

An. 1569. *was ſo unfit to take that trial as the Earl himſelf, becauſe in all probability they ſhould have moſt favour at his hand who had been moſt forward in his ſervice, and ſo the leaſt guilty ſhould bear the heavieſt puniſhment.* Upon theſe conſiderations it was thought meet to convene his followers ſeverally, remitting his domeſticks only to be uſed by him at his pleaſure. And thus was he received into grace; which done, the Regent made an expedition into the North, where having kept Juſtice-Courts at *Aberdene*, *Elgin* and *Innerneſs*, he ſettled all thoſe parts in peace, and for obſerving the ſame took pledges of *Huntley*, and the principal Clannes of the Country.

The Regents expedition into the North.

The Lord *Boyd* bringeth Letters from both Queens to the Regent.

In his return the Lord *Boyd*, who was lately come from *England*, did meet him at *Elgin* with Letters from both the Queens, and ſome others written by his private friends in the *Engliſh* Court. The Queen of *England* in her Letters made offer of three conditions in behalf of the Queen of *Scots*, requiring one of the three to be accepted. Theſe were, *That ſhe ſhould either be abſolutely reſtored to her Royal Dignity; or be aſſociated in the Government with her Son, and in all Letters and publick Acts honored with the Title of a Queen, the adminiſtration of affairs continuing in the Regents hands till the King ſhould be 17 years of age; or if none of theſe could be granted, that ſhe might be permitted to return unto her Country, and live a private life, having honorable means appointed for her entertainment.* The Queen of *Scots* deſired *that Judges ſhould be appointed for cognoſcing the lawfulneſs of her Marriage with* Bothwel, *and if the ſame was found contracted againſt the Laws, it might be declared null, and ſhe made free to marry where ſhe pleaſed.* From private friends, eſpecially by a Letter of Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton*, the Regent was advertiſed, that the Marriage of the Duke of *Norfolk* with the Queen of *Scots* was concluded, and that they did wait only the opportunity of performance. Wherefore he wiſhed him to concur with his beſt friends in that matter, and to do it with ſuch expedition and good affection, as it might not appear either to the Queen his Siſter, or others who had intereſt in the buſineſs, that his conſent was extorted, and not willingly given. To this effect he adviſed him to ſend the Laird of *Lethington* to *England* with ſpeed, as the wiſeſt and moſt ſufficient man he could chuſe, who would provide for him and the reſt that had aſſiſted him ſubſtantially and aſſuredly. *His conſcience*, he ſaid, *and ſome over-preciſe objections might perhaps trouble him; but if he could have eſpied any other thing than his overthrow in reſiſting, he would not have written ſo peremptorily unto him.* Then concluded with theſe words, *No mans friendſhip will be more embraced than yours, no mans eſtimation be greater if you ſhall conform your ſelf, and concur with your friends in this: contrariwiſe, if you underſtand, or become an adverſe party, you will be ſo incumbred both from hence, from thence, and all other places, as no man can adviſe you what to do. Therefore God ſend you to direct your courſe for the beſt.*

A Letter from Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* to the Regent.

A Letter from Sir *Nicholas* to *Lethington*.

This Letter was accompanied with another from Sir *Nicholas* to *Lethington*, wherein he ſhewed, that according to his advice he had written to the Regent *with a great zeal and care of his well doing* (theſe were the words he uſed) and requeſted he ſhould haſten his coming to Court for that buſineſs, the ſame being as yet concealed from the Queen, till he as the fitteſt Miniſter might propone the ſame in behalf of the Regent and Nobility of *Scotland*; whereunto he held it aſſured the Queen would aſſent, as preferring her own ſurety, the tranquillity of her Kingdom and conſervation of her people, before any device that might proceed from the inconſiderate paſſions of whomſoever. And that he might be the more incouraged, he did inform him particularly of the Duke of *Norfolks* conſent, and the approbation of the Earls of *Arundel*, *Pembroke*, *Leiceſter*, *Bedford*, *Shrewsbury*, and the reſt of the wiſeſt, nobleſt, ableſt and mightieſt of that Realm. And it was truth that he wrote of their conſenting, howbeit with a condition, *ſo that the Queen of* England *was not againſt it*: yea, beſide theſe divers well affected both to Religion and State did wiſh the purpoſe a good ſucceſs; for perceiving no inclination in the Queen of *England* her ſelf to take a Husband, they feared the Queen of *Scots*, who was her undoubted Heir, by matching with ſome forein Prince, might endanger both Religion and State; and therefore deſired the Marriage with the Duke might take effect, he being a Nobleman of *England*, beloved of the people, and educated in the

Proteſtant

Proteſtant Religion. For by this Match, as they made account, if it ſhould happen the young King to die, the two Kingdoms might be united in a Prince of the *Engliſh* Nation; or if he lived unto a ripe age, he might be married with the Dukes youngeſt Daughter, who was near of the ſame age, and that way the two Crowns be made one. But theſe devices proved idle and vain, as we ſhall hear. *An.* 1569.

The Regent, for anſwering theſe Letters, did appoint a meeting of the Eſtates at *Perth* in *July* thereafter. At which time an Aſſembly of the Church was alſo kept in *Edinburgh*, and from it Commiſſioners directed to the Convention, to renew the Petitions made the year preceeding, that as yet had received no anſwer. And farther, to deſire 'that a portion of the Tithes might be allotted for ſuſtenta-'tion of the poor; the labourers of the ground permitted to gather the Tithes of 'their proper Corns, paying for the ſame a reaſonable duty; and that the Thirds 'of Benefices being really ſeparated from the two other parts, the Collectors of 'the Church might peaceably intromit therewith, for the more ready payment 'of Miniſters according to their aſſignations. But theſe Petitions, in regard of the more weighty buſineſs, were deferred to another time. A Convention of Eſtates at *Perth*.

And the Convention falling to conſider the Letters ſent from *England*, did hardly accord upon an anſwer. Beginning with that of the Queen of *England*, they judged the Firſt Condition ſo derogatory to the Kings Authority, as they did ſimply reject it. The Second, of Aſſociation, was held dangerous; and the Third only thought reaſonable, and meet to be accepted. But when they came to ſpeak of the Queen of *Scots* deſires, the contention was great. They that ſtood for the Kings Authority taking exception, firſt, at her imperious form of writing, and that ſhe did command them, as though ſhe were their abſolute Queen: then at the deſire it ſelf they excepted, not holding it ſafe to condeſcend unto the ſame before the Queen of *England* ſhould be acquainted therewith; for they conceived ſome other thing to be lurking under that purpoſe of Divorce than was openly pretended. Such as affected the Queen, and were privy to the Marriage intended with *Norfolk*, excuſing the form of writing, and laying the blame upon her Secretaries made offer to procure new Letters in what terms they pleaſed, ſo as Judges were named to proceed in the Divorce: and when they ſaw this not to be regarded, in a chafing mood they ſaid, *That it was ſtrange to think, how they that not many months paſſed ſeemed to deſire nothing more than the Queens Separation from* Bothwell, *ſhould now when it was offered decline the ſame.* It was anſwered again in heat, *That if the Queen was ſo earneſt in the Divorce, ſhe might write to the King of* Denmark, *and deſire him to do juſtice upon* Bothwell *for the Murther of the King her Husband. That done, the Divorce would not be needful, and ſhe freed to marry where and when ſhe pleaſed.* Their judgement of the Letters ſent from the two Queens.

The Convention breaking up, and neither the Queens Faction obtaining what they deſired, nor *Lethington* the imployment which he affected, new ſuſpicions began to riſe on both ſides, and, as in the moſt ſecret practices ſomewhat always is burſting forth, a rumor went rife amongſt the common ſort, that *ſome great enterpriſe was in hand, which would bring with it a wonderful change in both Kingdoms.* Mr. *John Wood*, one of the Regents domeſticks, being ſent with the anſwer of the Convention, did ſignifie to the Queen of *England* the buſineſs made about the Divorce, and what was done concerning it: but ſhe, not ſeeming to regard the matter, profeſſed that ſhe was not ſatisfied with the anſwer of the Convention, and deſired they ſhould think better of the Conditions propoſed. The truth was, that ſhe held not the Gentleman of ſufficient quality to deal in ſuch buſineſs; for otherwiſe ſhe was not ignorant of the cauſe wherefore the Divorce was ſought, and had warned *Norfolk to take heed on what pillow he laid his head*; yea, ſhe took ſo ill the Queen of *Scots* carriage in that matter, as ſhortly after ſhe cauſed her to be removed to *Coventry*, more within the Countrey, and gave her in cuſtody to *George Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury* and *Edward Haſtings* Earl of *Huntington*. A meſſage ſent into *England*.

The Regent upon his ſervants return convened the Nobility again at *Striveling*, where in effect the ſame anſwer that of before was given to the Propoſitions made by the Queen of *England*; and herewith *Robert Pitcarne* Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, a man of good ſufficiency, was directed, who was willed to ſay for the point of Aſſo- The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* ſent into *England*.

An. 1569. ciation, *That the ſame could not be granted, as tending to the utter overthrow of the Kings Authority, and the endangering of his Perſon. For beſides that the participation of a Crown was obnoxious to many perils, there could be no equality of Government betwixt an infant King and a woman of mature age, who would find a thouſand ways, being once poſſeſſed with a part of the Rule, to draw the whole unto her ſelf. And if it ſhould fall that ſhe matched with ſome forein Prince or other great Perſonage who muſt needs be partner with her in the Government, the danger would be ſo much the greater.* Theſe and the like reaſons he was willed to uſe for the Queen of *Englands* ſatisfaction. But before his coming to Court the face of things was quite changed; the Duke of *Norfolk* committed to the Tower, and the Biſhop of *Roſs* put in the keeping of the Biſhop of *London*. After which brake ſhortly forth that Rebellion in the North part of *England*, whereof *Thomas Piercy* Earl of *Northumberland* and *Charles Nevil* Earl of *Weſtmerland* were the heads. A Rebellion that in the beginning cauſed great ſtir, and put the Queen of *England* in ſuch fears, as once ſhe reſolved to ſend the Queen of *Scots* by Sea to the Regent; but the ſudden diſperſing of the Rebels altered that reſolution.

The Earl of *Northumberland* impriſoned in *Lochlevin*.

The two Earls fleeing into *Scotland*, *Northumberland* was not long after put out by ſome Borderers to the Regent, and ſent to be kept in *Lochlevin*: *Weſtmerland* found the means to eſcape into *Flanders*, where he lived long in a poor and contemptible eſtate.

Lethington charged with the Kings Murther.

Lethington perceiving all his devices fruſtrated, and being conſcious to himſelf of divers ill practices, remained for the moſt part with the Earl of *Athol* at *Perth*; who being ſent for to come to the Regent, made divers excuſes, and when he could not ſhift his coming any longer, intreated *Athol* to accompany him, that if need was he might uſe his interceſſion. Being at *Striveling* in Council, Captain *Thomas Crawford*, ſervant to the Earl of *Lenox*, did openly charge him with the Kings Murther: whereupon he was committed in a Chamber within the Caſtle of *Striveling*. And at the ſame time were certain directed to apprehend Sir *James Balfour*, who was guilty of the ſame crime; but he made an eſcape. *Lethington* was ſent priſoner to *Edinburgh* (where he was to have his Trial) under the charge of *Alexander Home* of North-*Berwick*, a truſty Gentleman.

The Laird of *Grange* counterfeiteth the Regents hand, and taketh *Lethington* to the Caſtle.

Having ſtayed ſome days in lodging not far from the Caſtle, the Laird of *Grange*, counterfeiting the Regents hand, came about ten of the clock at night, and preſented a Warrant for receiving the priſoner in his keeping. The Gentleman, taking no ſuſpicion, obeyed, for he knew no man to be more inward with the Regent than was *Grange*. And he indeed unto that time did carry the reputation of an honeſt man, nor was any one thought more ſure and faſt than he was. But from thenceforth he became hated of all good men, and was in no eſteem, as having abuſed his credit, and deceived the Regent, to whom he was many ways obliged. For, beſides other benefits, he had preferred him before all his own friends to be keeper of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. The next day being ſent for to come to the Regent he refuſed. Notthelſs the next day following (ſo careful the Regent was to reclaim the man) he went himſelf to the Caſtle, and conferred a good ſpace with him, accepting the excuſe he made, and contenting himſelf with a promiſe to exhibit *Lethington* when he ſhould be called to his tryal.

The Regent makes an expedition to the Borders.

After which keeping his journey to the Borders which he had intended, he went by the *Mers*, and as he was accuſtomed took up his lodging in the Caſtle of *Home*. But there he was coldly received, the Lord of the place having changed his party, and taken himſelf to the contrary Faction. From thence he went to *Teviotdale*; and though he was adviſed by his friends, becauſe of his ſmall company, to return, and defer his journy to another time, he would needs go on, and had great obedience ſhewed in all the parts to whom he came.

He is informed of practices againſt his life.

All the time of this expedition he had warning given him daily of ſome practices againſt his life, wherein *Grange* was ever named as one of the principals. But he, not truſting theſe informations, ſent the copies of all his advertiſements to *Grange*: whoſe purgations were ſo ſlender, as he was ever after that time held ſuſpected. Soon after the Regents return from the Borders, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*

lin came home from *England*, ſhewing that the Queen had taken in good part the anſwer of the Council, and was ſpecially pleaſed with the taking of *Northumberland*, which ſhe promiſed to remember with all kindneſs. *An.* 1569.

And now the Diet approaching of *Lethingtons* Trial, becauſe of the numbers that were preparing to keep the day, the Regent diſliking ſuch Convocations, and for that he would not have Juſtice out-bragged, did prorogate the ſame for four months. *Lethingtons* Trial deferred.

The adverſe Faction finding his Authority daily to increaſe, and deſpairing of any ſucceſs in their attempts ſo long as he lived, reſolved by ſome violent means to cut him off; and to bring the matter to paſs, one *James Hamilton* of *Bothwel-haugh* did offer his ſervice. This man had been impriſoned ſome time, and being in danger of his life, redeemed the ſame by making over a parcel of land in *Lothian*, called *Woodhouſly*, that came to him by his Wife, to Sir *James Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk. How ſoon he was ſet at liberty he ſought to be repoſſeſſed to his own, and not ſeeing a way to recover it (for the Juſtice Clerk would not part therewith) he made his quarrel to the Regent, who was moſt innocent, and had reſtored him both to life and liberty. The great promiſes made him by the Faction, with his private diſcontent did ſo confirm his mind, as he ceaſed not till he put to execution the miſchief he had conceived againſt him; and having failed the occaſion which he attended at *Glaſgow* and *Striveling*, he followed the Regent to *Linlithgow*, where lurking privately in the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews* his lodging, the next day, as the Regent did paſs that way, he killed him with the ſhot of a bullet, that entering a little beneath the navel, and piercing the bowels, did ſtrike dead the horſe of a Gentleman who was riding on his other ſide. The Regent had warning given him the ſame morning, that one did lye in wait for his life, and had the houſe deſigned where the man did lurk; but giving ſmall ear unto it, anſwered, that *his life was in the hands of God, which he was ready to yield at his good pleaſure.* Only he reſolved to paſs out of the Town by the ſame Gate at which he entered, and to turn on the back of the Town unto the way that led to *Edinburgh*, whither he was purpoſed. But when he had taken horſe, either that he would not ſeem fearful, or then hindered by the throng of horſemen that attended, and thinking to ride quickly by the houſe that was ſuſpected, he changed his reſolution: but the throng there working him the like impediment, the Murtherer had the occaſion to execute his Treachery. *James Hamilton of Bothwil-haugh* taketh in hand the Regents Murther. The Regent killed by the ſhot of a bullet.

How ſoon the Regent perceived himſelf ſtricken, he lighted from his horſe, and returned on foot to his lodging. The Chirurgeon at the firſt inſpection of his wound did affirm it not to be deadly, yet after a few hours his pain increaſing he began to think on death. They who ſtood by ſaying, that *he had loſt himſelf, by his clemency, having ſpared that Miſcreant whoſe life he might juſtly have taken:* he anſwered, that *they ſhould never make him forthink any good he had done in his life.* Thereafter giving order for his private affairs, he ſeriouſly commended the care of the young King to ſuch of the Nobility as were preſent, and died a little before midnight. This fell out the 23 of *January*, 1569, being *Saturday*.

The Murtherer eſcaping by the Poſtern-gate of the Garden came the ſame night to the Town of *Hamilton*, where at firſt he was welcomed with many gratulations and made much of; yet ſhortly after, to decline the envy of the fact, which they heard was univerſally deteſted, they gave him a little money and ſent him away into *France*. *Thuanus* writeth in his Story, that not long after he came thither he was ſolicited to undertake the like interpriſe againſt *Gaſper Colignie*, that worthy Admiral of *France*; and that he did anſwer, that *he had no warrant from* Scotland *to commit Murthers in* France; *and howbeit he had taken revenge of the wrong done to himſelf, he was not either for price or prayer to undertake other mens quarrels.* Whether this was ſo or not, I leave it upon the credit of the Writer. The Murtherer eſcapeth. *Thuanus* 46.

The death of the Regent was by all good men greatly lamented, eſpecially by the Commons, who loved him as their Father whilſt he lived, and now mourned grievouſly at his death. The great things he had wrought in his life (having in the ſpace of one year and a little more quieted the State, which he found broken The death of the Regent greatly lamented.

An. 1569. and disordered) made his very enemies speak of him after his death with praise and commendation. Above all his vertues, which were not a few, he shined in Piety towards God, ordering himself and his Family in such sort, as it did more resemble a Church than a Court. For therein besides the exercise of Devotion, which he never omitted, there was no wickedness to be seen, nay, not an unseemly or wanton word to be heard. A man truly good, and worthy to be ranked amongst the best Governours that this Kingdom hath enjoyed, and therefore to this day honoured with the Title of *The good Regent.*

A Prediction of *John Knox.*

There fell out the next day after his death a thing which I thought was not to be passed. He was killed on the *Saturday*, and died (as I have said) a little before midnight. The word of his death coming to *Edinburgh*, *Thomas Maitland*, a younger Brother of *Lethington* (this is he whom *Buchanan* makes his Collocutor in the Dialogue *De jure Regni*) knowing what esteem *John Knox* made of the Regent, and loving none of the two, caused a writing to be laid in the Pulpit where *John Knox* was that day to preach, to this sense, and almost in the same words; *Take up the man whom you accounted another God, and consider the end whereto his Ambition hath brought him.* *John Knox* finding the Paper, and taking it to be a memorial for recommending some sick persons in his Prayers, after he had read the same, laid it by, nothing as it seemed commoved therewith; yet in the end of the Sermon falling to regrate the loss that the Church and Commonwealth had received by the death of the Regent, and shewing how God did often for the sins of the people take away good Rulers and Governours, *I perceive*, said he, *albeit this be an accident we should all take to heart, there be some that rejoyce in this wicked fact, making it the subject of their mirth; amongst whom there is one that hath caused a writing to be cast in this place, insulting upon that which is all good mens sorrow. This wicked man, whosoever he be, shall not go unpunished, and shall die where none shall be to lament him.* The Gentleman was himself present at Sermon, and being come to the lodging, asked his Sister, who was also there, if she did not think *John Knox* was raving to speak so of the man he knew not. But she weeping said, that *she was sorry he had not followed her counsel*; for she had dissuaded him from that doing. *None of this mans denunciations*, said she, *are wont to prove idle, but have their own effect.* Shortly after, the Troubles of the Countrey increasing, the Gentleman betook himself to travel, and passing into *Italy* died there, having no known person to attend him. This I thought not unworthy of record, being informed thereof by the Gentlemans Sister to whom these speeches were uttered, and who was privy to the whole purpose, for an advertisement to all persons, not to make a light account of the threatnings of Gods Servants. The Gentleman was otherwise a youth of great hopes, learned and courteous, but miscarried with affection, and not to be excused in this, that he took pleasure in the fall of him whom he judged an enemy; a thing inhumane and abhorred of the very Heathen.

An Ambassador sent from *England.*

The word of the Regents death carried in haste to *England*, the Queen sent *Thomas Randolph*, Master of her Posts, Ambassador into *Scotland*, partly to confer with the Council upon the surest means to keep affairs in the state they were, and partly to complain of the Incursion lately made in *England.* For the very night after the Regents Murther, *Walter Scot* of *Bacleugh* and *Thomas Ker* of *Pharnherst* had invaded the Countrey bordering upon them, and practised greater Hostility than was accustomed, of purpose to embroil the two Kingdoms in a publick War, which they of the *Scottish* Queens Faction most earnestly desired. The Ambassador was no sooner come, but he had hearing given him by the Council; to whom after he had spoken a few words concerning her Majesties good affection to the Realm in general, and in her name commending to their care the preservation of Religion, the safety of the young King, and the punishment of the late Murther; he did much aggravate the insolence of the Borderers, and the spoil they had made in *England*, saying, 'That his Mistress knew sufficiently that these things were 'not done by publick allowance, and therefore meant not to make quarrel to the 'Countrey, but take her self to the Actors, whom if they by themselves could not 'suppress, her Majesty would either joyn her power to theirs, or, if they thought 'meet,

The Ambassadors speech in Council.

'meet, ſend an Army into *Scotland*, which, without doing harm to any good ſub- *An.* 1570.
'ject, ſhould only puniſh the committers of that Inſolence.

The Council returning many thanks to the Queen for her kind Ambaſſage, excuſed themſelves by the preſent Troubles, that no determinate anſwer could as then be given to his Propoſitions, and therefore beſought him to have patience unto the firſt of *May*, at which time the Eſtates of the Realm were to meet, by whom her Majeſty ſhould receive all ſatisfaction. The Eſtates convening at the day, *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, Brother uterine to the late Regent, preferred a Petition to the Council for ſome courſe to be taken in the revenge of his Brothers Murther, conſidering he was taken away in the defence of the common cauſe of the Realm, and not upon any private quarrel. The Petition was held reaſonable by all that were preſent, every one conſenting to the purſuit and puniſhment of the Murtherer and his complices. But in the manner they agreed not. Some adviſing that not the Murtherer only, but all who were ſuſpected to have had a hand in the Treachery, ſhould be called to underly the ordinary trial of Law at a certain day. Others eſteeming ſuch a form of proceſs unneceſſary with them who had already taken Arms to maintain the fact; and that the beſt courſe were, to purſue with all hoſtility both theſe that were delated of the recent crime, and ſuch as had been forfeited in the Parliament preceding. Many inclined to the laſt courſe, yet becauſe it was oppoſed by divers of ſpecial note, there was nothing concluded in the buſineſs; which was generally ill taken of the people, who conſtrued the delay to proceed of ſome private favour carried to the enemies, and to be done of purpoſe, that either with time the hatred of the Murther might be leſſened, or the adverſaries might have leiſure to make themſelves more ſtrong.

The Laird of *Lochlevin* urgeth a revenge of the Regents Murther.

The delay ill taken of the people.

The Aſſembly of the Church in the mean while (which was then convened at *Edinburgh*) to declare in what deteſtation they had the Murther committed, did ordain the Murtherer to be excommunicated in all the chief Burghs of the Realm, and whoſoever afterwards happened to be convicted thereof to be uſed in the ſame manner. In this Aſſembly divers Conſtitutions were made for Diſcipline, and amongſt others an Act for the publick inauguration of Miniſters at their entry, whereunto the revolt of ſome Preachers gave occaſion, that, forſaking the Pulpit, took them to the pleading of Cauſes before the Lords of Seſſion. It was then alſo condeſcended, that forth of the Thirds five thouſand Marks ſhould be yearly paid for the furniſhing of the Kings Houſe, and the Church burthened with no farther duty. *An.* 1570.

Some few days after, the principals of the Queens Faction being convened at *Glaſgow*, the Earl of *Argile* and Lord *Boyd* did write to the Earl of *Morton*, and offer to joyn with the reſt of the Nobility in the trial and puniſhment of the Regents Murther, ſo as the meeting were appointed at *Striveling*, *Falkirk* or *Linlithgow*, for to *Edinburgh* they would not come. This Letter (as he was deſired) he communicated with the Secretary, who was after the Regents death come forth of the Caſtle, and by the Earl of *Athol* brought again unto the Council, having firſt purged himſelf of the accuſation laid againſt him, aad promiſed to ſubmit himſelf unto the moſt ſevere trial that could be taken. His advice to the Earl *Morton* was, that the Noblemen ſhould all be brought to *Edinburgh*, which for thoſe of the Queens party he undertook to do, and to that effect he ſent Letters unto the principals of that Faction, ſhewing that they had no cauſe to fear, being in forces ſuperior to the others, and having the Laird of *Grange* on their ſide (for he had then plainly declared himſelf for the Queen) who was both Provoſt of the Town and commanded the Caſtle. Thus about the midſt of *March* the Earls of *Huntley*, *Athol* and *Crawford*, with the Lords *Ogilvy*, *Home* and *Seaton* did meet at *Edinburgh*. The Earl of *Argile*, the *Hamiltons*, and the Lord *Boyd* came as far as unto *Linlithgow*; but by occaſion of a tumult raiſed amongſt ſome Souldiers, they were forced to diſperſe their companies, and return home to their dwellings. Within a few days the Earls of *Marre* and *Glencarn* came likewiſe to *Edinburgh*; after whoſe coming the Lords of both Factions meeting to confer, did think fit to continue all things till the Earl of *Argile* was advertiſed, whoſe authority was great in thoſe times. And when

The principals of the Queens Faction write to the Earl of *Morton*.

Lethington offereth himſelf to a trial.

A Meeting at *Edinburgh* of the Noblemen of both parties in *March*.

An. 1570. when it was known that he was gone back from *Linlithgow*, the Earl of *Huntley* followed to perſuade his return; but he would not conſent. They write the Secretary ſhould have privily diſſuaded him, as one who loved to keep all things looſe; but I do not ſee what advantage he could expect that way, and think rather that, as his eſtate then ſtood, he did earneſtly deſire to have matters accorded. The true cauſes of *Argiles* declining that Conference ſeems to have been the averſeneſs of his Brother and others of his friendſhip, who refuſed to follow him in that quarrel, and carried a conſtant affection to the maintaining of the Kings Authority.

They deliberate upon the choice of a Regent.

Whenas the other Noblemen perceived that *Argile* would not come, they began to treat of the choice of a Regent in place of him who was taken away. Here firſt they fell to queſtion their own power and authority, which ſome maintained to be ſufficient, becauſe of the Patent the Queen had given at firſt for the adminiſtration of affairs in her Sons Minority, in which ſeven Noblemen were named, beſides the late Regent, and that of this number they might chuſe, as they ſaid, any one. Others reaſoned that no reſpect ought to be had to that Patent, the ſame being expired by the creation of the laſt Regent, for which only at the time it was granted. The more moderate gave their opinion, that all proceeding in that buſineſs ſhould be delayed till the convention of the Eſtates in *May* next. This was likewiſe oppoſed by a number that eſteemed the protracting of time dangerous, and thought that it concerned the Noblemen who had firſt aſſiſted the Coronation of the King, and continued firm in his obedience, to nominate a Regent that would be careful of the young King his preſervation, and of the quiet and tranquillity of the Realm. But this opinion, as tending to the foſtering of diſcord, was rejected. So that meeting diſſolved without any certain concluſion.

An Ambaſſador from *France*.

At the ſame time one Monſieur *Verac*, Cubiculare to the *French* King, landed at *Dumbarton*, bringing Letters to the Noblemen of the Queens Faction, full of thanks for the conſtant affection they had ſhewed in maintaining the cauſe, and promiſes of preſent ſuccours. This did ſo animate them, as in a frequent meeting kept the firſt of *April* at *Linlithgow* they began to diſcover the intention which before they had concealed of making War upon *England*; for this, as they judged, would ſerve to obliterate the late Regents Murther. And to give the more authority to their proceedings, they took purpoſe to remove to *Edinburgh*, uſing all means to draw the Town to be of their party, which they thought would be eaſily obtained by reaſon of *Grange* his Commandment; and if they ſhould once compaſs this, they put no doubt to draw the reſt of the Countrey their way in a ſhort time. But firſt they reſolved to advertiſe the Town of their coming, and to intreat their favour. The Magiſtrates anſwered, *That their Gates ſhould be patent to all that profeſſed themſelves ſubjects to the King; but they would neither receive the* Engliſh *Rebels* (meaning the Earl of *Weſtmerland* and Lord *Dacres*, who were in company with the Lords) *nor the* Hamiltons *and others ſuſpected of the Regents Murther, nor yet permit any Proclamations to be made derogatory to the Kings Authority.*

A meeting at *Linlithgow* of the Noblemen that ſtood for the Queen.

The conditions ſeemed to them hard, yet, hoping by converſation to win the people to their ſide, they came forward. The next day after their coming to the Town, they gave out a Proclamation, 'Declaring their good affection towards 'the maintenance of true Religion, their Sovereign, the Liberty of the Countrey, 'and the ſetling of the preſent Diviſions, which muſt, as they ſaid, unleſs timous 'remedy were provided, bring the Realm to utter deſtruction. They deſired 'therefore all men to know, that they had eſteemed the enterpriſe taken by ſome 'Noblemen againſt the Earl of *Bothwel*, for revenging the Murther of the King, 'and ſetting of the Queen at Liberty, both good and honourable, whereunto they 'would have given their aſſiſtance if the ſame had been duly required. And for 'the things that had intervened, which they did forbear to mention leſt they 'ſhould irritate the minds of any, their deſire was the ſame might be in a familiar 'and friendly Conference calmly debated, and a peaceable courſe taken for remo-'ving the Differences. Mean while, becauſe they underſtood that ſome unquiet 'ſpirits gave out, that their preſent convening was for the ſubverſion of the Reli-'gion preſently profeſſed; as they could not but give notice to all the ſubjects, that

They give out a Proclamation.

'they

'they who were now aſſembled were for the moſt part the firſt and chiefeſt inſtru- *An.* 1570.
'ments in advancing Religion, and had ſtill continued in profeſſing the ſame, with
'a reſolution to ſpend their lands and lives in maintenance thereof: ſo they deſired
'to have it known, that their meeting at that time did only proceed from a deſire
'they had to ſee a perfect Union and Agreement eſtabliſhed in the Realm; for
'which they were ready to meet with thoſe of the Nobility that differed from them
'in judgment, and condeſcend (after the ground of the Differences was ript up) up-
'on ſuch overtures as ſhould be found agreeable to the ſetting forth of God his
'honour, the ſtrengthening of the Royal Succeſſion, the preſervation of the
'young Prince, the entertaining of Peace with forein Nations, and the ſetling of
'Accord amongſt the Noblemen and other ſubjects. This they declared to be their
'ſole intention; and rather than the ſame ſhould not take the wiſhed effect, they
'were content to yield unto any Conditions that ſhould be thought reaſonable;
'under proteſtation, that if this their godly and honeſt purpoſe for the re-union of
'the State was neglected and deſpiſed, the inconvenients that enſued might be im-
'puted to the refuſers, and the Noblemen preſently convened be diſcharged there-
'of before God and man. This was the ſubſtance of the Proclamation, in the end whereof the Lieges were charged to concur with them in forthſetting that godly purpoſe, and a prohibition made under great pains to joyn with any others that ſhould attempt under the cloak of whatſoever Authority to hinder the ſame.

They deal with the Earl of *Morton*, but he will not hearken to them.

But neither did this Declaration nor the great travel taken by the Earl of *Athol* at the ſame time prevail with the other Noblemen to bring them to this Meeting, for ſtill they excuſed themſelves by the Convention appointed in *May*, 'which, 'they ſaid, there was no neceſſity to prevent; or if any extraordinary occaſion did 'require it, the ſame being ſignified to the Earl of *Morton*, who lay at *Dalkieth*, 'upon his advertiſement they ſhould be ready to meet. So finding their hopes this way diſappointed, by advice of the Secretary (whoſe directions only they followed) they took purpoſe to deal with the Earl of *Morton* apart. To this effect the Earl of *Athol*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, Brother to the Secretary, and the Lord *Boyd* were ſelected to confer with the Earl of *Morton* and Abbot of *Dunfermlin*; but they could come to no agreement. For the Earl of *Morton* (of whom they had conceived ſome hope) would not hearken to any Conditions, except they did acknowledge the King for their Sovereign. Hereupon they fell to other counſels: and firſt, to have the Town of *Edinburgh* at their direction, they craved the Keys of the Gates to be delivered; which being refuſed, they reſolved to contribute moneys for hiring of Souldiers, and to draw ſo many of their friends and followers thither as with help of the Caſtle might command the Town. But as they were about theſe devices, advertiſement was brought of an Army come to *Berwick* under the command of the Earl of *Suſſex*, which troubled all theſe projects. To remain in *Edinburgh* they held it not ſafe; yet leſt it ſhould be thought that they left the Town for fear, the Magiſtrates were privately deſired to intreat them to depart, leſt the *Engliſh* ſhould fall upon the Town and make a ſpoil of it. So making a ſhew to pleaſe the Town, by whom they had been very courteouſly uſed, they went to *Linlithgow*, and abode there the reſt of that month. Before their parting, they gave a warrant to the Laird of *Grange* for fortifying the Caſtle, and dimitting the Lords *Home* and *Hereis*, who had been committed by the late Regent. The Duke of *Chattellerault* was ſome days before put to liberty. The Lord *Home* had a part of the moneys which were contributed for levying of Souldiers given him to defend his bounds againſt the *Engliſh*; but when the Lairds of *Bacleugh* and *Farnherſt* deſired the like, they were refuſed, and went away in a great diſcontent.

An Army cometh to *Berwick* under conduct of the Earl of *Suſſex*.

The Lords forſake *Edinburgh* upon the report.

They give warrant for fortifying the Caſtle.

About the end of *April* the Army of *England*, entring into *Teviotdale*, burnt the Towns of *Hawick* and *Crawling*, with the Caſtles of *Farnherſt* and *Brauxholm*, and divers houſes belonging to the *Kers* and *Scots*; and in their return to *Berwick* beſieged the Caſtle of *Home*, which was rendred by the keepers to Sir *William Drury*, at the Lord *Home* his direction, for he repoſed much in his friendſhip. The Lord *Scroop*, at the ſame time invading the Weſt-borders, made a great ſpoil upon the *Johnſtons* and others who had accompanied *Bacleugh* in his Incurſion. The

The Army of *England* entereth in *Scotland*.

Lords

An. 1570. Lords that kept together at *Linlithgow* having advertiſement of theſe proceedings of the *Engliſh*, and ſuſpecting they had ſome other intentions than the ſpoiling of the Borders, ſent a Gentleman to the Earl of *Suſſex* to requeſt a Truce, till they might inform the Queen of *England* of the eſtate of things, and receive her Majeſties anſwer. The Earl opening the Letters that were directed to the Queen (for he had warrant ſo to do) and ſeeing them full of vain and idle brags (for, to ſhew the ſtrength of the Faction, they had ſet down a Roll of all the Noblemen of their party, inſerting therein both ſome of their oppoſites, and ſome that had carried themſelves neuters in all theſe Broils) returned anſwer by the meſſenger, that he would do as he was directed, and not grant any Truce nor keep the Army at their pleaſure without imployment.

The Lords deſire a Truce from the Earl of *Suſſex*, which he refuſed.

A Convention of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh*.

The time of the Convention approaching, they who favoured the King his Authority came in great numbers to *Edinburgh*. At their firſt meeting it was thought convenient, ſeeing the adverſe party profeſſed a deſire of Peace, to make trial of their diſpoſition; and thereupon a Gentleman was ſent with this meſſage, *That if they would joyn for revenge of the Murther of the Kings Father and Regent, and would acknowledge the King for their Sovereign, what ſoever elſe in reaſon they could crave ſhould be granted unto them.* The anſwer was ſhort and peremptory on their part; *That they acknowledge none for their Sovereign but the Queen, and that ſhe having committed the Government of affairs to the Earls of* Arran, Argile *and* Huntley, *they would follow and obey them in her ſervice.* Then they cauſed proclaim the Queens Authority, with the ſeveral Commiſſions of their Lieutenandries, and in the Queens name indicted a Parliament to be kept at *Linlithgow* in *Auguſt* enſuing.

An offer of Peace to thoſe of the Queens party.

The Queens Authority proclaimed.

A Proclamation made by the Eſtates.

The Eſtates, perceiving there would be no agreement, gave forth a Proclamation to this effect; 'Firſt, they ſaid, that it was not unknown to all the ſubjects in 'what a happy ſtate the Realm ſtood under the Government of the late Regent, 'and what Calamities it was fallen into by his death, divers Lords and other ſub-'jects conſpiring with them having preſumed to erect another Authority, under 'the name of the Queen his Majeſties Mother. But as ſuch treaſonable attempts 'had been often taken in hand, and as often through Gods favour diſappointed, 'to the ſhame and ignominy of the enterpriſers; ſo they wiſhed all men ſhould 'underſtand what ſort of people they were that had maſſed themſelves together 'in the preſent Conſpiracy.

The Conſpirators ranked in there Orders.

'The Conſpirators they ranked in three orders. The principals (*they ſaid*) were 'the Authors of the cruel Murthers of the King his Father and Regent; others 'were manifeſtly perjured, as having bound themſelves by their Oaths and Sub-'ſcriptions to defend the King his Authority, which now they impugned; a 'third ſort were ſuch as had ſervile minds, and without regard to Conſcience or 'Honour did follow thoſe to whom they had addicted themſelves: All which did 'pretend the maintenance of true Religion, the Liberty of the Countrey, and the 'preſervation of Peace both abroad and at home. But with what probability, any 'man of judgment might conſider: for neither could he who was known 'to have been a perſecutor of the Truth, and now carried the chief ſway amongſt 'them (meaning the Archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*) be thought a maintainer of Re-'ligion; nor could they be eſteemed favourers of their Countrey and the quiet-'neſs thereof, who without any juſt provocation had invaded the neighbor Realm 'of *England*, and publickly entertained the Queens Rebels, profeſſing enemies 'to God and Religion. As to the care they profeſſed of the Kings preſervation, 'any man might conjecture how he ſhould be preſerved by them who exiled his 'Grandfather, murthered his Father, did wickedly counſel his Mother, led her on 'courſes that had brought her to ſhame and diſhonour, and now at laſt had unwor-'thily cut off his Uncle and Regent, by ſuborning a miſchant to kill him treache-'rouſly. Is it like (ſaid they) that they will be content to live ſubjects to a King 'deſcended of that Houſe which they have ſo long a time perſecuted; and will they 'not fear, if God ſhall bring him to perfection of years, that he will be avenged of 'his Fathers and Uncles Murther? Neither can any be ignorant what the hope of 'a Kingdom will work in ambitious ſpirits, eſpecially when they find them-

'ſelves

'ſelves in a poſſibility to ſucceed unto the preſent poſſeſſion. And theſe are the men *An.* 1570.
'(ſaid they) who ſeek to rule and command under the name of her whom they have
'undone by their wicked practices. Of this they thought fit to advertiſe the ſubjects,
'and to inhibit them from giving any aſſiſtance to the ſaid Conſpirators under
'pain of death. Such as of ſimplicity or ignorance had joyned with them they com-
'manded to ſeparate and return to their houſes within the ſpace of 24 hours, pro-
'miſing in that caſe impunity and pardon for their by-paſt defection; thoſe only
'excepted who were ſuſpect of the foreſaid Murthers, and had reſſet the Queen of
'*Englands* Rebels, and violated the publick Peace betwixt the two Realms.

This Proclamation was indited with much paſſion, and matters now reduced to theſe terms, that each ſide prepared to maintain their quarrel with the deſtruction of their adverſaries. The Queens Faction diſpatched *Verack* to *France*, to inform how matters went, and to farther the ſupply promiſed. All prepare for War.

The Lord *Seaton* was ſent to *Flanders*, to intreat the Duke of *Alva* (at that time Governour of the *Netherlands* for the King of *Spain*) for ſome aid of moneys and men, and to impede the traffick of the *Scottiſh* Rebels (ſo they termed them that acknowledged the Kings Authority) in thoſe parts. For the point of Traffick the Duke excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *That he could not inhibit the ſame, it being againſt the Liberty of the* Low-countries; *but in other things he would do his beſt to farther the Queen of* Scots *cauſe.* The Lord *Seaton* ſent to *Flanders*.

Like as ſhortly after he ſent Mr. *John Hamilton*, Parſon of *Dumbar* (who lay Agent with him for the *Scottiſh* Queen) to the Earl of *Huntley* with great ſtore of Armor and gunpowder, and the ſum of ten thouſand Crowns to levy Soldiers. The Lord *Seaton* in the mean while, who could not be idle whereſoever he was, and had a great deſire to approve himſelf by ſome ſervice to the King of *Spain*, diſſembling his habit, went into the United Provinces, and dealt with *Scottiſh* Captains and under-Officers to make them leave the ſervice of the Eſtates, and follow the King of *Spain*; which being detected, he was apprehended, and by ſentence of the Council of War condemned to ride the Cannon; yet by ſome help he eſcaped, and fled to the Duke of *Alva*, who ſent him home loaden with promiſes, and rewarded with ſome little preſent for himſelf, becauſe of his good affection. The Parſon of *Dumbar* brings monies and Armor to *Huntley*.

The Lords on the other ſide who ſtood for the Kings Authority ſent to the Earl of *Suſſex*, intreating the aſſiſtance of his forces, or ſome part thereof, becauſe of the common danger: and to move him the more, they advertiſed that the Earl of *Weſtmerland* and other *Engliſh* Rebels were with the Lords convened at *Linlithgow* in Arms, with intention, as it ſeemed, to work ſome miſchief, which had need for the good of both Realms to be prevented, which they doubted not (ſo the Letters bear) having his aſſiſtance to do, and to put them off the fields; whereas if ſupply were not ſent in time, and that matters ſhould happen to be put to a day amongſt themſelves, the iſſue might prove dangerous. Anſwer was made, That *the forces ſhould be ſent upon ſufficient Hoſtages for their ſurety during their remaining in* Scotland. Withal he craved, *that the* Engliſh *Rebels whom the Lords had in their hands, and ſuch others as ſhould happen to be apprehended, might be delivered to him, as the Queens Lieutenant, and left to her Majeſties diſpoſition.* For the Hoſtages, it was condeſcended that the chief Noblemen ſhould deliver ſome of their friends to remain in *England* during the abode of the *Engliſh* forces, and their ſafe return aſſured, the chance and fortune of War only excepted, which ſhould be common and alike both to the Scots and them. But touching the delivery of the *Engliſh* Rebels, the Lords intreated that the ſame might be continued unto the return of her Majeſties anſwer to the Inſtructions ſent by the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who was upon his journey, and had warrant from them to ſatisfie her Majeſty in that point. To this the Earl conſented, providing the Noblemen would give their Bonds for the ſafe cuſtody of the Rebels, and the performance of that which her Majeſty and the Ambaſſador ſhould agree unto. The Lords who ſtood for the King ſend to *Suſſex* for ſupply.

The Laird of *Grange* and Secretary *Lethington*, who as yet made a ſhew to deſire Peace, labored by their Letters to keep back the *Engliſh* forces, offering what ſatisfaction the Earl of *Suſſex* in name of her Majeſty would require. The Earl *Grange* and *Lethington* ſeek to ſtay the *Engliſh* forces upon offers.

An. 1570. Earl answered, *That if the Lords at* Linlithgow *would disannul the Proclamation of the Queen of* Scots *Authority, and discharge all Capitulations for aid out of* France *and all other parts beyond the Sea, remitting the present dissension to the hearing and ordering of the Queen his Mistress, and obliging themselves by their Subscriptions to stand at her Majesties determination, he should stay his forces and detain them with himself, till he received new direction from her Majesty.*

Sir *William Drury* entereth in *Scotland* with an Army.

Though these answers did in no ways please them, yet to gain some time they gave hopes, that after Conference with the Lords at *Linlithgow* he should receive all satisfaction. But he smelling their intentions, after he had received the Bonds and Pledges from the Noblemen of the Kings party, sent Sir *William Drury* Governour of *Berwick* with a thousand foot and three hundred horsemen into *Scotland*. How soon the Lords that were convened at *Linlithgow* heard of their coming, and that the Earl of *Lenox* was in their company, they departed towards *Glasgow*, and besieged the Castle, purposing to raze it, lest it should be useful to the Earl of *Lenox*, who was now returned from *England*. But the House was so well defended by a few young men (they passed not 24. in all) that the Siege, after it had continued the space of five or six days, brake up upon the rumour of the Noblemen and the *English* forces their approaching. The Duke of *Chatterault* went with the Earl of *Argile* into his Country, the Earl of *Huntley* and the rest into the North.

The Castle of *Hamilton* rendered.

The Noblemen assisted with the *English* forces coming to *Glasgow*, after a short stay marched to *Hamilton*, and laid siege to the Castle, which at the sight of the Ordnance that was brought thither for the battery was yielded to the *English* by *Andrew Hamilton* of *Meriton* Captain, upon promise to have their lives spared. The Castle was set on fire and pitifully defaced, as also the Dukes Palace within the Town of *Hamilton*, and divers other Houses in *Cliddisdale*. In their return to *Edinburgh* they destroyed the Houses and Lands pertaining to the Lords *Flemyn* and *Levingston*, with the Dukes lodging in the Town of *Linlithgow*, the Houses of *Kinneill*, *Pardowy*, *Peill* of *Levingston*, and others that appertained to the *Hamiltons* in that Shire. This done, the *English* forces returned to *Berwick*, and were accompanied thither by the Earl of *Morton*, who received again the Hostages that were delivered in *England*.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Ambassador in *England*. His Instructions.

Whilst these things were adoing at home, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* was following his Legation in *England*. His Instructions from the Noblemen of the Kings party were, 'First, To shew the Queen, that by the delay of her Majesties Declaration in the cause of the Kings Mother all these Commotions had been raised, 'and therefore to intreat her Majesty plainly to declare her self, and take upon her 'the Protection of the young King. Secondly, To inform her of the difficulties 'they had in electing of a Regent, and crave her opinion therein. Thirdly, To 'shew what a necessity there was of intreating some forces of foot and horse, till 'the present Troubles were pacified: and in regard of the publick burthens, to re-'quest her for moneys to maintain 300 Horse, and 700 Foot, which was esteem-'ed sufficient for repressing the adversaries power. Lastly, Concerning the Rebels 'of *England* who were in hands, to give her Majesty assurance that they should 'be safely kept, and to beseech her Highness, if she would have them delivered, 'that some respect might be had to their credit, and mercy shewed so far as could 'stand with her Majesties safety and the quiet of the Realm. For the other Re-'bels that were as yet in the Country, he was desired to promise in their name all 'diligence for their apprehension; and if it should happen them to be taken, that 'they should be committed in sure custody till her Majesties pleasure was 'known.

The Queens answer to the Instructions.

These things proponed to the Queen, she answered; *That having heard nothing from the Lords since the late Regents death, and being daily importuned by forein Ambassadors, she had yielded to a new hearing of the Controversies betwixt them and their Queen, and that she intended to have a meeting of the Commissioners of both parties ere it was long; and therefore desired them to cease from using farther Hostility, and not to precipitate the Election of a Regent, the delay whereof would work them no prejudice.*

This

This answer reported to the Lords did trouble them exceedingly: from the one part they saw a necessity of accommodating themselves and their proceedings to the Queen of *Englands* pleasure; and on the other they did find a great hurt by the want of a Regent, that adverse Faction having thereby taken occasion to erect another Authority, and divers of their own partakers falling back from their wonted forwardness, as not knowing on whom they should depend. After long consultation this expedient was taken; That a Lieutenant should be appointed for certain time with full authority to administrate all affairs, and notice sent to the Queen of *England* of the necessity they stood in of a Regent, and that there was no other way to keep the subjects in obedience. Choice accordingly was made of the Earl of *Lennox*; Grandfather to the King, and a Commission of Lieutenandry given him to endure to the 11 of *July* next; at which time the Estates were warned to meet for the election of a Regent. Letters were also directed to the Queen of *England*, requesting her advice in the choice, and an answer to the other Petitions moved by the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*. *An.* 1570.

The Earl of *Lennox* made Lieutenant of the Country.

The Queen, who was put in hope that *Westmerland*, and the other Rebels of *England* entertained by the Queen of *Scots* Faction should be delivered unto her, had shewed her self very favourable unto them, but hearing that they were escaped, she made answer as follows: *That she did kindly accept the good will of the Noblemen testified by their seeking her advice in the choice of a Regent, being a matter of such importance, and so nearly touching the estate of their King and Realm. That her mind once was, they should do best to continue the Election for a time; but now considering the disorders that were raised, and possibly thereafter might arise, if some person was not placed in that charge, she did allow their resolution. And seeing the abilities of men for that place were best known to themselves, she should be satisfied with their choice what soever it was. Howbeit out of the care she had of the young King, she would not dissemble her opinion, which was, that the Earl of* Lennox *her Cousin, whom, as she was informed, they had made Lieutenant of the Realm, would be more careful of his safety than any other. But in any case desired them, not to think that in so doing she did prescribe them any choice, but left it free to themselves to do what was fittest. Farther, she desired them to rest assured, notwithstanding of the reports dispersed by their adversaries, that she had neither yielded nor would yield to the alteration of the state of their King and Government, unless she did see a more just and clear reason than had yet appeared. For howbeit she condescended to hear what the Queen of* Scots *would say and offer as well for her own assurance as for the good of that Realm (a thing which in honor she could not refuse;) yet not knowing what the same would be, she meant not to break the order of Law and Justice, either to the advancing or prejudging of her cause Therefore finding the Realm governed by a King, and him invested by Coronation and other Solemnities requisite, as also generally received by the Three Estates, she minded not to do any act that might breed alteration in the Estate, or make a confusion of Governments. But as she had found, so to suffer the same continue, and not permit any change therein so far as she might impede the same, except by some eminent reason she should be induced to alter her opinion. In end she desired them beware, that neither by misconceiving her good meaning towards them, nor by the insolent braggs of their adversaries, they should take any course that might hinder or weaken their cause, and make her intentions for their good ineffectual.*

The Queen of *Englands* answer to the Lords that stood for the King.

This Letter communicated to the Estates convened at *Edinburgh* the twelfth of *July*, and a long discourse made to the same effect by Mr. *Thomas Randolph* her Ambassadour, they were exceedingly joyed. So following the advice given them, they made choice of *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, declaring him Regent and Governor of the Realm unto the Kings Majority, or till he were able by himself to administrate the publick affairs. This was done with the great applause of all that were present, and published the next day at the Cross of *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Lennox* created Regent.

In an Assembly of the Church kept the same month there was some business moved by Mr. *James Carmichal*, then Master of the Grammar-School of S. *Andrews*, against Mr. *Robert Hamilton* Minister of the City, for some Points of Doctrine de-

An Assembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

An. 1570. livered by the ſaid Mr. *Robert* in Pulpit. The Points are not particularly expreſſed, but in the ſixth Seſſion of that Aſſembly, Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of the Regiſter, Mr. *John Bellenden* of *Auchnoule* Juſtice Clerk, and Mr. *Archibald Douglas* one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, were directed from the Chancellor and Council to require them *to forbear all deciſion in that matter, ſeeing it concerned the Kings authority, and contained ſome heads tending to Treaſon* (ſo is it there ſaid) *which ought to be tried by the Nobility and Council, willing them not theleſs to proceed in ſuch things as did appertain to their own juriſdiction*; which was judged reaſonable, and agreed unto by the Church. So far were they in theſe times from declining the King and Council in Doctrines ſavouring of Treaſon and Sedition, as they did eſteem them competent Judges thereof. In the ſame Aſſembly Commiſſion was given to Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *Andrew Hay* to travel with the Duke of *Chattelerault*, the Earl of *Argile*, *Eglinton* and *Caſſils*, the Lord *Boyd*, and other Barons and Gentlemen in the Weſt parts, for reducing them to the obedience of the King and his Authority. The Like Commiſſion was given to the Laird of *Dun* for the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Ogilvy* and their aſſiſters in *Angus*; and certification ordained to be made unto them, that if they did not return to the Kings obedience, the Spiritual Sword of Excommunication ſhould be drawn againſt them: which I cannot think was really intended, conſidering the quality and number of the perſons.

Commiſſioners directed from the Aſſembly of the Church to the Lords of the Queens party.

The Regent goeth to impede the Parliament indicted at *Linlithgow*.

The Regent immediately upon his creation, and oath taken according to the cuſtom for maintaining true Religion, and obſerving the Laws and Liberties of the Realm, prepared to keep the Diet appointed at *Linlithgow* by the Lords of the Queens party, who were ſaid to be gathering forces for holding the Parliament they had indicted; and becauſe much depended upon the ſucceſs of that buſineſs, he ſent to the Earl of *Suſſex* for aſſiſtence of his forces and to the Laird of *Grange* (with whom he kept ſome correſpondence) for ſome Field-pieces, and other things belonging to their furniture. *Grange* at firſt made fair promiſes, but ſhifting thoſe who were ſent to receive the munition, ſaid, *That his ſervice ſhould not be wanting to the making of a Concord, but he would not be acceſſary to the ſhedding of the blood of* Scotiſh *men*. The Earl of *Suſſex* deferred his anſwer likewiſe, till the Queen ſhould be advertiſed. Nottheleſs the Regent obſerved the Diet, accompanied with 5000 Gentlemen, none of the adverſe party appearing.

A parliament indicted at *Edinburgh*.

Thereafter a Parliament was indicted to hold at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *October*; and the Regent underſtanding that the Earl of *Huntley* had ſent ſome 160 ſouldiers to *Brichen*, and given order for providing victuals to the Companies who were there to meet him, made an haſty Expedition thither, and having ſent the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Ruthven*, with Sir *James Haliburton* Provoſt of *Dundy*, a little before himſelf, went nigh to have intercepted the Earl of *Crawford*, the Lord *Ogilvy* and Sir *James Balfour*, who were there attending *Huntley*. But they eſcaping, the ſoldiers fled to the Steeple of the Church and Caſtle, which they had fortified. The Steeple at the Regents firſt coming did yield, & ſo many as were therein had their lives ſaved: the Caſtle held out ſome days, till they heard the Cannon was at hand, and then rendred at diſcretion. Cap. *Cowts* with 30 of his ſoldiers were executed, becauſe they had once ſerved, & made defection. The reſt were pardoned, upon ſurety not to carry arms againſt the preſent Authority. This Expedition ended, the Regent returned to *Edenb.*

The Regents Expedition to *Brichen*.

An Ambaſſador to *Denmark*.

In the Month of *Auguſt* by Letters from *Denmark* it was advertiſed, that Colonel *John Clerk*, who had ſerved the King there in his Wars with *Sweden*, was impriſoned by the ſuggeſtion of ſome countrymen that labored for *Bothwells* liberty. Whereupon Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, brother to Mr. *George Buchanan* the Kings Tutor, was ſent in Ambaſſage to *Denmark*, to require that *Bothwel* might be delivered and ſent into *Scotland*, to the effect juſtice might be done upon him, or then that he might be judged there, for the deteſtable Murther committed upon the perſon of the Kings Father, and receive his due puniſhment. This had before that time been often deſired, but was delayed by divers occaſions: and now the report of *Bothwells* greater liberty, and that he had been permitted to accuſe Colonel *Clerk*, a Gentleman well eſteemed, and of good reputation for his ſervice done both at home and in parts abroad, the Regent and Council took occaſion to put that King in remembrance

membrance of their former requeſts; and if any doubt was made in thoſe parts of *Bothwels* guiltineſs, they offered to clear the ſame by evident probation; and thereupon intreated him, by the communion of blood and nigh kindred betwixt him and the King of *Scotland*, that he would not ſuffer ſuch a nefarious perſon to eſcape. In the ſame Letters they requeſted that the Colonel might be ſet at liberty, and reſtored to the Kings wonted favor, or then be licenſed to return into *Scotland*, where there was preſent uſe for his ſervice. This Ambaſſage was not without fruit, and put *Bothwell* out of all credit; ſo as deſperate of liberty, he turned mad, and ended his wicked life ſome years after (as before was touched) moſt miſerably. *An.* 1570.

All things now went ill with the Queens Faction, neither ſaw they a way to ſubſiſt but by laboring an Abſtinence, which the Secretary earneſtly went about, and prevailed ſo far with the two Liegers of *France* and *Spain*, as they brought the Queen of *England* to a new Treaty with the *Scots* Queen, and to hearken unto ſome overtures which ſhe did make both for the Queens aſſurance, and for the ſettling of a perfect Peace betwixt her and her Son, and thoſe that ſtood in his obedience. This moved the Regent, he did greatly oppoſe it; yet the Queen of *England* would needs have him agree to the Abſtinence for the ſpace of two months, in which it was thought the Treaty ſhould take an end. Great diſpute there was about the tenor and form of the Abſtinence, which at laſt was accorded in theſe terms. An Abſtinence agreed unto.

'That the Regent ſhould oblige himſelf and his partakers to ceaſe from Arms, 'and not to moleſt any that pretended obedience to the Kings Mother, during 'the ſpace of two months, which ſhould be underſtood to begin the third day of '*September*; providing that no Innovation ſhould be made in the Government, 'and all things continue in the ſame eſtate wherein they were at the death of the 'late Regent: As alſo that the ordinary adminiſtration of the Law and Juſtice 'in Parliament, Seſſion and other Courts, with the puniſhment of thieves and 'treſpaſſers, might proceed in the mean time by Law or force in the Kings name, 'and under his Authority, without any oppoſition. This granted, by a ſecond Letter the Queen of *England* ſignified, 'That ſhe had appointed Sir *William Cecill* 'her principal Secretary, and Sir *Walter Mildmay* Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'to repair to the Queen of *Scots*, and learn what offers ſhe would make for her 'Majeſties ſurety, and the not diſturbing the Realms, if ſhe ſhould be put to Liberty. In which Treaty ſhe minded not to neglect the ſurety of the young King, 'and the eſtate of the Nobility adhering to him; whereof ſhe would be no leſs 'careful than of what concerned her ſelf moſt. But in regard that Treaty could take 'no good effect, if the Regent and the Nobility on his ſide ſhould do any thing 'to the prejudice of the Queen of *Scots* and her party, ſhe deſired that no Parliament ſhould be kept during the time of the Treaty; or if it had taken beginning 'before the receipt of the Letter, that nothing ſhould paſs therein which might 'give her cauſe to complain. And for the Abſtinence taken unto the third of *November*, ſeeing there was no likelihood the Treaty ſhould take an end in ſo ſhort 'a time, he was farther deſired to prorogue the ſame for other two months. The Letter, dated at *Windſor* the ſeventh of *October*, was brought to the Regent the thirteenth, ſome two days after the Parliament was begun. A Treaty with the Queen of *Scots*.

This Treaty did much perplex the Regent; for albeit he was advertiſed before of the Queen of *Englands* condeſcending to hear what the *Scotiſh* Queen would ſay in her own cauſe, yet he did not expect any ſuch ſudden dealing, or that it ſhould have begun without his knowledge. But making the beſt conſtruction of all things, he anſwered, *That the Parliament had taken a beginning before her Majeſties Letters came to his hand, and for the reverence he did carry to her, he had abſtained from all proceeding in any matters, only his office of Regiment was confirmed, and the Parliament adjourned unto the month of* January, *before which time he hoped the fruit of that Treaty would appear.* For the prorogation of the Abſtinence, *he had declared at the firſt how hurtful the ſame was to the King his affairs, and that there was no true meaning in the adverſe party, as did manifeſtly appear by the arreſting of the Ships and goods of the* Scotiſh *Merchants profeſſing the King his obedience, in the Kingdom of* France, *and other divers inſolences practiſed at home, ſince* The Regents Letter to the Queen of *England*.

An. 1570. *the granting thereof. That howſoever he was perſuaded her Majeſty had not a mind under colour of the Abſtinence to ruine the young King, and thoſe that ſtood in defence of his Authority; yet they had received more hurt thereby than they could have done if open hoſtility had been profeſſed. Therefore he deſired that before he was urged with a farther ceſſation, the ſhips and goods ſtayed in* France *might be ſet free, the injuries committed at home repaired, & all things innovated in the Government ſince the late Regents death diſannulled by Proclamation: which things performed, he ſhould willingly obey her Majeſties deſire.* Upon this laſt part of the Letter many debates aroſe amongſt the parties, and divers particulars on either ſide were exhibited in writing to the Earl of *Suſſex*, for verifying a breach of the Abſtinence againſt others.

Secretary *Lethington* denounced Rebel, and loſes his office.

That which I find moſt inſiſted upon was the denouncing of Secretary *Lethington* Rebel, who, being cited to appear at a certain day before the Regent and Council, was for his contumacy ſentenced to loſe his Office, and have his goods confiſcated. The Regent challenged of this point made anſwer, *That the Secretary could claim no benefit by the Abſtinence, ſeeing he was the Kings ſubject, and ſtood to the defence of the Kings cauſe both in* England *and* Scotland, *profeſſing himſelf as much diſpleaſed with the Proclamation of the Queens Authority as any man elſe. And howbeit of late he had accompanied the contrary Faction, yet he never declined his ſubjection to the King. That being required to attend his office he had refuſed, whereupon the ſame was juſtly taken from him: and for the Confiſcation complained, if he would yet declare on what ſide he was he ſhould be reaſonably uſed.*

The Secretaries Declaration.

The Secretary, who had often changed his party, finding that now he muſt declare himſelf on the one ſide or the other, ſent to the Earl of *Suſſex* this anſwer; 'That he did think it ſtrange the Regent ſhould enquire on which ſide he was, 'ſeeing his ſpeeches, writings and actions had declared the ſame. Always now 'he would plainly profeſs, that he was not of the Lord Regents ſide, nor would 'he acknowledge him for Regent. That he was of that ſide which would perform 'their duties to the Queen of *Scotland* and to her Son; ſo as neither of them ſhould 'have cauſe to find fault with him that he was of that ſide which wiſhed to either 'of them the place which in reaſon and juſtice they ought to poſſeſs; and that he 'was of that ſide which requeſted the Queen of *England* to enter into good conditions with the Queen, whereby *Scotland* might be brought in an union, and ſhe 'reſtored to her Liberty and Realm. He confeſſed that he did not allow of the 'proclaiming of the Queens Authority, nor of the Parliament indited by thoſe of 'her part, becauſe he foreſaw the ſame would impede the Treaty betwixt the two 'Queens, and might do hurt many ways, and hinder the good he was about to do. 'But that would not infer an allowance of their doings. And this (he ſaid) might 'give the Regent to underſtand on what ſide he was.

The Regents reply.

This anſwer, neither expreſſing a reaſon of his falling away from the Kings obedience, nor diſcovering plainly, as was deſired, of what ſide he ſhould be eſteemed, being delivered to the Regent, received this reply. 'That it was no marvel he 'ſhould not acknowledge him for Regent, having deſerved ſo ill at his hands, and 'being attainted of the foul and cruel Murther of his Son, the Kings Father. That 'his Declaration did not ſatisfie that which was demanded: for where he made a 'ſhew to obſerve a duty both to the Queen and to her Son, and would have it appear that he was about the effecting of great matters; the duties he had done to 'either of them were well enough known, neither could any man look for any good 'to proceed from him. Therefore howſoever he had againſt his promiſe and ſubſcription declined from the Kings party, he muſt ſtill be ſubject to anſwer ſuch 'particulars as ſhould be laid againſt him in the Kings name. And ſeeing it was 'neither her Majeſties meaning, that any perſon guilty of the Kings Murther 'ſhould enjoy benefit by the Abſtinence, he that was challenged thereof in the 'late Regents time, and had in Council offered himſelf to the ſevereſt trial that 'could be taken, could not complain of the breach of Abſtinence for any thing 'done or intended againſt him. But that neither this particular nor any other 'ſhould be an occaſion to diſſolve that Treaty begun, he ſaid, that he was con'tent the notes of all injuries alledged on either ſide, ſhould be delivered in writing

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'to the Earl of *Suſſex*, and the trial or redreſs thereof continued, till it ſhould ap- *An.* 1570.
'pear what effect the Treaty brought forth. The prorogation of the Abſtinence in the mean time, as was deſired by the Queen of *England*, was yielded unto, and ſubſcrived the fourth of *November*, with this proviſion, *That the goods and the Ships of the* Scotiſh *Merchants arreſted at that time in* France *ſhould be releaſed, and no ſtay made of ſuch as ſhould happen to repair thither during the time of the Abſtinence.*

Whileſt theſe things were debating, the copy of the Articles proponed by the Commiſſioners of *England* to the Queen of *Scots* for the ſurety of the Queen were ſent to the Lords of her Faction to be conſidered, which were as followeth. Articles propounded to the Queen of *Scotland.*

1. That the Treaty at *Leith* ſhould be confirmed; and that ſhe ſhould not claim any Right nor pretend Title to the Crown of *England* during the life of Queen *Elizabeth.*
2. That ſhe ſhould not renew nor keep any League with any Prince againſt *England*, nor yet receive forein Forces into *Scotland.*
3. That ſhe ſhould neither practiſe nor keep intelligence with *Iriſh* or *Engliſh* without the Queens knowledge, and in the mean time cauſe the *Engliſh* Fugitives and Rebels to be rendered.
4. That ſhe ſhould redreſs the wrongs and harms done by her Faction in the Borders of *England.*
5. That ſhe ſhould not joyn in Marriage with any *Engliſhman* without the conſent of the Queen of *England*, nor with any other againſt the liking of the Eſtates of *Scotland.*
6. That ſhe ſhould not permit the *Scots* to paſs into *Ireland*, without licence obtained from the Queen of *England.*
7. That for the performance of theſe Articles, her Son ſhould be delivered to be brought up in *England*, and ſix other Hoſtages, ſuch as the Queen of *England* ſhould name, ſhould be ſent thither. The Caſtles of *Home*, *Faſt*-Caſtle, kept by the *Engliſh* for the ſpace of three years, and ſome Fort in *Galloway* or *Cantrie*, be put in the *Engliſh* mens hands, for reſtraining the *Iriſh Scots* from going into *Ireland.*
8. That ſhe ſhould do juſtice according to the Law upon the Murtherers of her Husband and the late Earl of *Murray*,
9. That ſhe ſhould ſet her hand, and cauſe the Commiſſioners to be appointed by her party ſet their hands and ſeals to theſe Articles.
10. And laſtly, that all theſe particulars ſhould be confirmed by the Eſtates of *Scotland.*

Now albeit divers of theſe Articles were miſliked by the Lords of her Faction; yet conceiving thereby ſome hope of her Reſtitution, they diſperſed certain copies in the Country, to encourage thoſe that profeſſed her obedience, holding back ſuch of the Articles as ſeemed moſt hard, truſting to obtain a mitigation thereof in the conference. And ſhe indeed, I mean the *Scotiſh* Queen, ſhewed her ſelf pleaſed withal; only ſhe remitted the full anſwer to her Commiſſioners that ſhould come from *Scotland.* The rumor of the Accord held good a few days, and amuſed the Regent and other Noblemen not a little; till a Letter directed by Sir *William Cecill* from *Chatteſworth* in *Derbyſhire*, where the Queen of *Scots* then lay, did otherwiſe inform, which was to this effect: 'That he was put upon that imployment much 'againſt his heart, and yet had not dealt therein but with a great regard of the ſafe- 'ty of the young King and whole Eſtate: and that all he had done touching *Scotiſh* 'affairs was under Proteſtation, that it ſhould be in the power of thoſe whom the 'Queen and Regent ſhould ſend in Commiſſion to change, diminiſh or augment 'the Articles at their pleaſures. Therefore did he adviſe the Regent to ſend a 'Nobleman with ſome other well learned and practiſed in the affairs of the Coun- 'try, to deal in theſe matters; taking care that the perſons he choſed were con- 'ſtant and firm, and ſuch as would not be won from him, nor from the cauſe. Sir *William Cecill* his Letters to the Regent.

An. 1570. This Letter of the date the thirteenth of *October* 1570, written in ſo friendly and familiar a manner (for therein he named ſome whom the Regent had lately imployed, of whom he willed him to beware) gave him to underſtand that matters were not ſo far gone as his adverſaries did brag.

The Earl of *Suſſex* his advertiſement to the Regent.

After a few days the Earl of *Suſſex* advertiſed the Regent, 'That the Lords of 'the other Faction had made choice of certain Commiſſioners to attend the Trea- 'ty begun betwixt their Queen and the Queen of *England*, deſiring that no trouble 'nor moleſtation ſhould be made to them and their train in that journey; as alſo 'to ſend ſome ſpecial perſons inſtructed with Commiſſion from the King and the 'Nobility of his ſide, to give their beſt advice for the ſurety of the King and his 'dependents, if matters ſhould happen to be accorded. And if it fell out other- 'wiſe, to conſider what ſhould be the moſt ſure courſe for continuance of Amity 'betwixt the two Realms, the preſervation of the young King, the reducing of 'the ſubjects to his obedience, and the defence of the Iſle againſt forein Invaſions. 'Theſe Commiſſioners he deſired to be ſent with expedition, for that her Majeſty 'longed to have an end of the buſineſs, and could not grow to any Reſolution 'till ſhe had conferred with them, and underſtood their minds.

His particular advice.

This he did by direction from the Queen his Miſtriſs, as he wrote, howbeit he himſelf had thought of ſome particulars that he held convenient to be thought upon both for the Kings ſecurity and theirs, if his Mother ſhould be ſet at liberty, wherein he prayed him familiarly to ſhew what was his opinion. As firſt, *If ſhe ſhould happen to be reſtored to her Crown, and the King to be made to dimit the Authority, it might be upon condition that in caſe of her death, or the breach of the preſent Agreement, he might re-enter to the Kingdom without any Solemnities to be uſed.* Next, *That a Council of both parties might be provided to her by the Queen of* England, *for avoiding all ſorts of practices.* Thirdly, *That the young King ſhould be educated in the Realm of* England, *under the cuſtody of ſuch perſons as the Nobility of his party ſhould appoint; which would be the greateſt ſurety for thoſe that depended on him, and tye his Mother to the performance of the Articles.* Fourthly, *That a new Act of Parliament ſhould be made for the eſtabliſhing of true Religion, and oblivion of all injuries committed on either ſide.* Fifthly, *That the Queen ſhould give ſome principal men of her ſide Hoſtages to remain in* England *for fulfilling the heads of the Agreement.* Laſtly, *He adviſed the Regent to ſend with the Commiſſioners that ſhould be imployed in that errand a Writing ſigned and ſealed by all the Noblemen of the Kings party, to ſhew who they were that ſtood on that ſide: becauſe, beſides the credit it would bring to the cauſe, the ſame would be to good purpoſe howſoever matters went. For if the Treaty ſhould break off, it would be ſeen who would maintain and defend the King; or if otherwiſe an Accord were made, it would be known for what perſons the Queen of* England *was to provide a ſurety.*

The Regents anſwer.

Whether theſe Propoſitions were made (as he gave out) of his own head, or, which would rather appear, that he was ſet on by the Queen of *England* to try the Regent and Nobilities mind, he anſwered very adviſedly, and beginning at the laſt, he ſaid, 'That he held his opinion good touching the Sealing of a Writing 'by the Nobility of the Kings party, whoſe number would not be found ſo great as 'he wiſhed, becauſe there were divers Neuters that adhered to no ſide, and many 'that deſired to keep things looſe, ſome for impunity of crimes whereof they 'were ſuſpected, and others hoping to better their condition in an unquiet time; 'yet he truſted to obtain the ſubſcriptions of a ſufficient number who had ſincere- 'ly continued in the profeſſion of true Religion and his Majeſties obedience, and 'from their hearts abhorred the Murtherers of the King his Son and the late Re- 'gent. For the other Points he ſaid that he could not give his private opinion in 'matters ſo important, by reaſon of his Oath made at the acceptation of the Go- 'vernment to have no dealing in matters of that kind without the knowledge of 'the Nobility and Council. And touching the Commiſſioners which the Queen 'required to be ſent, there ſhould be diligence uſed therein, how ſoon they un- 'derſtood of what quality the others were that the Lords of the Queens party did

'chuſe.

'chuſe. Neither ſhould any moleſtation be made to them in their journey, ſo as 'their names, the number of their train, and the way they minded to take were 'notified: for otherwiſe, as he ſaid, the King and Eſtate might receive hurt, and 'ſome that were culpable of thoſe odious Murthers ſteal away privately in their 'company. Meanwhile he ſhewed, that till Commiſſioners might be choſen by 'the advice of the Noblemen then abſent, the Council had appointed the Abbot 'of *Dunfermlin* Ambaſſador to the Queen of *England*, and given him ſuch Inſtru-'ctions as they held needful for the time, by whom ſhe ſhould be more fully adver-'tiſed of their minds in all matters. *An.* 1570.

About the midſt of *November* the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* (then made Secretary) went into *England*. He was deſired to ſhew the Queen, 'How it was the expecta-'tion of all the good ſubjects in *Scotland*, that ſhe would never forget the mother-'ly care ſhe had profeſſed to have of the innocent perſon of their young King; nor 'yet be unmindful of the Noblemen and others profeſſing his obedience, who had 'ſtudied to maintain Peace betwixt the two Realms ever ſince her Majeſties entry 'to the Crown: and that they being required as well by Letters from her Lieute-'nant in the North, as by her Ambaſſador reſident amongſt them, to direct ſome 'ſpecial perſons towards her for communicating ſuch things as they thought re-'quiſite for the ſecurity of their King and themſelves, although they had reſolved 'upon a number ſufficient for that Legation, yet they deferred to ſend away, till 'they ſhould underſtand who were nominated for the Lords of the other party, to 'the end they might equal them in birth and quality. That in the mean time, leſt 'they ſhould be thought more negligent than became them in matter of ſuch im-'portance, they had laid upon him the charge to come and ſignifie to her Majeſty 'the opinion that was held in *Scotland* of the Articles framed at *Chatteſworth*, 'which the adverſaries gave out to have been craved by her Majeſty, and eſteemed 'a ſufficient ſecurity for the Queen of *Scots*. And if he did find her Majeſty inclin-'ing thereto, then to remember her with what a perſon ſhe had to do; a Princeſs 'by birth, in Religion Popiſh, one that profeſſed her ſelf a Captive, and as joyned 'with an Husband (ſuppoſe in a moſt unlawful conjunction) and that any one of 'theſe would ſerve for a colour to undo whatſoever thing ſhe agreed unto at the 'preſent: for her Majeſty could not be ignorant, how after her eſcape out of *Loch-'levin* ſhe revoked the Dimiſſion of the Crown, made in favors of her Son, (though 'the ſame was done for good reſpects) upon a pretext of fear, and that ſhe did the 'ſame being a Captive. As likewiſe ſhe knew the Papiſts Maxime of not keeping 'faith to Hereticks, which would ſerve her for a ſubterfuge to break all Covenants 'when ſhe ſaw her time: and that to dimit her upon any ſurety would prove no 'leſs dangerous to her Majeſties own eſtate than to *Scotland*, conſidering the claim 'ſhe had made in former times to the Crown of *England*, and the attempts of her 'Rebels at home, not yet well extinct, upon the ſame grounds. In regard whereof 'there was nothing could aſſure the quiet of both Realms in their opinions but her 'Detention under ſafe cuſtody, which could not be eſteemed diſhonorable, the 'juſt cauſes and occaſions being publiſhed and made manifeſt to the world. As to 'the power of forein Princes whereof they boaſted, the ſame was not much to be 'feared, ſo long as her perſon was kept ſure; and if War for that cauſe ſhould be 'denounced, the peril ſhould be leſs than if ſhe were ſet at Liberty and reſtored to 'the Crown; for ſo ſhe ſhould have her forces & friendſhip ready to joyn with other 'Princes in all their quarrels, againſt which no Hoſtages could ſerve for aſſurance.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* made Secretary, and ſent into *England*.

This was the ſum of his Inſtructions. He had preſence of the Queen the penult of *November*, and perceiving that none of theſe Articles were concluded, he did communicate all his Inſtructions unto her, as he was deſired. She having peruſed them, and reaſoned thereupon with her Council, returned this Anſwer; *That ſhe found in his Inſtructions divers things worthy of conſideration, which behoved to be farther debated and gravely weighed, becauſe of their importance: therefore deſired ſome men of credit to be directed unto* England, *that an end might be put to that buſineſs. For as to the Reſtitution of the Queen, ſeeing it appeared they had reaſon to oppoſe it, ſhe would not have the Regent or thoſe of his party to think that ſhe intended*

The Queen of *Englands* anſwer, *ult. Novembr.* 1570.

An. 1570. *ded to wrong them in any ſort; for if they ſhould make it appear that nothing was done by them but according to Juſtice, ſhe would ſide with them and maintain their quarrel. And otherwiſe, if they were not able to juſtifie their Cauſe by ſuch evident reaſons as might ſatisfie her Majeſty in Conſcience, and make her anſwer the world in honor, ſhe would nevertheleſs, for that natural love ſhe bare to the King her near Kinſman, and the good will ſhe carried to the Noblemen that ſtood for his Authority, leave no means unprovided for their ſafeties. But in regard a great part of the time appointed in the laſt prorogation of the Abſtinence was already ſpent, ſhe deſired the ſame to be prorogated unto* March *next; and would deſire them to agree thereto, in regard they that ſtood for the Queen had condeſcended to the ſame, and as much more time as ſhe ſhould think fitting.* This anſwer, of the date at *Hampton* Court the 7 of *December*, came unto the Regent the 15, who thereupon advertiſed the Noblemen to meet at *Edinburgh* with all diligence for taking deliberation of things deſired.

The Laird of *Grange* raiſeth a trouble in *Edinburgh* and breaks out in open Rebellion.

The Laird of *Grange*, whether to impede the meeting, or to divert the Council from trying a Conſpiracy which was then diſcovered, and ſaid to have been deviſed in the Caſtle againſt the Regents life, it is uncertain, raiſed a great Trouble in the Town of *Edinburgh* about the ſame time. One of his ſervants, called *James Fleming*, being impriſoned by the Magiſtrates for a ſlaughter committed by his direction, he in the evening, whileſt all men were at ſupper, made the Garriſon of the Caſtle to iſſue forth, and break open the priſon doors, playing all the while upon the Town with the Cannon, to terrifie the inhabitants from making reſiſtence. This being complained of to the Regent, he was called to anſwer for the Riot, but refuſed to appear, and preſently brake out in open Rebellion, fortifying the Caſtle, and conducing a number of ſouldiers, who did afterwards greatly annoy the Citizens.

Commiſſioners ſent into *England*.

The Nobility notwithſtanding did keep the Meeting, and made choice of the Earl of *Morton*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Mr. *James Macgill*, to go unto *England*; withal they agreed to the Abſtinence required, adjourning the Parliament to *May* thereafter. How ſoon theſe Commiſſioners were come to *London*, the Earl of *Leiceſter* and *Suſſex*, the Lord Keeper, the Chamberlain, Sir *William Cecil* Secretary (then made Lord *Burleigh*,) Sir *Walter Mildmay* and Sir *Francis Knolls* were appointed to confer with them. Theſe meeting in the Secretaries Chamber at Court, after ſalutations and ſome general ſpeeches, the Lord *Burleigh* ſaid, 'That they were deſired to come into *England* upon occaſion of a Treaty be-'gun betwixt the two Queens, and that her Majeſty did now expect to receive 'from them ſuch evident reaſons for their proceedings againſt their Queen, as 'wherewith ſhe might both ſatisfie her ſelf, and with honor anſwer to the world 'for that which ſhe did: Or if they could not be able ſo to do, that matters might 'be compoſed in the beſt ſort for their ſafeties, which her Majeſty would by all 'means procure. The Commiſſioners anſwered, That *they had before that time imparted the truth of all things to her Majeſty, which they thought might ſatisfie to clear them from the crimes objected; yet if ſhe ſtood doubtful in any point, the ſame ſhould be cleared and their doings juſtified by moſt evident reaſons.* Nothing farther was ſaid at that time, but continued to the next day. And then having again met, the Earl of *Morton* made a long diſcourſe of the reaſons and grounds of their proceedings, anſwering the objections which he thought could be made againſt what he had ſpoken. His diſcourſe ended, they were deſired to put their reaſons in writing; which was with ſome difficulty yielded unto, and under condition, that *if the reaſons proponed by them did not content her Majeſty, the Writing ſhould be redelivered, and no Copy taken thereof; otherwiſe, if her Majeſty did like and allow them, they were content the ſame ſhould be put in Record, if ſo it pleaſed her Highneſs.*

Reaſons juſtifying the Queen of *Scots* Depoſition.

The laſt of *February* (for albeit the 20 of that month they came to *London*) they preſented a number of Reaſons for juſtifying the Depoſition of their Queen, and cited many Laws both Civil, Canon and Municipal, which they backt with examples drawn forth of *Scotiſh* Hiſtories, and with the opinions of divers famous Divines. The Queen of *England* having conſidered their reaſons, was not a little diſpleaſed both with the bitter ſpeeches and with the liberty they had uſed in depreſſing

depreſſing the Authority of Princes, and thereupon told them, 'That ſhe was in 'no ſort ſatisfied with their Reaſons, willing them to go unto the ſecond Head, 'and deviſe what they thought meeteſt for the Safety of their King and them-'ſelves. But ſaid they, refuſing, That they had no Commiſſion to ſpeak of any thing 'that might derogate from the Kings Authority; and if ſuch a Commiſſion had 'been given them, they would not have accepted it. *An.* 1570.

In theſe terms matters continued ſome days, till the Commiſſioners for the King of *Scots* ſuting to be dimitted were ſent for to *Greenwich*, where the Queen had a long ſpeech, tending all to declare what a good will ſhe had carried to the young King, and to thoſe that profeſſed his obedience, & wondering they ſhould be ſo wilful as not to deliberate of ſuch things as ſerved to their own ſafety. The Commiſſioners anſwering, that they believed the Reaſons produced would have ſatisfied her Majeſty touching their proceedings, which (as they eſteemed) were ſufficient to prove that they had done nothing but according to Juſtice; *Yet I* (ſaith the Queen) *am not ſatisfied neither with your Reaſons, nor Laws, nor Examples; nor am I ignorant of the Laws my ſelf, having ſpent divers years in the ſtudy thereof. If ye your ſelves will not* (ſaid ſhe) *propone any thing for your own Sureties, yet I would have you hear what my Council is able to ſay in that matter, and I hope it ſhall content you.*

They anſwered, That *their reſpect to her Majeſty was greater than to refuſe any good advice which ſhe and her good Council ſhould give them; but that they had no power to conſent to any thing that might infer an alteration of the preſent State, or diminiſh the Kings Authority.*

The next day the Articles following were given them, and they deſired to conſider of the ſame and ſet down their Anſwer in writing. Articles propoſed to the Commiſſioners of *Scotland.*

1. That in regard her Son had been crowned King by virtue of her Dimiſſion, and his Coronation ratified by the Three Eſtates of Parliament, and that ſince that time a great number of the ſubjects had profeſſed obedience to him and his Regents, which was to be interpreted in the beſt part, as done out of duty, and not out of any ill mind towards their Queen, the obedience ſo yielded to the King and his Regents ſhould be allowed from the time of the Dimiſſion of the Crown made by her, unto the Reſumption of the ſame: and all manner of Acts done ſince that time in the adminiſtration of Juſtice and for Government of the State ſhould be reputed good and lawful, or at leaſt reviewed, and confirmed in the next Parliament after conſideration taken of the ſame by twelve Lords, whereof ſix ſhould be named by the Queen and her Commiſſioners, and the other ſix by the Commiſſioners for the Kings part.

2. That all Statutes and Ordinances made concerning matters of Religion and the Miniſters thereof ſince the ſame time ſhould be obſerved by all the ſubjects of *Scotland*, and no pardon nor diſpenſation granted in time coming to any perſon not obſerving the ſame, without conſent of the ſaid twelve Lords.

3. That all Proceſſes, Sentences and Judgments given either in cauſes civil or criminal ſince the ſaid time, wherein the order of the Laws of the Realm had been obſerved, ſhould remain in force, and only ſuch Sentences as had been pronounced either in the name of the King or Queen againſt any perſon for not obeying or acknowledging either of their Titles be reſcinded; the Sentences always pronounced againſt the Earl of *Bothwell* or any others for the Murther of the Queens Husband ſtanding good and valid.

4. That all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices and temporal Offices, which have uſually continued in the perſon of any during term of life, ſhould remain with the ſame perſons that held them at the time of the Queens Dimiſſion; ſuch excepted as may be proved to have conſented to the Murther of her Husband, or that have left them upon recompence and with their own conſents: In which caſes the preſent poſſeſſors ſhould enjoy the ſame, unleſs they were uncapable, and declared by the twelve Lords to be ſuch.

5. That all Strengths, Caſtles and Houſes appertaining to the Crown ſhould be reſtored to the poſſeſſion of thoſe who held them at the time of the Queens Dimiſſion, except they had parted therewith upon agreement: In which caſe the Queen,

An. 1570. Queen, with consent of the said twelve Lords or the most part of the Council, should dispose thereof.

6. That the Jewels, Plate, Moveables and Implements of Houses belonging to the Queen at the time of her Dimission should be restored, provided the monys which any had laid out for the same were repayed: And for such as had been put away by the direction of the Regents or Council, that recompence should be made by the Queen to the party according to their just value.

7. That a Law should be established in Parliament for Oblivion and remission of all things done since that time, after the same manner that was done in the year 1563: Providing not the less, that the Comptroler, Thesaurer, and other receivers of the Crown-Revenues, should give an account to the Queen of all sums of mony or other profits which had not been expended *bona fide* for the affairs of the Realm, or by order and warrant from the Regent and others trusted with those affairs; neither should the remission be extended to any that had taken by force any Houses, Castles, Lands or Heritages belonging to others, but restitution should be made thereof to the party dispossessed, or to his heirs, till the same by order of Law be justly determined. In like manner concerning goods moveable taken away from the owners against their wills, and being yet in their own nature extant, that restitution should be made thereof. And because many doubts might arise upon this Article, the same should be determined by the aforesaid twelve Lords, or otherwise as was devised for the execution of the Act made *Anno* 1563.

8. That for the more quiet government of the Realm, there should be appointed a Privy Council, which should consist of twelve Lords Spiritual and Temporal, besides the other ordinary officers that do usually attend. And that the said Council should be established with the like provisions that were made at the return of the Queen out of *France*, *Anno* 1561; so many as were then Counsellers, and yet alive, being counted of that number: and that the Earl of *Lennox*, because he was most bound by nature to take care of the King, should be one of the Council, and have place therein according to his degree.

9. That for the greater safety of the Kings person, he should be brought into the Realm of *England*, and there governed by such Noblemen of *Scotland* as depend of him; so as he may be ever ready to be restored to the Crown, if the Queen his Mother break the Covenants agreed betwixt her and the Queen of *England*.

10. That for his entertainment he should not only have the Revenues which the Princes of *Scotland* in former times possessed, but also the Rents and Offices belonging sometime to the Earl of *Bothwell*.

11. And last, that a convenient number of Hostages, being all Noblemen, and of those who have adhered to the Queen, and solicited her delivery, should enter in *England* to remain there for assurance of observing the Conditions made both to the King of *Scots* and the subjects under his obedience, and to the Queen of *England* for the peace and quiet of her dominions; and that the said Hostages should be entered in *England* before the Queen of *Scots* shall be put to Liberty.

Answer to the aforesaid Articles.

These Articles delivered to them were answered the next day as followeth. *We have seen and considered the note of the Heads which we received from your Lordships for pacifying the Controversies between the Queen our Sovereigns Mother, and the King her Son and his Subjects, touching the Title of the Crown of* Scotland, *if it be found that her Dimission either was or may be lawfully revoked by her; and therewithal having diligently perused our Commission and Instructions, to know how far we might enter in Treaty upon the same Heads for satisfaction of the Queens Majesty and your Lordships to whom the hearing of the cause is committed, we find our selves no ways able nor sufficiently authorized to enter into a Treaty or Conference touching the King our Sovereign his Crown, the Abdication or Diminution of the same, or yet the removing of his Person from the place where he abideth: for as we confess our selves his Highness Subjects, and have all our power and Commission from him, to treat in his name, in matters tending to the maintenance of true Religion, his Honor and estate, and for the continuance of Amity betwixt the two Realms; so we cannot presume to abuse our Commission in any thing that may prejudge him, wherein we trust your Lordships shall allow and approve us.* At

At the ſame time, and whileſt theſe things were a-doing with the Kings Commiſſioners, ſome others were appointed to confer with thoſe of his Mothers party: And to them it was propoſed, That, for the Security of the Queen of *England*, and the Noblemen that followed the King of *Scots*, the Duke of *Chattellerault*, with the Earls of *Huntley*, *Argile*, the Lord *Home*, and any other Noblemen they pleaſed to name, ſhould be delivered as Pledges, and the Caſtles of *Dumbar*, and *Home* be put in the hands of *Engliſh*-men, to be kept for three years. The anſwer they gave was, That She, who of her own motive committed her ſelf to the protection of the Queen of *England*, would moſt willingly give her ſatisfaction in all things which conveniently might be done; but to deliver thoſe great men and the Fortreſſes required, was no other thing but to ſpoil and deprive the diſtreſſed Queen of the ſuccour of her moſt faithful friends, and the ſtrength of thoſe places: yet if in all other points they did agree, they made offer that two Earls (one whereof ſhould be of the number nominated) and two Lords ſhould enter as Hoſtages, and remain in *England* for the ſpace of two years; but for the Holds and Caſtles they could not, becauſe of the League with *France*, put them in the hands of *Engliſh*-men, unleſs others were put alſo in the hands of the *French*.

An. 1570.

Propoſitions made to the Queen of *Scots* Commiſſioners.

The anſwer.

The Queen of *England*, perceiving that there were on both ſides great impediments, ſent for the Kings Commiſſioners, and told them how ſhe had conſidered that the Articles propoſed could not be reſolved but in Parliament; and therefore leaving the Treaty for a time, ſeeing ſhe underſtood there was a Meeting of the Eſtates appointed in *May* next, ſhe held it meeteſt they ſhould return, and in that meeting condeſcend upon an equal number of both parties that ſhould have power to compoſe all matters; the Abſtinence in the mean time being renewed, in hope that all Differences ſhould be taken away, and matters peaceably agreed. This ſhe would cauſe ſignifie to the Agents of their Queen, and doubted not but they would aſſent thereto. Yet when it was moved unto them, they refuſed to agree to any delay, till they ſhould know what was her own mind. Hereupon the Kings Commiſſioners were commanded to ſtay till her Anſwer ſhould be returned.

The treaty continued to a more convenient time.

In this time the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton*, truſting to ſpeed better by Conference with the Earl of *Morton* and the reſt, ſent to deſire a meeting of them: which was yielded unto, provided the Biſhop of *Roſs* came not in their company; for him they would not admit, as being the Kings Rebel. Having met, they talked kindly one to another. But that the Queen ſhould be reſtored to her Authority, in no condition (though divers were propoſed) could be admitted. Which when ſhe heard, and that the Queen of *England* had taken a courſe to delay things, ſhe grew into a great choler, and inhibited her Commiſſioners to treat any more. This reported to the Queen of *England*, ſhe ſent for the Earl of *Morton* and his Aſſociates, and told him, that their Queen took in evil part the motion ſhe had made: *And ſeeing it is ſo*, ſaid ſhe, *I will not detain you longer, ye ſhall go home; and if afterwards ſhe be brought to agree to this courſe, as I hope ſhe ſhall, I have no doubt but you will for your parts do that which is fitting.* Thus were they dimitted.

The Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton* confer with the Earl of *Morton*.

Whileſt theſe things were doing in *England*, the Factions at home, notwithſtanding of the Abſtinence, were not idle, but taking their advantage of others. Lord *Claud Hamilton* ejecting the Lord *Semple* his ſervants forth of the Houſe of *Paſſay*, placed therein a number of ſouldiers, and by them kept all theſe parts in fear. The Regent upon this gathering ſome forces beſieged the Houſe, and had it rendred to him within a few days. The ſouldiers were conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and hanged on the Gallows without the Town. Not long after, upon intelligence that the Caſtle of *Dumbarton* was negligently kept and might eaſily be ſurpriſed, he ſent three Companies, under the command of Captain *Crawford*, Captain *Home*, and Captain *Ramſey*, to give the attempt. Ladders and other neceſſaries for ſcaling being prepared, they went thither in the night, conducted by a fellow that had ſerved in the Houſe, and as then had quit his ſervice upon a private diſcontent. A little before day, carrying the Ladders with the leaſt noiſe they could make, they placed the ſame in the moſt commodious part for aſcent, and, notwithſtanding

Paſſay taken by Lord *Claud Hamilton*, and recovered by the Regent.

The Caſtle of *Dumbarton* ſurpriſed.

An. 1570. ſtanding of ſundry difficulties that happened, got up in the end to the top of the Rock: There having a wall of ſtone likewiſe to climbe, Captain *Alexander Ramſay*, by a Ladder which they drew up after them, was the firſt that entered, and for a ſhort ſpace defended himſelf againſt three watchmen that aſſailed him. *Crawford* and *Home* following quickly with their Companies, the watchmen were killed, and the Munition ſeiſed. The Lord *Fleming*, who commanded the Caſtle, hearing the Tumult, fled to the neather *Balze* (ſo they call the part by which they deſcend to the River) and eſcaped in a little Boat. The ſoldiers and other ſervants yielding were ſpared, and freely dimitted. Within the Caſtle were the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Monſieur Veras* the *French*-man, the Lady *Fleming*, *John Fleming* of *Boghall*, *Alexander Levingſton*, ſon to the Lord *Levingſton*, and *John Hall* an *Engliſh*-man, who were all made priſoners. The next morning the Regent came thither (for he was lying at *Glaſgow*) and uſing the Lady honorably, ſuffered her to depart with her Plate, Jewels, and all that appertained either to her or to her Husband. *Veras* was ſent to be kept at S. *Andrews*, and permitted afterwards to depart. The *Engliſh*-man *Hall* was delivered to the Marſhal of *Berwick*. *Boghall* and the Lord *Levingſtons* ſon were detained. The Archbiſhop was ſent to *Striveling*, and the firſt of *April* publickly hanged on a Gibbet erected to that purpoſe.

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* executed.

His Declaration at his death.

This was the firſt Biſhop that ſuffered by form of Juſtice in this Kingdom. A man he was of great action, wiſe and not unlearned, but in life ſomewhat diſſolute. His death, eſpecially for the manner of it, did greatly incenſe his friends, and was diſliked of divers, who wiſhed a greater reſpect to have been carried to his age and place. But the ſuſpicion of his guiltineſs in the Murthers of the King and Regent made him of the common ſort leſs regrated. It is ſaid, that being queſtioned of the Regents Murther, he anſwered, *That he might have ſtayed the ſame, and was ſorry he did it not.* But when he was charged with the Kings death, he denied the ſame. Yet a Prieſt called *Thomas Robinſon*, that was brought before him, affirmed that one *John Hamilton* (commonly called *Black John*) had confeſſed to him on his death-bed that he was preſent by his direction at the Murther. Whereunto he replied, *That being a Prieſt he ought not to reveal Confeſſions; and that no mans Confeſſion could make him guilty.* But for none of thoſe points was he condemned, nor the ordinary form of Trial uſed, though he did earneſtly requeſt the ſame; only upon the forfeiture laid againſt him in Parliament he was put to death, and the execution haſtened, leſt the Queen of *England* ſhould have interceded for his life.

They who ſtood for the Queen take Arms and come to *Edinburgh*.

They who ſtood for the Queen, upon advertiſement that the Treaty was diſſolved, and that ſhe had recalled the Biſhop of *Galloway* and the Lord *Levingſton*, did preſently take Arms. The Laird of *Grange*, to keep the Town of *Edinburgh* under command, did plant in the Steeple of S. *Giles* ſome ſouldiers, and tranſport all the Armor and Munition which was kept in the Town-houſe to the Caſtle. After a few days the Duke of *Chattellerault* came thither, with the Earls of *Argile* and *Huntley*, the Lords *Hereis*, *Boyd* and divers others, to ſtay the holding of the Parliament, which had been adjourned to the fourteenth of *May*. At their coming they compelled the Clerks and keepers of the Regiſter to deliver the Books of Council and Parliament, and ſeiſed on every thing which they thought might hinder the States to convene. The Miniſters were commanded in their publick prayers to make mention of the Queen their Sovereign Princeſs; which they refuſed. *John Knox* withdrew himſelf and retired to S. *Andrews*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway* preaching in his place.

The Regent reſolveth to hold the Parliament.

The Regent on the other ſide with the Nobility that adhered to the King came into *Leith* with a reſolution to hold the Parliament, whatſoever ſhould follow; and becauſe it would be a difficil work to recover the Town, concluſion was taken to keep the Parliament in that part of the Cannon-gate which is ſubject to the Towns juriſdiction: the Lawyers having reſolved, that in what part ſoever of the Town the Eſtates ſhould convene, their meeting would be found lawful. Thus on Monday the fourteenth of *May*, which was the Diet appointed, the Parliament according to the cuſtom was fenced in a houſe without

out the Gates, yet within the Liberties of the Town. The *Saturday* preceding the Regent had by advice of the Council ſent ſome men of war to poſſeſs that part of the Town, who were aſſiſted by certain Noblemen voluntiers that joyned in the ſervice. And notwithſtanding the continual playing of the Ordnance upon that part from the Caſtle, both that day and all the time the Parliament ſate, not a man (a thing moſt ſtrange) of the Regents ſide was either hurt or killed. There were cited to the Parliament young *Lethington*, his Brother Mr. *John Maitland*, Prior of *Coldingham*, *Gawan Hamilton*, Abbot of *Kilwining*, with his eldeſt Son, and a baſe Son of the late Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, who were all declared culpable of Treaſon: Young *Lethington*, becauſe of his foreknowledge and counſel given to King *Henry* his Murther; the reſt for their Rebellion againſt the King and his Regents. As in ſuch a troubled time the Parliament was very frequent; for of the Nobility were preſent the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre*, *Glencarn*, *Crawford* (who ſome months before had forſaken the Queens Faction, and ſubmitted himſelf to the King) *Bucquhan* and *Menteith*, the Lords *Keith* and *Graham*, as proxies for their Fathers, the Earls of *Marſhal* and *Montroſſe*, with the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Ruthven*, *Glamis*, *Zeiſter*, *Methven*, *Ochiltrie*, *Cathcart*, two Biſhops, nine Abbots and Priors, with twenty Commiſſioners of Burghs. The forfeiture pronounced the Eſtates took counſel to diſſolve, becauſe the danger was great, and prorogued the Parliament to the third of *Auguſt*, appointing the ſame to meet at *Striveling*.

An. 1571.

Perſons forfeited in this Parliament.

A new Civil War did then break up, which kept the Realm in trouble the ſpace of two years very nigh, and was exerced with great enmity on all ſides. You ſhould have ſeen Fathers againſt their Sons, Sons againſt their Fathers, Brother fighting againſt Brother, nigh Kinſmen and others allied together as enemies ſeeking one the deſtruction of another. Every man, as his affection led him, joyned to the one or other party; one profeſſing to be the Kings men, another the Queens. The very young ones ſcarce taught to ſpeak had theſe words in their mouths, and were ſometimes obſerved to divide, and have their childiſh conflicts in that quarrel. But the condition of *Edinburgh* was of all parts of the Countrey the moſt diſtreſſed, they that were of quiet diſpoſition and greateſt ſubſtance being forced to forſake their houſes; which were partly by the Souldiers, partly by other neceſſitous people; (who made their profit of the preſent Calamities) rifled and abuſed. The nineteenth day of *May* the Regent and other Noblemen leaving the Cannon-gate went to *Leith*, and the next day in the afternoon took their journey towards *Striveling*, where the ordinary Judges of Seſſion were commanded to ſit for miniſtring Juſtice to the Lieges. As they were taking horſe, the forces within *Edinburgh* iſſued forth, making ſhew to fight, yet ſtill they kept themſelves under guard of the Caſtle. The Earl of *Morton* parting from the Regent at *Corſtorphin*, had the foot-ſouldiers left with him to withſtand the enemy, if he ſhould make any ſudden attempt. Nor did there many days paſs when the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Claud Hamilton* with their forces enterpriſed the burning of *Dalkieth*. *Morton*, who remained there, being forewarned of their coming, took the fields, and entertained a long fight with them, though in number he was far inferior. Divers on either ſide were killed, 25 of the Earl of *Mortons* men taken priſoners, and of the adverſe party Captain *Haçkerſton*. Neither had the Conflict ended ſo ſoon, if they had not been ſeparated by an accident that happened in the time. The Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Claud* had carried with them a great quantity of powder, wherewith the Souldiers ſtriving to furniſh themſelves, and one of the matches falling amongſt the powder, it took fire, and with a terrible noiſe overthrew all that ſtood by. Captain *James Melvil* and a number of his company were thereby killed in the place, many died a few days after of the hurt they received at that time.

The Civil war renewed.

The Regent goeth to *Striveling*.

A Conflict betwixt *Morton* and the Lords at *Edinburgh*.

The Earl of *Morton* by this Invaſion being taught to look unto himſelf, did hire a band of ſoldiers that was lately come from *Denmark* under the command of Captain *Michael Weymes*, or, as others write, Capt. *David Weymes*. The Lords that remained at *Edinburgh*, thinking to intercept him and his Company, as he croſ-

The Earl of *Morton* hireth Souldiers.

An. 1571. sed the river of *Forth*, imployed Mr. *James Kircaldy*, Brother to the Laird of *Grange* (who a few days before was come from *France* with a ſupply of money and Arms) and Capt. *Cullen*, a man well skilled in Sea affairs, to lie in wait for their landing. But the purpoſe being detected to the Earl of *Morton*, he came upon them at *Leith* as they were taking Boat ſo unexpected, as 16 of the number were taken priſoners; which ſerved to redeem certain of Capt. *Weymes* Company, that were the next day taken at Sea, for he himſelf with the greateſt part arrived ſafely at *Leith*.

The Queen of *England* ſendeth to Sir *William Drury*, to try the eſtate of things.

The Regent having advertiſed the Queen of *England* of thoſe Troubles, and by the common danger of both the Realms intreated that ſhe ſhould no longer remain a neuter, ſhe ſent Sir *William Drury* Marſhal of *Berwick* to try the eſtate of things, the power that the Regent had, and the means whereby the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* might be recovered: and perceiving by the information returned, that without her aſſiſtence neither could that ſtrength be regained, nor the waged Souldiers be kept long together; becauſe as yet ſhe held it not fit to declare her ſelf for the King, ſhe began of new to treat with both parties for a ſurceaſance of Arms, and that the Town of *Edinburgh* might be freed of the Souldiers, and left patent for the Court of Juſtice, the Captain of the Caſtle having in the mean time a convenient revenue (for guarding the Houſe) allowed unto him. But this turned to no effect, for the Conditions for the ſurceaſance required could not be agreed unto by either ſide. For the Regent would have the Town of *Edinburgh* put in the eſtate wherein it was at the going of the Commiſſioners to the Court of *England* in *January* preceding, and *Grange* to content himſelf with ſuch an ordinary Garriſon as other Keepers of the Caſtle were accuſtomed to entertain. The other Faction was content to leave the Town patent, but ſo, that neither the Regent nor the Earl of *Morton* ſhould come unto it: and for the ſurety of the Caſtle, they would have *Grange* to retain 150 Souldiers beſides the ordinary guard, who ſhould lodge in that part of the Town which was neareſt unto the ſame.

The Lords on the Queens party hold a Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

A Supplication preſented in name of the Queen.

The Conditions of either ſide rejected, they of *Edinburgh*, not to be wanting of the authority of a Parliament, kept a publick Meeting in the Town-houſe the 12. day of *June* (to which day they had indicted a Parliament) where a Supplication was preſented in name of the Queen, bearing, 'That it was not unknown how 'certain of her Rebellious Subjects having impriſoned her perſon in the Tower 'of *Lochlevin*, did hereafter conſtrain her to make a Dimiſſion of the Crown in 'favours of her Son, which by the advice of Mr. *John Spence* of *Condy* her Advo-'cate ſhe had lawfully revoked; albeit otherwiſe the ſame could not ſubſiſt, being 'done without the conſent and advice of the Eſtates, and upon a Narrative of her 'inability and weakneſs, which any of mean judgment may conſider to be a mere 'forgery, ſeeing her weakneſs to govern cannot be eſteemed ſo great as is the 'weakneſs of an Infant lying in the Cradle, neither can he who hath the preſent 'adminiſtration of affairs compare with her in any for aptneſs and ability to go-'vern. Therefore was it deſired that the Nobility and Eſtates there convened, 'after they had examined the grounds of the ſaid Dimiſſion, and found them in 'reaſon naught, ſhould diſcern the ſame to be null in all time coming.

The Queens Reſignation of the Crown decerned null.

The Supplication once or twice read, as the cuſtom is, it was pronounced as followeth: *The Lords Spiritual and Temporal with the Commiſſioners of Burghs preſently aſſembled, being ripely adviſed with the Supplication preſented, have by authority of Parliament ordained the ſaid pretended Dimiſſion, Renunciation and Overgiving of the Crown by the Queen, conſequently the Coronation of her Son, the uſurped Government of his Regents, and all that hath followed therenpon, to have been from the beginning null and of no force nor effect, for the reaſons contained in the ſaid Supplication, and other conſiderations notour to the whole Eſtates. And therefore commands all the Subjects to acknowledge the Queen for their only Sovereign, notwithſtanding the ſaid Dimiſſion, and as it had never been in* rerum natura. Herewith to conciliate the favour of the Church and people, by another Statute they ordained, *That none ſhould innovate, alter or pervert the form of Religion and miniſtration of Sacraments, preſently profeſſed and eſtabliſhed within the Realm; but that the ſame ſhould have free courſe, without any lett or impedi-*

impediment to be made thereto. And therewithal the Superintendents, Miniſters, Exhorters and Readers in Churches were commanded in their publick ſervice to pray for the Queen as their only Sovereign, the Prince her Son, the Council, Nobility and whole body of the Commonwealth. Theſe Statutes they cauſed to be proclaimed at the Market-Croſs the day following, which was the 13 of *June.* *An.* 1571.

Sir *William Drury* finding his labours unprofitable, and preparing to depart, the Lords of *Edinburgh* would needs of courteſie bring him on the way. The Earl of *Morton*, who lay then at *Leith* pained with a Colick, hearing that they were in the fields, and taking it to be done for oſtentation of their power, aroſe from his bed, and putting his men in order, marched to *Reſtalrig*, which way they were to paſs. Sir *William Drury* perceiving the Companies of *Leith* in the way, and ſorry that his Convoy ſhould have given the occaſion, travelled between them, and by his perſuaſions made them both to retire. But then the queſtion fell who ſhould firſt retire: and for this Sir *William* proponed, that he ſhould ſtand between the Companies, and upon a ſign to be given by him both ſhould turn at one inſtant. The Earl of *Morton* accepted the condition, leſt he ſhould offend the Gentleman who had taken ſuch pains amongſt them; the others refuſed, giving forth great brags, that they ſhould make them leave the fields with ſhame if they did it not willingly. How ſoon *Morton* was advertiſed of the difficulty they made, he cried aloud, *On, on, we ſhall ſee who keeps the fields laſt*, and therewith gave ſo hard a charge upon them, as they diſordered both the horſe and foot. The Chaſe held towards the Watergate, where by reaſon of the skant & narrow paſſage many were killed and trod to death; but the number of priſoners were greater, for there were 150 taken, amongſt whom were the Lord *Home* & Capt. *James Cullen*: the Abbot of *Kilwining* was killed, a Gentleman of good worth, and greatly lamented; for he was of all that Faction eſteemed moſt moderate. There died ſome 50 in all, moſt of them common Souldiers and of mean accompt. On *Mortons* ſide Captain *Weymis* with one only Soldier was ſlain. This Conflict happened on *Saturday* the 28 of *June*, 1571.

A Conflict betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lords at *Edinburgh.*

The Lord *Home* taken priſoner.

Advertiſement hereof ſent to the Regent, he came the next day to *Leith*; where firſt order was taken with the priſoners, & the Lord *Home* ſent to *Tantallon*. But he ſtayed not long there, for the Lord of *Drumlanrig* being intercepted by Sir *David Spence* of *Wormſton*, as he was making homewards, an exchange was made of the Lord *Home* with him. Captain *Cullen*, a man infamous, and who in the laſt wars had uſed great cruelty, was hanged on a Gibbet. The reſt upon promiſe not to ſerve againſt the King were dimitted. Reſolution then was taken for the Regents abode at *Leith*, and the Countries attendance upon him by quarters, to keep the adverſaries buſied, and hinder the victualling of the Town. During which time no day paſſed without one Conflict or other, wherein ſometimes the Regent, and ſometimes the Queens party had the better. At this time, upon a report carried to the Laird of *Grange* that he was commonly called by thoſe of *Leith* the *Traytor*, he ſent a Trumpet to appeal any one of their ſide to combat that ſhould dare to affirm ſo much. The Laird of *Garleys* offering to maintain it, time and place were appointed for the fight; and when all were expecting the iſſue of it, *Grange* excuſed himſelf by the publick charge he bare, ſaying, *that it was not thought convenient he ſhould hazard the cauſe in his own perſon.*

The Regent returneth to *Leith.*

The Combat offered by *Grange* is accepted, and thereafter by himſelf declined.

Notwithſtanding of this great heat amongſt the parties, the Queen of *England* ceaſed not to mediate an Accord, and by a Letter to the Marſhal, dated the 19 of *July*, willed him to move them of new for an Abſtinence, offering to ſend perſons of authority and credit to the Borders, who ſhould travel to agree them, and remove all differences as well concerning the Title of the Crown as other private matters: and becauſe it was given her to underſtand that both parties had indicted Parliaments to *Auguſt* next, ſhe deſired that no proceeding ſhould be made therein, either by making of Laws, or by denouncing any perſons forfeited, and that only they ſhould authorize certain perſons to meet with her Commiſſioners for conſulting upon the beſt means to conclude a ſolid Peace. There was alſo a Letter of ſafe conduct ſent for any one that *Grange* would direct unto *England* (for this he had deſired) *Lethington* excepted, and thoſe that were ſuſpected of the late Kings Mur-

The Queen of *England* inſiſteth for Peace.

An. 1571. ther. But whether this exception gave the cauſe, or the daily incouragements ſent by the *French*, none was directed thither.

The Regent excuſeth his refuſe of the Abſtinence.

The Regent by his anſwer of the 27 excuſed the not yielding to the *Abſtinence*, which, he ſaid, *without evident prejudice to the Kings cauſe could not be granted ſo long as* Edinburgh *was detained*. For other points he anſwered, *That by himſelf, without the conſent of the Nobility and Eſtates, he could ſay nothing; but at their meeting in* Auguſt *her Majeſty ſhould receive all reaſonable ſatisfaction*. The adverſary party in the mean time nothing relenting of their courſe, did keep a form of Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 22 *Auguſt*; and though they were but five perſons in all preſent that had any voice in the State, to wit, two Biſhops and three Noblemen, they pronounced above 200 perſons forfeited. The Regent advertiſing the Queen of *England* how they had proceeded, and what diſorder, did ſhew the neceſſity whereunto they that lived in the Kings obedience were brought, and how it concerned him and the reſt to proſecute what they had juſtly intended, in regard of their enemies precipitation. So in the Parliament kept at *Striveling* the 28 of the ſame month, ſentence of forfeiture was pronounced againſt the Duke of *Chattellerault* and his two Sons, the Abbot of *Aberbrothock* and Lord *Claud*, the Earl of *Huntley*, the Laird of *Grange*, and ſome others. And for ſatisfying the Queen of *Englands* deſire, the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre* and *Glencarn*, the Lords *Semple*, *Ruthven* and *Glamis*, with the Biſhop of *Orkney*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin* and S. *Colmes Inche*, Sir *John Ballendine* Juſtice Clerk, and Mr. *James Macgill* Clerk of Regiſter, were nominated by the Eſtates, and Commiſſion given, or to any four, three, or two of that number, to treat with ſuch as the Queen of *England* ſhould appoint upon the Differences ariſen amongſt the ſubjects by occaſion of the late Troubles, and for contracting a League offenſive and defenſive betwixt the two Realms. Of all that did the Regent give notice to the Queen, beſeeching her not to preſs them with any thing that might ſeem to call the Kings Authority in queſtion. But before theſe Letters came to her hands, he was killed, as ye ſhall hear.

A Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* by the Lords.

The Regent kept a Parliament at *Striveling*.

Perſons forfeited in the Parliament.

An enterpriſe of the Lord *Claud Hamilton*.

Lord *Claud Hamilton* having intelligence given him of the ſecurity wherein the Regent and Nobility lived at *Striveling*, and how as in a time of ſetled peace they did not ſo much as keep a Watch by night, took reſolution to invade them, and was therein greatly incouraged by Captain *George Bell* (a man born in *Striveling*, and one that knew all the paſſages and ſtreets) who made offer to put him and the company he ſhould bring with him ſafely in the Town. This he communicated to the Earl of *Huntley*, *Walter Scot* of *Bacleugh*, and *David Spence* of *Wormeſton*, who were all content to joyn in the enterpriſe. The ſecond of *Sept.* they went from *Edinburgh* a little before Sun-ſetting, accompanied with 200 horſe & 300 foot; and leſt their journey ſhould be ſuſpected, they made the rumor go, that they went towards *Jedburgh*, to compoſe a diſcord fallen out betwixt the Town and the Laird of *Farnherſt*. To eaſe the footmen they had taken all the horſes which came the day before to the Market, and as many as they could otherwiſe purchaſe by the way; and ſo marching with a wonderful confidence (for by the way all their diſcourſe was whom they would kill, and whom they would ſave) they came about the dawning of the day to the Town, and found all things ſo quiet, as not a dog was heard to open his mouth and bark: whereupon having planted the Soldiers in the moſt commodious parts of the Town, & injoyned them to ſuffer no perſon to come unto the ſtreet, they went to the Noblemens lodgings which were deſigned unto them, and found there little or no reſiſtance. The Earl of *Morton* defended the lodging wherein he was ſome little time, but fire being put to the houſe he rendred to the Laird of *Bacleugh*. The Regent was taken with leſs ado, his ſervants making no defence. In like ſort were the Earls of *Glencarn* & *Eglington* made priſoners with divers others. The Earl of *Marre* hearing the noiſe, iſſued forth of the Caſtle with 16 perſons only, and entering the back of his new lodging which was not then finiſhed, played with Muskets upon the ſtreet, ſo as he forced them to quit the ſame. The Townsmen and others, upon this taking courage, gathered together, and put the enemy to flight, purſuing them ſo hotly as they were conſtrained to quit their priſoners, and ſome to render themſelves to thoſe they were leading captive. The Regent, who

was

was *Wormeſtons* priſoner (for to him he had rendered) being carried a little without the Port, when they ſaw the reſcue coming, was ſhot by Captain *Calder*, and with the ſame bullet *Wormeſton* (who did what he could to ſave the Regent) was ſtricken dead. *An.* 1571.

The death of this Gentleman was much regrated of both Factions, for that he was for manly courage and other vertues as well of body as mind inferior to none of his time. There fell at this time on the Regents ſide ſome 24, amongſt whom the moſt eminent were *George Ruthven*, Brother to the Lord *Ruthven*, and *Alexander Stewart* of *Garleis*. Of the other ſide as many were ſlain, and divers taken priſoners; amongſt whom were the two Captains *Bell* and *Cawder*, who were executed as Traitors. The Lord *Claud* with the Earl of *Huntley* and the reſt eſcaped, and had all been taken if there had been horſes to purſue them; but the borderers that followed *Bacleugh*, men accuſtomed with ſuch practices, had emptied the Stables at the firſt entry into the Town. It was certainly a bold enterpriſe, whereof we will not find many the like in Story. So few men leaving their ſtrength to take ſo long a journey, and enter upon a Town full of enemies (for there were in it 500 able and reſolute men at leaſt, beſides the inhabitants) was a great audaciouſneſs; and then to get in their hands the chief of their adverſaries, whereby they were once in a poſſibility to have returned abſolute victors; yea when the courſe altered, to ſave themſelves with ſo little loſs, was held ſtrange, and made the enterpriſe to be counted no leſs fortunate than it was bold and venturous. The number of the ſlain on both ſides.

It was alſo obſerved, and is worth the reporting, that the young King, who was brought from the Caſtle to the Parliament-houſe at their firſt ſitting, after a ſhort ſpeech which they had put in his mouth, eſpying in the Table-cloth, or as others have ſaid, in the Top of the houſe, a little hole, cried out, that *There was a Hole in the Parliament.* An ominous ſpeech, and ſo interpreted by ſome that were preſent, which the event made the more remarkable; for before the Parliament was at an end, a great Hole was made in it by the death of him that began the ſame. The Regent, though the wound was mortal, did not light from his horſe till he came to the Caſtle. By the way when his friends did encourage him, he ſtill anſwered, *If the Babe be well* (meaning the King) *all is well:* and being laid in bed and his wound dreſſed, after they had told him that his bowels were cut, calling the Nobility he ſpake unto them a few words to this effect. An ominous ſpeech of the King, being yet a Child.

I am now, my Lords, to leave you, at God his good pleaſure, and to go into a world where is reſt and peace. Ye know it was not my ambition, but your choice, that brought me to the Charge I have this while ſuſtained; which I undertook the more willingly, that I was perſuaded of your aſſiſtence in the defence of the Infant King, whoſe protection by nature and duty I could not refuſe. And now, being able to do no more, I muſt commend him to the Almighty God, and to your care, intreating you to continue in the defence of his Cauſe, (wherein I do aſſure you in Gods name of the Victory) and make choice of ſome worthy perſon, fearing God and affectionate to the King, to ſucceed unto my place. And I muſt likewiſe commend unto your favour my ſervants, who never have received benefit at my hands, and deſire you to remember my love to my wife Meg, (ſo he was accuſtomed to call her) *whom I beſeech God to comfort.* This ſaid, he took leave of them all one by one, requeſting them to aſſiſt him with their prayers, in which he himſelf continued ſome hours, and ſo moſt devoutly ended his life. A man he was of noble qualities, tried with both fortunes, and if he had injoyed a longer and more peaceable time, he had doubtleſs made the Kingdom happy by his Government. The Regents ſpeech to the Nobility.

It is time that we return to the Church, and conſider what the eſtate thereof was amidſt the civil Diſſentions. In the Countries where the Queens Faction ruled, the Miniſters in their prayers did always recommend the Queen as Sovereign, ſerving the affection of thoſe that commanded in the bounds, albeit the Aſſembly of the Church had otherwiſe appointed. *John Knox*, as we ſhewed, had left the Town of *Edinburgh*, and was gone to S. *Andrews*, where he had ſtrong oppoſition made him by Mr. *Archibald* and Mr. *John Hamilton*, Profeſſors of Philoſophy in the new College, who ſtood faſt to the Queens Cauſe, and drew many of the An Aſſembly of the Church at *Striveling*.

An. 1571. the Students after them. This, together with the grief he conceived of the preſent Troubles, did caſt him in a ſickneſs, whereof he never perfectly recovered. And at this time hearing that the Aſſembly of the Church was met at *Striveling*, he ſent unto them a Letter, which I thought worthy to be here inſert: it was as follow-eth. *Becauſe the daily decay of natural ſtrength doth threaten me with a certain and ſudden departing from the miſery of this life, I exhort you, brethren, yea in the fear of God I charge you, to take heed to your ſelves and the Flock over which God hath placed you Miniſters. What your behaviour ſhould be, I am not now, nor have I need, as I think, to expreſs; but to charge you to be faithful, I dare not forget. And unfaithful ye ſhall be counted before the Lord* Jeſus, *if with your conſent, directly or indirectly, you ſuffer unworthy men to be thruſt into the Miniſtry of the Church, under whatſoever pretext. Remember the Judge before whom we muſt give account, and flee this as ye would eſchew hell-fire. This will be a hard battel I grant, but there is a ſecond will be harder, that is, to withſtand the mercileſs devourers of the Church-Patrimony. If men will ſpoil, let them do it to their own peril and condemnation; but communicate not ye with their ſins, of what eſtate ſoever they be, neither by conſent nor ſilence, but with publick proteſtation make known to the world that ye are innocent of ſuch Robbery, and that ye will ſeek redreſs thereof at the hands of God and man. God give you wiſdom, ſtrength and courage in ſo good a cauſe, and me an happy end. From S.* Andrews *the thirteenth of* Auguſt 1571.

John Knox his Letter to the Aſſembly.

A Conſultation for ſetling the Policy of the Church.

In this meeting the Church-men began to think ſomewhat more ſeriouſly of the Policy of the Church than before: for the firſt Draught being neither liked univerſally among themſelves, nor approved by the Council, they ſaw it needful to agree upon a certain Form of Government that might continue. Unto this time the Church had been governed by Superintendents and Commiſſioners of Countreys, as they were then named. The Commiſſioners were alterable, and were either changed or had their Commiſſions renewed in every Aſſembly, The Superintendents held their Office during life, and their power was Epiſcopal; for they did elect and ordain Miniſters, they preſided in Synods, and directed all Church-Cenſures, neither was any Excommunication pronounced without their warrant. They aſſigned the Stipends of Miniſters, directing the Collectors (who were then choſen by the General Aſſembly) to diſtribute the Thirds of Benefices amongſt them, as they thought convenient. If any ſurpluſage was found in the Accounts, the ſame was given by their appointment to the ſupply of the Publick ſtate; and in ſuch reſpect were they with all men, as notwithſtanding the Diſſenſions that were in the Countrey, no exception was taken at their proceedings by any of the parties, but all concurred to the maintenance of Religion, and in the Treaties of Peace made that was ever one of the Articles: Such a reverence was in thoſe times carried to the Church, the very Form of Government purchaſing them reſpect. But the Church conſidering that things could not long continue in that eſtate, the Superintendents being grown in years, and moſt of them ſerving upon their own charges, which burthen it was not to be hoped others when they were gone would undergo, thought meet to intercede with the Regent and Eſtates, for eſtabliſhing a ſure and conſtant order in providing men to thoſe places when they ſhould fall void, and ſetling a competent moyen for their entertainment. To this effect Commiſſion was given to the Superintendents of *Lothian*, *Fife* and *Angus*, and with them were joyned Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *John Row*, and Mr. *George Gray*. Theſe were appointed to attend the Parliament, and deal with the Regent and Eſtates, that ſome courſe might be taken in that buſineſs. But the Regents death and the Troubles which thereupon iſſued made all to be continued for that time.

The power of the Superintendents.

Commiſſioners named to deal with the Regent and Eſtate.

The Regents Funerals performed with ſuch Solemnity as the time would ſuffer, and his Corps interred in the Chappel of the Caſtle of *Striveling*, the next care was for chuſing a Governor in his place. *Archibald* Earl of *Argile* (who was then returned to the Kings obedience) *James* Earl of *Morton*, and *John* Earl of *Marre* being put in lites, the voices went with the Earl of *Marre*. The fifth of *September* the Election was made, after which the Parliament went on; wherein, beſides the con-

The Earl of *Marre* elected Regent.

firmation

firmation of the Regency, certain other Acts paſſed in favors of thoſe that ſhould happen to be ſlain in defence of the King his Authority. And the Regent bending all his thoughts to the beſieging of *Edinburgh*, brought an Army thither about the midſt of *October*, with nine pieces of Artillery taken forth of the Caſtle of *Striveling*. Having battered the Walls of the Town on the South-ſide, but to ſmall purpoſe, becauſe of the Rampiers and Ditches which the Defendents had caſt up within; he retired himſelf and his Army to *Leith*. The reſt of the winter was ſpent in light skirmiſhes, wherein none of the parties did ſuffer any great loſs. They in *Edinburgh* had the advantage; for the Caſtle being ſituated in an high place, and having a long proſpect into all the parts about, gave them warning by a certain ſign when their enemies did iſſue forth, ſo as ſeldom they came to handy-ſtrokes: once only it happened that in an ambuſh laid by them of *Leith* two Captains, *Hackerton* and *Michel*, who ſerved the Lords in *Edinburgh*, with 60 of their companies, were taken priſoners. This made them of *Edinburgh* more circumſpect in their outgoing ever after that time. *An.* 1571.

In the North parts *Adam Gordon* (who was Deputy for his Brother the Earl of *Huntley*) did keep a great ſtir, and under colour of the Queens Authority committed divers oppreſſions, eſpecially upon the *Forbeſes*. *Arthur Forbes*, Brother to the Lord *Forbes* (commonly called *Black Arthur*) a man both of wiſdom and courage, had from the beginning of the Civil Wars always allowed the Kings party, and was at that time labouring to pacifie quarrels amongſt thoſe of his name (for they were ſtriving one with another) that they might be the more able to withſtand their enemies. In end he prevailed ſo far, as he brought his Friends to condeſcend upon a time and place of meeting for taking up their controverſies, and building them together in a ſure friendſhip. *Adam Gordon* ſmelling his purpoſe, and fearing the conſequence of it, uſed many policies to keep them ſtill divided: but when he perceived the meeting would keep, he reſolved to come unto the place, and one way or other to impede the agreement. At his coming he found them treating upon matters, and ſtanding in two companies a good ſpace one from another, and, as if he had been ignorant of the purpoſe, ſent to enquire wherefore they made ſuch Convocations. They anſwered, that they were doing ſome private affairs, wherein he had no intereſs. And being commanded to ſeparate and return to their houſes they refuſed: whereupon he invaded them, and falling on that part where *Arthur Forbes* ſtood, in the very joyning killed him. The reſt ſeeing him fall took the flight, and in the chaſe many were ſlain; they reckon 120 to have dyed at that time. Not long after he ſent to ſummon the houſe of *Tavoy* pertaining to *Alexander Forbes*. The Lady refuſing to yield without direction from her Husband, he put fire unto it, and burnt her therein with Children and Servants, being 27 perſons in all. This inhumane and barbarous cruelty made his name odious, and ſtained all his former doings; otherwiſe he was held both active and fortunate in his enterpriſes.

Adam Gordon Deputy for *Huntley* in the North.

A Conflict betwixt *Adam Gordon* and the *Forbeſes*.

The Lord *Forbes* having eſcaped in the Conflict came to the Regent, and complained for a preſent Supply. He had granted to him 200 footmen under the conduct of two Captains, *Chiſholm* and *Wedderburn*, with Letters to the Noblemen of the Countrey that lay adjacent to aſſiſt. *Forbes* gathering his friends, and thinking himſelf ſtrong enough with the ſupply he had obtained, made out to ſearch and purſue his enemies. *Adam Gordon* lay then at *Aberdene*, and being advertiſed that the *Forbeſes* were drawing near to the City, he went forth to meet them. The encounter at the beginning was ſharp and furious; but the *Forbeſes* were young men for the greateſt part, of ſmall experience, and not under command; and the ſoldiers not being well ſeconded by them, after they had fought a while, gave over and yielded. The ſlaughter was not great, for the Conflict happened in the evening, which help'd many to eſcape. Captain *Chiſholm* with moſt of his company, and ſome 15 of the name of *Forbes*, were killed; the Maſter of *Forbes* and ſome others were taken priſoners.

A Supply granted by the Regent to the Lord *Forbes*.

Another Conflict betwixt the *Gordons* and *Forbeſes*.

This good ſucceſs of the Queens party in the North gave hearts to all the Faction, and now they began every where to take new courage. In the South the Lairds of

An. 1572. of *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* did aſſail *Jedburgh*, a little Town, but very conſtant in maintaining the Kings Authority. Lord *Claud Hamilton* belyed *Paſlay*. The Caſtle of *Braughty* on the River of *Tay* was ſurpriſed by *John Seaton* of *Perbroath*. And in divers other parts Troubles were raiſed of purpoſe to divide the Regents forces, and to withdraw him from *Leith*, that the Town of *Edinburgh*, which was then in ſome ſcarcity of victuals, might be relieved.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Leith*.

In the month of *January* an aſſembly of the Church convened at *Leith*, where after great inſtance made with the Regent and Council for ſetling the Policy of the Church, it was agreed that ſix of the Council and as many of the Aſſembly ſhould be ſelected to treat, reaſon, and conclude upon that buſineſs. For the Council *James* Earl of *Morton* Chancellor, *William* Lord *Ruthven* Treaſurer, *Robert* Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Secretary, Mr. *James Macgill* Keeper of the Rolls, Sir *John Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk, and *Colin Campbel* of *Glenorchy* were named; and for the Church, *John Ereskin* of *Dun* Superintendent of *Angus*, Mr. *John Winraine* Superintendent of *Fife*, Mr. *Andrew Hay* Commiſſioner of *Cliddiſdale*, Mr. *David Lindeſay* Commiſſioner of the Weſt, Mr. *Robert Pont* Commiſſioner of *Orkney*, and Mr. *John Craig* one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*. Theſe twelve convening, after divers meetings and long deliberation grew to the concluſions following.

Commiſſioners named for the Council and Church.

Articles agreed unto by the Council and Church.

1. That the Archbiſhopricks and Biſhopricks preſently void ſhould be diſponed to the moſt qualified of the Miniſtery.
2. That the ſpiritual Juriſdiction ſhould be exerced by the Biſhops in their Dioceſs.
3. That all Abbots, Priors and other inferior Prelates, who ſhould happen to be preſented to Benefices, ſhould be tried by the Biſhop or Superintendent of the bounds, concerning their qualification and aptneſs to give voice for the Church in Parliament, and upon their collation be admitted to the Benefice, and not otherwiſe.
4. That to the Biſhopricks preſently void, or that ſhould happen hereafter to fall, the King and the Regent ſhould recommend fit and qualified perſons, and their Elections to be made by the Chapters of the Cathedral Churches. And foraſmuch as divers of the Chapters Churches were poſſeſſed by men provided before his Majeſties Coronation, who bare no office in the Church, a particular nomination ſhould be made of Miniſters in every Dioceſs to ſupply their rooms until the Benefices ſhould fall void.
5. That all Benefices of Cure under Prelacies ſhould be diſponed to actual Miniſters, and to no others.
6. That the Miniſters ſhould receive Ordination from the Biſhop of the Dioceſs, and where no Biſhop was as yet placed, from the Superintendent of the bounds.
7. That the Biſhops and Superintendents at the Ordination of Miniſters ſhould exact of them an oath for acknowledging his Majeſties Authority, and for obedience to their Ordinary in all things lawful, according to the form then condeſcended.

Order alſo was taken for diſpoſing of Proveſtries, College-charges and Chaplanries, and divers other particulars moſt profitable for the Church, as in the Records extant may be ſeen; which were all ordained to ſtand in force until the Kings Majority, or till the Eſtates of the Realm ſhould otherwiſe appoint.

An. 1572. An Aſſembly of the Church at *Perth*.

In *Auguſt* thereafter, the Aſſembly of the Church meeting again at *Perth*, report was made of theſe Concluſions, and exception taken by ſome at the Titles of Archbiſhop, Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, and Chapter, as being Popiſh and offenſive to the ears of good Chriſtians: whereupon it was declared, that by uſing theſe Titles they meant not to allow of Popiſh Superſtition in any ſort, wiſhing the ſame to be changed in others not ſo ſcandalous. As the name of Biſhop to be hereafter uſed for Archbiſhop, the Chapter to be called the Biſhops Aſſembly, the Dean to be called The moderator of the ſaid Aſſembly; and for the Titles of Archdeacon, Chancellor,

lor, Abbot and Prior, that ſome ſhould be appointed to conſider how far theſe Functions did extend, and give their opinion for the interchange thereof with others more agreeable to the word, and the policy of the beſt Reformed Churches, reporting their opinions at the next Aſſembly. But I do not find that any ſuch report was made; like it is the wiſer ſort eſteemed there was no cauſe to ſtumble at Titles, where the Office was thought neceſſary and lawful. A Proteſtation always was made, that *they received theſe Articles for an interim, till a more perfect order might be obtained at the King his Regent and the Nobilities hands.* According to theſe Concluſions Mr. *John Douglas* Provoſt of the New College of S. *Andrews* was provided to the Archbiſhoprick of that See, Mr. *James Boyd* to the Archbiſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *James Paton* to the Biſhoprick of *Dunkeld*, and Mr. *Andrew Ghrame* to the Biſhoprick of *Dumblane*. *An.* 1572.

The Lord *Ruthven* ſent to aſſiſt the Town of *Jedburgh*.

About the end of *January*, the Regent advertiſed of the peril wherein the Town of *Jedburgh* ſtood, and of the great preparation that *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* made to ſurpriſe it (for they had beſides their own forces drawn all the people of *Eſk*, *Ewis* and *Liddeſdale* to joyn with them in hope of ſpoil, and from the *Engliſh* Borders divers that were given to robbery, to the number of 3000 and above) ſent the Lord *Ruthven* with ſome forces to defend them. Before his coming, *Walter Ker* of *Ceſford*, a man of good worth, who had ever aſſiſted the Kings party, was joyned with them. Their enemies nottheleſs eſteeming themſelves ſtrong enough by reaſon of their numbers, went forwards with an aſſurance of victory. The Lord *Ruthven* having notice given him by the way of their diet, and the time they had appointed to invade the Town, did uſe the more ſpeed, and came in ſight thereof juſt as the enemies appeared. They fearing to be incloſed betwixt the Town (who ſhewed themſelves in the fields ready to fight) and the forces the Lord *Ruthven* brought with him, did preſently retire and give back. *Farnherſt* and *Bacleugh* went to *Hawick*, and were followed the next day by the Lord *Ruthven*, who came upon them ſo unlooked for, as they were caſt into a great fear. The principals that had horſes fled away, the reſt betook them to a little buſh of wood, where being environed on all ſides they yielded at diſcretion: the priſoners were many, of whom ſome few were retained as pledges, and the reſt dimitted upon promiſe to enter themſelves at a certain day. The reſt of the winter and all the next ſpring was ſpent in light skirmiſhes, with ſmall loſs on either ſide; for they of the Queens Faction did ſeldom come to the open fields, or if they ſhewed themſelves at any time, upon the firſt onſet they took the flight and retired to the Town.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* called in queſtion for the Queens Marriage with *Norfolk*.

Whilſt matters did thus proceed in the Queen of *Scots* quarrel at home, the Biſhop of *Roſs* in *England* renewed the purpoſe of Marriage with the Duke of *Norfolk*, and practiſed with divers for ſetting the Queen at Liberty. This being diſcovered, the Duke was committed to the Tower of *London*, and being arraigned at *Weſtminſter-Hall* the 16 of *January*, was convicted of Treaſon and condemned to die, yet was the Execution delayed to the *June* after. The Biſhop of *Roſs* called alſo in queſtion, defended himſelf by the privileges of his Ambaſſage, ſaying, *That he had done nothing but what his place and duty tied him unto, for procuring the Liberty of his Princeſs; and that he came unto* England *with ſufficient authority, which he had ſhewed, and was at the time accepted.* When it was replied, *That the privileges of Ambaſſadors could not protect them who did offend againſt the Majeſty of the Princes they were ſent unto, and that they were not to be reputed other than enemies who practiſed Rebellion againſt the State:* he anſwered, *That he had neither raiſed nor practiſed Rebellion; but perceiving the adverſaries of his Princeſs countenanced, and her out of all hope of Liberty, he could not abandon his Sovereign in her affliction, but do his beſt to procure her Freedom. And that it would never be found that the privileges of Ambaſſadors were violated* via juris, *by courſe of Law, but only* via facti, *by way of fact, which ſeldom had a good ſucceſs.* After long altercation he was ſent to the Iſle of *Ely*, and from thence brought and impriſoned in the Tower, where he remained nigh two years. Some ten days after *Norfolks* Execution, the Queen of *England* directed certain of her Council to the Queen of *Scots*, to expoſtulate with her for making ſuit to the Pope and King of *Spain*, The Biſhop of *Roſs* impriſoned at *Ely*.

The Duke of *Norfolk* executed.

An. 1572. *Spain*, and for receiving Letters from the Pope, together with a Sentence declaratory publiſhed againſt her ſelf, whereunto (after proteſtation that ſhe was a free Queen and ſubject to none) ſhe anſwered, *That ſhe had indeed by Letters ſolicited both the Pope and King of* Spain *for reſtoring her unto her Kingdom, which was no prejudice to the Queen of* England *that ſhe had received godly and conſolatory Letters from the Pope. But for the Sentence given by him, ſhe never knew thereof till a printed copy was brought unto her, which after ſhe had read ſhe did caſt into the fire.* Theſe anſwers did not ſatisfie the Queen of *England*, who having underſtood that ſhe had entred in a ſecret confederacy with the *Spaniard*, kept her from that time in a more ſtrict cuſtody than before.

Certain of the Council directed to the Queen of *Scots*.

Yet at the requeſt of the *French* King ſhe ſent of new Sir *William Drury* unto *Scotland* to treat for Peace; and if that could not be wrought, to procure a Ceſſation of Arms for a certain ſpace. But he prevailed nothing, the Wars being then very hot, and the parties mightily incenſed againſt others. No quarters were given, nor interchange of priſoners made, but all that were taken on either ſide preſently executed. This device was held to proceed from the Earl of *Morton*, who thought the Troubles would not haſtily ceaſe if a greater ſeverity were not uſed towards them who withſtood the Kings Authority. But whoſe device ſoever it was, it proved exceeding hateful. The common ſort taking it to have come of *Morton*, called the Wars of that time *the Douglaſſes wars*. This form of doing continued from the 16 of *April* to the 8 of *June*; at which time both parties wearied of execution daily made, were content to ceaſe from ſuch rigour, and uſe fair Wars, as in former times. In the North *Adam Gordon*, after the *Forbeſſes* were defeated, found no reſiſtence, and following his fortune, reduced all beyond the River of *Dee* to the Queens obedience. To impede his proceedings (for he had entered then into the Country of *Mernis*, and was beſieging the Houſe of *William Douglaſs* of *Glembervy*) the Regent directed the Earl of *Crawford* and *Buchan*, with the Lord *Glamis*, and Maſter of *Marſhal*. Theſe Noblemen meeting at *Brichen*, and waiting there till forces ſhould aſſemble, *Adam Gordon* came upon them in the night, and killing the watches that were placed at the Bridge on the North ſide of the Town, had very nigh taken them all in bed; but they wakened by the noiſe of the Trumpets eſcaped: many were taken priſoners, and ſome 39 perſons ſlain within the City. This done, he beſieged the Town of *Montroſs*, and forced them to pay a great ſum of money: which put the Town of *Dundy* in ſuch fear, as they were driven to ſeek aid of their Neighbors in *Fife*.

The Queen of *England* treateth for Peace amongſt the parties.

The Earls of *Crawford* and *Buchan* directed againſt *Adam Gordon*.

At the ſame time the Caſtle of *Blacknes*, a Fort on the South-ſide of the River of *Forth*, was ſold by the Keeper to the *Hamiltons*, & thereby the Navigation betwixt *Leith* and *Striveling* barred. At *Edinburgh* were divers skirmiſhes betwixt them and the Companies that lay at *Leith*, and (which was greatly lamented of both parties) the Lord *Methven* killed by a ſhot of Cannon from the Caſtle. The Duke in the mean time having proclaimed a Juſtice-Court at *Hamilton*, and divers perſons within the Sheriffdom of *Ranfrew* and *Lennox* to anſwer to certain crimes whereof they were delated; the Regent prepared to keep the Diet, and leaving the Earl of *Montroſs* and the Lord *Lindeſay* to follow the ſervice at *Leith*, took journey to *Glaſgow*, and from thence to *Hamilton*. But neither the Duke nor any in his name appearing to hold the Court, he appointed the Lord *Semple* Lieutenant in thoſe Weſt parts for the King, and returned to *Striveling*.

The Caſtle of *Blacknes* betrayed by the Keeper.

He had intended an Expedition in the North, but upon advertiſement that two Ambaſſadors were arrived at *Leith* he turned thither; the one was *Monſieur de Crock* imployed by the *French*, the other Mr. *Randolph* by *England*, who profeſſed both of them to be ſent for negotiating a Peace amongſt the parties; yet was it thought the *French* did not much affect the Peace. For even then the Lord *Fleming* came from *France* with moneys to pay the Souldiers that ſerved the Lords at *Edinburgh*. This Nobleman ſome ten days after, walking in the ſtreet, was unhappily wounded in the knee by the ſhot of an Harquebuze, whereof he died the ſixth of *September*. As to the Queen of *England*, howbeit ſhe deſired Peace to be made, yet ſhe would have it in ſuch manner as both Factions might depend on her; and

Ambaſſadors from *France* and *England*.

The Lord *Fleming* unhappily killed.

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ſo ſhe had carried her ſelf in all the late Treaties, as however ſhe favoured the Kings party moſt, the other party did never deſpair of her good will. *An.* 1572.

The two Ambaſſadors having tried the minds of both parties, they found them more tractable than they expected, and after ſome travel taken amongſt them, obtained a Ceſſation of Arms, and for the ſpace of two months (continuing from the firſt of *Auguſt* to the firſt of *October*) upon the Conditions following. A Ceſſation from War concluded.

1. That the Regent, Nobility, and all other Subjects of the Realm partakers with them in the preſent Troubles, ſhould faithfully promiſe during the ſaid ſpace to abſtain from all Hoſtility. The Articles of Abſtinence.
2. That before expiring of the ſaid Abſtinence, the Nobility and Eſtates ſhould convene and adviſe upon the beſt means to eſtabliſh a final Peace; and if any difficulty ſhould ariſe in the ſaid Treaty which amongſt themſelves could not be compoſed, that the ſame ſhould be remitted to the determination of the moſt Chriſtian King and Queen of *England*.
3. That the Town of *Edinburgh* ſhould be ſet at liberty, and made patent to all the ſubjects, and no place thereof be withholden or fortified with Garriſons, the Caſtle only excepted, which before theſe Troubles aroſe was accuſtomed to be kept and guarded with Souldiers.
4. That all the ſubjects, of whatſoever quality and condition they were, ſhould freely converſe together without trouble or moleſtation to be offered them by word or deed, excepting ſuch as ſhould be found guilty of the Murther of the King his Father and Regents, the Thieves and broken men of the Borders and Highlands, with the diſturbers of the publick Peace betwixt the Realms of *Scotland* and *England*; none of which ſhould be compriſed in the preſent Abſtinence, but remitted to the trial and cenſure of the Common-Law, and whereſoever they might be apprehended preſented.
5. And laſt, becauſe there were divers perſons who in the time of theſe Troubles had poſſeſſed themſelves in other mens lands, and the tenths whereof in that ſeaſon were to be collected; to the effect no impediment ſhould be made to the Peace intended, it was agreed that the Corns and Fruits growing upon the ſad lands ſhould be gathered and put in Granges, or ſtalked upon the fields, and not applied to any private uſe, before the expiring of the Abſtinence.

Theſe Articles were publiſhed the firſt day of *Auguſt* both at *Edinburgh* and *Leith*, and the ſame day the Duke with the Earl of *Huntley* and their followers departed from *Edinburgh*, leaving the Town free and patent, as was agreed. This beginning of Peace joyed not a little the good Subjects, for which publick thanks were given in all the Churches, and ſolemn prayers made for the continuance and perfection thereof. At this time, or much about the ſame, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been kept a long time at *Lochlevin*, was delivered by the Earl of *Morton* to the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick*, and ſhortly after beheaded at *York*. Hereat many did offend, eſteeming the fact diſhonourable, and a diſcredit to the whole Nation: others did excuſe it by the neceſſity of the time, and the inconvenience that the publick affairs might receive, if the Queen of *England* ſhould be in any ſort diſpleaſed. But ſo much the worſe it was taken, that, as the rumor went, *Morton* received for his delivery in *England* a great ſum of money, and ſo the Nobleman thought rather to be ſold than delivered.

The next day after the publication of the Abſtinence the Regent and Nobility adhering to the King did enter into *Edinburgh*, where the Ambaſſadors after thanks given them for their pains they had taken were courteouſly dimitted. It was the 27 of *Sept.* ſome three days only before the expiring of the Abſtinence, that the Noblemen did meet (as was appointed) to conſult upon the means of a perfect Peace. Whereupon it was firſt agreed that the Abſtinence ſhould be prorogued unto *January* next: after that, falling to treat of the buſineſs it ſelf, they agreed in many Points, and even then had made a final Accord, if the Laird of *Grange* had not marred the ſame with his Petitions. Theſe were as followeth. 1. He

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1. He craved a diſcharge to himſelf and all that were in the Caſtle of all things which they or any of them had committed ſince the beginning of the Troubles, and that all Acts, Decrees and Sentences pronounced againſt them, either in Parliament, ſecret Council, or before the Juſtice general and his Deputies, might be declared null and of no effect.
2. That they ſhould be repoſſeſſed in their rooms, heritages and poſſeſſions, without any challenge to be made thereafter of the ſame by whatſoever perſon or perſons.
3. That the heirs of the Lord *Fleming*, the Lord of *Wormeſton*, and others who were ſlain in the Queens cauſe, might enter to their heritage and rooms, as though they had never been forfeited.
4. That the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* ſhould be conſigned in the hands of the Earl of *Rothes*, with the whole furniſhing, munition and rent belonging there to the Captain, making an account of the Jewels and other goods which he received with the Houſe; as alſo reſtoring all the goods of the people of *Edinburgh* that were put in his cuſtody, which he was content to do, he being freely diſcharged of all, and ſecured by Act of Parliament.
5. That the Caſtle of *Blacknes* ſhould be put in the keeping of ſome one of their ſide, and the Rents appertaining thereto aſſigned for the entertainment of a Garriſon within the ſame.
6. In reſpect of the great debt he had contracted in theſe Wars, he craved the ſum of twenty thouſand marks to be given him for ſatisfying his creditors.
7. That the Earl of *Morton* ſhould reſign the ſuperiority of the lands of *Grange* & other lands annexed thereto, to be holden of the Crown in all time coming.

And laſtly, that the Lords within the Caſtle might be licenſed to go into the Kingdom of *France*, or any other Countrey they pleaſed forth of *Scotland*; and that the Earl of *Rothes* ſhould be ſurety for the accompliſhment of the whole premiſſes.

The Regent and Council do anſwer to the Articles.

Theſe Articles being preſented to the Regent and Council were for the firſt three judged reaſonable: but to commit any places of ſtrength to others than thoſe who had conſtantly adhered to the King, they eſteemed it not ſafe; and to give him any recompence that was known to be the author of the laſt Troubles, they ſaid it would be a matter of ill enſample. For the licence craved to thoſe of the Caſtle to go out of the Country, they held the Petition very ſuſpicious, and could not think there was a ſound meaning in them that had moved the ſame: yet was it not thought meet to anſwer him by a ſimple denial at that time, but rather to keep him in hope, and appoint a new Diet for purſuing the treaty begun. Thus by conſent the Abſtinence was prorogued, and the laſt of *October* aſſigned for a new meeting at *Perth*.

The Regent dieth at *Striveling*.

The delay grieved the Regent exceedingly, and (as it was ſuppoſed) partly for this, and partly for the croſſings he found in the publick affairs, he contracted a ſickneſs, whereof he died at *Striveling* the 8 of *October*. The adverſary Faction, flattering themſelves in their own conceits, made the like conſtruction of his death which they had made of the other Regents that proceeded, ſaying, That *it was an evident ſign of Gods diſpleaſure with the preſent courſes, and that none of thoſe who joyned in the enterpriſe againſt the Queen could proſper better*. But to meaſure Gods love or hatred by theſe outward accidents is folly, ſeeing they fall out alike to all, both good and wicked: and for this Nobleman, howſoever he was taken away to the Countrey untimely, he died happily for himſelf, and well reported of all. Before his dying, he commended the care of the Kings perſon in moſt earneſt manner to his Lady, and to *Alexander Ereskin* his Brother, appointing him Keeper of the Caſtle till his Son ſhould be grown up and be of a perfect age; and giving moſt wiſe directions both for the one and the other, ended his days in great quietneſs and in the aſſurance of that better life.

He commendeth the care of the Kings perſon to his Lady and Brother.

The deſcription of *John Knox* his Life and Death.

In the next month *John Knox*, who had returned a little before to *Edinburgh*, departed this life. The Reader will pardon me if here I make a little digreſſion,

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to ſhew what a man this was both in his Life and Death; the rather becauſe ſome malicious and wicked ſpirits have ſtudyed by many forged lies to deprave his fame, only out of hatred of true Religion, whereof he was a zealous promover. He was born in *Gifford* within *Lothian*, of a mean, but honeſt, parentage, and being put to ſchool, made ſuch profit in his ſtudies under that famous Doctor Mr. *John Major*, as he was held worthy to enter into Orders before the years allowed. By reading the Ancients, eſpecially the works of S. *Auſtin*, he was brought to the knowledge of the Truth, and for the profeſſion thereof endured many troubles as well in the Cardinals life as after his death. Having happily eſcaped theſe dangers, he went into *England*, and became a Preacher of the Goſpel, making his chief abode in the Towns of *Barwick* and *Newcaſtle*. In the beginning of Queen *Maries* Perſecution he fled in the company of ſome other Miniſters to *Geneva*, and ſerved with them in an *Engliſh* Congregation, which was there gathered, until the year 1559; at which time he was called home by the Noblemen that enterpriſed the Reformation, and, how ſoon the Church got liberty, placed Miniſter at *Edinburgh*: in this charge he continued to his laſt, for the Civil Troubles which forced him to leave the Town ceaſed no ſooner than he returned to the place. But his body grown infirm, and his voice ſo weak as people could not hear him, teaching in the ordinary place, he made choice of another more commodious within the Town, reading to his Auditory the Hiſtory of the Paſſion, in which he ſaid *it was his deſire to finiſh and cloſe his Miniſtery.* Thus he continued Preaching, though with much weakneſs, two months and more after his return; and knowing that he was not to remain a long time with them, he was inſtant with the Council of the Town to provide themſelves of a worthy Perſon to ſucceed in his place. Mr. *James Lawſon*, who at that time profeſſed Philoſophy in the College of *Aberdene*, being commended for a good Preacher, Commiſſioners were directed from the Superintendent of *Lothian*, the Church of *Edinburgh*, and Mr. *John Knox* himſelf, to deſire him to accept the Charge. To the Letter that the Commiſſioners carried after he had ſet his hand, he added this Poſtſcript, *Accelera, mi frater, alioqui ſero venies*, Make haſte, brother, otherwiſe you come too late: meaning that if he made any ſtay, he ſhould find him dead and gone. Theſe laſt words moved Mr. *Lawſon* to take journey the more quickly. When he was come to the Town, and had preached once or twice to the good liking of the people, order was taken by the Superintendent for his admiſſion, and the Diet appointed, at which *John Knox* himſelf would be preſent and teach, though he could ſcarce walk on foot to the Chair. At no time was he heard to ſpeak with greater power and more content to the hearers; and in the end of his Sermon, calling God to witneſs that he had walked in a good Conſcience amongſt them, not ſeeking to pleaſe men, nor ſerving either his own or other mens affections, but in all ſincerity and truth preached the Goſpel of Chriſt, with moſt grave and pithy words he exhorted them to ſtand faſt in the Faith they had received: and having conceived a zealous prayer for the continuance of Gods bleſſings upon them, and the multiplying of his ſpirit upon the Preacher who was then to be admitted, he gave them his laſt farewel. The people did convey him to his lodging, and could not be drawn from it, ſo loth they were to part with him; and the ſame day in the afternoon by ſickneſs was forced to take bed.

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Mr. *James Lawſon* admitted Miniſter at *Edinburgh*.

During the time he lay (which was not long) he was much viſited by all ſorts of perſons, to whom he ſpake moſt comfortably: ammong others to the Earl of *Morton*, that came to ſee him, he was heard ſay, *My Lord, God hath given you many bleſſings, he hath given you wiſdom, riches, many good and great friends, and is now to prefer you to the Government of the Realm. In his name I charge you that you uſe theſe Bleſſings aright, and better in time to come nor ye have done in times paſt. In all your actions ſeek firſt the Glory of God, the furtherance of his Goſpel, the maintenance of his Church and Miniſtery; and next be careful of the King, to procure his good and the welfare of the Realm. If ye ſhall do this, God will be with you and honor you; if otherwiſe ye ſhall do it not, he ſhall deprive you of all theſe benefits, and your end ſhall be ſhame and ignominy.* Theſe ſpeeches the Earl nine years after, at the time of his execution, called to mind, ſaying that *he had found them to be true, and him therein a Prophet.*

John Knox his Speech to the Earl of *Morton*.

An. 1572.

His last Speech to the Ministers.

His last speech to the Ministers and Elders of the Church.

A day or two before his death he sent for Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *James Lawson*, and the Elders and Deacons of the Church, to whom he said, *The time is approaching for which I have long thirsted, wherein I shall be relieved of all cares, and be with my Saviour Christ for ever. And now God is my witness, whom I have served with my spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that I have taught nothing but the true and solid Doctrine of the Gospel, and that the end I proponed in all my Preaching was, to instruct the ignorant, to confirm the weak, to comfort the Consciences of those who were humbled under the sense of their sins, and bear down with the threatnings of Gods judgments such as were proud and rebellious. I am not ignorant that many have blamed, and yet do blame, my too great rigor and severity; but God knows that in my heart I never hated the persons of those against whom I thundered Gods judgments: I did only hate their sins, and labored at all my power to gain them to Christ. That I forbare none of whatsoever condition, I did it out of the fear of my God, who had placed me in the function of the Ministery, and I knew would bring me to an account. Now, brethren, for your selves I have no more to say, but to warn you that you take heed to the Flock over whom God hath placed you overseers, and whom he hath redeemed by the blood of his only begotten Son. And you, Mr.* Lawson, *fight a good fight, do the work of the Lord with courage and with a willing mind; and God from above bless you and the Church, whereof you have the charge. Against it, so long as it continueth in the doctrine of Truth, the gates of Hell shall not prevail.*

The Ministers carry a Commission to the Laird of *Grange* from *John Knox*.

This spoken, and the Elders and Deacons dimitted, he called the two Preachers unto him, and said, *There is one thing that grieveth me exceedingly: You have sometime seen the courage and constancy of the Laird of* Grange *in Gods cause, and now unhappy man he hath cast himself away. I will pray you two, take the pains to go unto him, and say from me, that unless he forsake that wicked course wherein he is entred, neither shall that rock in which he confideth defend him, nor the carnal wisdom of that man whom he counteth half a God* (this was young *Lethington*) *make him help, but shamefully he shall be pulled out of that nest, and his carcass hang before the Sun. The soul of that man is dear unto me, and, if it be possible, I would fain have him to be saved.* They went as he had desired, and conferred a long space with *Grange*, but with no persuasion could he be diverted from his course; which being reported he took most heavily.

His giveth order for making his Coffin.

The next day he gave order for making his Coffin, wherein his body should be laid, and was that day (as through all the time of his sickness) much in prayer, ever crying, *come Lord* Jesu; *Sweet* Jesus, *in thy hands I commend my spirit.* Being asked by those that attended him if his pains were great; he answered, that *he did not esteem that a pain which would be to him the end of all trouble, and beginning of eternal joys.* Oftentimes, after some deep meditations, he burst forth in these words; *O serve the Lord in fear, & death shall not be terrible to you. Blessed is the death of those that have part in the death of* Jesus. The evening which was to him the last of this wretched life, having slept some hours together, but with great unquietness (for he was heard to send forth many sighs and groans) *Robert Campbell* of *Kuize cleaugh*, and *John Johnson* (called of *Elphinston*) which two gave diligent attendance upon him, ask'd after he awaked how he did find himself, & what it was that made him in his sleep mourn so heartily: to whom he answered, *In my life I have often been assaulted by Satan, and many times he hath cast in my teeth my sins, to bring me into despair, yet God gave me to overcome all his temptations; and now that subtle Serpent, who never ceaseth to tempt, hath taken another course, & seeks to perswade me that my labours in the Ministery, & the fidelity I have shewed in that service, hath merited Heaven and immortality. But blessed be God who brought to my mind these Scriptures,* What hast thou, that thou hast not received? *and,* Not I, but the grace of God in me. *With which he is gone away ashamed, and shall no more return; and now I am sure my battel is at an end, and that without pain of body or trouble of spirit I shall shortly change this mortal and miserable life, with that happy and immortal life which shall never have end.* The prayers which ordinarily were read in the house being ended, it was inquired

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if he heard them: He answered, *Would to God you had heard them with such an ear and heart as I have done:* adding, *Lord* Jesu, *receive my spirit.* After which words, without any motion of hands or feet, as one falling asleep rather than dying, he ended his life. He was certainly a man indued with rare gifts, and a chief instrument that God used for the work of those times. Many good men have disliked some of his Opinions, as touching the Authority of Princes, and the form of Government which he laboured to have established in the Church: yet was he far from those dotages wherein some that would have been thought his followers did afterwards fall; for never was any man more observant of Church-Authority than he, always urging the obedience of Ministers to their Superintendents, for which he caused divers Acts to be made in the Assemblies of the Church, and shewed himself severe to the transgressors. In these things howsoever it may be he was miscarried, we must remember that the best men have their errors, and never esteem of any man above that which is fitting. As to *The History of the Church* ascribed commonly to him, the same was not his Work, but his name supposed to gain it credit: for besides the scurril discourses we find in it, more fitting a Comedian on a Stage than a Divine or Minister, such as Mr. *Knox* was, and the spiteful malice that Author expresseth against the Queen Regent; speaking of one of our Martyrs, he remitted the Reader to a farther declaration of his sufferings to the Acts and Monuments of Martyrs set forth by Mr. *Fox* an *Englishman*, which came not to light some ten or twelve years after Mr. *Knox* his death. A greater injury could not be done to the fame of that worthy man, than to father upon him the ridiculous toys and malicious detractions contained in that Book. But this shall serve for his clearing in that particular. He died the 27 of *November* in the 67 year of his age, and had his body interred in the Church-yard of S. *Giles*.

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The History given forth in his name was not of his inditing.

In the end of this month the Estates convening to elect a Regent, made choice of the Earl of *Morton*, as the man in that time of greatest courage and counsel. The Oath accustomed being ministred unto him, because through the last Regents death the Meeting appointed at *Perth* had failed; first, a conclusion was taken for calling a Parliament at *Edinburgh* the 26 of *January*; next the custody of the King and Castle of *Striveling* was confirmed to *Alexander Ereskin*, the Earl of *Marre*, being then under age, and he enjoyned to receive none within the house that was known to be Popishly affected, or of the Queens Faction; for others it was ordained, that an Earl accompanied with two servants only, a Baron with one, and private persons them alone (but all unarmed) should have access permitted, when their occasions required. To the Regent himself it was injoyned, 'That if any 'place or Office should fall void, he should prefer none thereto but such as was 'found in Religion, and for other qualities apt and worthy. That during his Re-'gency, he should grant no respites nor remissions for hainous crimes. That he 'should not transport the King forth of the Castle of *Striveling*, without the ad-'vice of the Council. That he should grant no favour to the Murtherers of the 'Kings Father and Regents. That he should neither enter into league with Fo-'reiners, nor denouce War without the consent of the Estates. And that he 'should be careful to entertain the Amity contracted with the Queen of *England*. The Estates on the other part did promise to assist him with all their power against the Kings enemies, and to joyn with him in the reformation of whatsoever abuses crept in by occasion of the late Troubles, without offending at the execution of justice upon their nearest and dearest friends. Order was also taken for the entertainment of his house, the setling of a resident Council, and the advancing of the Revenues of the Crown to the best profit. And these were the things done in that Meeting.

The Earl of *Morton* elected Regent.

Rules given to the Regent for his Government.

Soon after came Sir *Henry Killigrew* Ambassador from *England*, partly to declare the content which the Queen had received in the choice of the Earl of *Morton* to be Regent, and partly to renew the Abstinence which was then near the expiring. Herein he prevailed so far with the Duke and *Huntly*, as they were brought not only to prorogate the Abstinence, but also to name certain Noblemen who should meet for them at *Perth*, with such as the Regent by advice of the

Sir *Henry Killigrew* sent from *England*.

A Treaty of Peace.

An. 1573. The Laird of *Grange* refuseth to be comprehended in the Treaty.

Council ſhould nominate, for concluding a perfect Peace. The Laird of *Grange* and thoſe that remained with him in the Caſtle refuſing to be comprehended in that Treaty, went on in victualling and fortifying the Houſe; for impeding whereof the Regent did levy ſome companies of ſouldiers to incloſe the Caſtle; and becauſe the time of Parliament was approaching, he cauſed erect Bulwarks in divers places of the ſtreet, to ſecure the people at their meetings to Sermon, and the Judges that convened to the miniſtration of Juſtice. *Grange* finding himſelf thus pent up, did by a Proclamation from the Caſtle-wall command all the Queens ſubjects to depart forth of the Town within the ſpace of 24 hours.

He moleſteth the Town of *Edinburgh*, and fireth the houſes.

The time expired, he made the Cannon thunder upon the Town, to the great terrour of the Inhabitants; yet there was no great hurt done that way: which when he perceived, he hired one of his ſoldiers to ſet fire in the night time to ſome houſes under the wall, which deſtroyed a number of tenements; for a ſtrong Weſtern wind blowing in the time, the fire did ſo rage, as from S. *Magdalens* Chappel Weſtward all was conſumed, none daring to put hand to quench the fire, becauſe of the Cannon that played ſtill on the part where they ſaw any concourſe of people. This made him extreamly hated, and even they that otherwiſe wiſhed him well were greatly offended with this doing.

A Parliament kept at *Edinburgh*.

The Parliament nottheleſs kept, and therein divers Acts were made, partly for maintaining the Kings Authority, partly for preſervation of true Religion; which cauſes were held in thoſe days ſo conjoyned, as the enemies of the one were likewiſe eſteemed enemies to the other. Therefore was it then enacted, That *none ſhould be deputed loyal and faithful ſubjects to the King or his Authority, but be puniſhed as Rebels, who made not profeſſion of true Religion. And that all ſuch as made profeſſion thereof, and yet withſtood the Kings Authority, ſhould be admoniſhed by their Teachers to acknowledge their offence, and retain to his Majeſties obedience; and if they refuſed, that they ſhould be excommunicated, and cut off from the ſociety of the Church, as putrid and corrupted members.*

The Parliament breaking up, the Regent by advice of the Council directed to the meeting at *Perth*, the Earl of *Argile* then created Chancellor, the Earl of *Montroſſe*, the Abbot of *Dunfermlin* Secretary, the Lords *Ruthven*, *Boyd*, and Sir *John Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk. There met with them the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton*, Commendatory of *Aberbrothock*, authoriſed by the reſt that maintained the Queens Authority. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aſſiſting them, after ſome days Conference they were brought to agree upon theſe Articles.

The pacification concluded at *Perth*.

1. That all perſons comprehended in the preſent pacification ſhould acknowledge and profeſs the true Religion eſtabliſhed and profeſſed within the Realm, and maintain the Preachers and profeſſors thereof againſt all oppoſers, ſpecially againſt the Confederates of the Council of *Trent*.

2. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton*, with their friends and followers, ſhould ſubmit themſelves to the King, and to the Government of the Earl of *Morton* his Regent and his ſucceſſors in the ſame, acknowledging themſelves the Kings ſubjects by their Oaths and Subſcriptions.

3. That they ſhould confeſs all things done by them, under colour of any other Authority, ſince the time of his Majeſties Coronation, to have been unlawful, and of no force nor effect.

4. That an Act of Parliament ſhould be made with all their conſents, ordaining that none of the ſubjects ſhould aſſiſt, fortifie, ſupply or ſhew any favour, directly, nor indirectly to thoſe who ſhould happen to practiſe againſt the Religion preſently profeſſed, the Kings perſon, his Authority, or Regent: And if they ſhould be tried to do any thing to the contrary, the remiſſions granted to them, with all other benefits of the Pacification, ſhould be null, and they purſued for their offences paſt, as if they had never obtained pardon for the ſame.

5. That all perſons profeſſing his Highneſs obedience, who had been diſpoſſeſſed during the late Troubles, ſhould be reponed to their Houſes, Lands, Livings, benefices, and whatſoever Goods belonging to them, if ſo the ſame were extant

extant in the hands of the intrometters; Horſes and Armor only excepted. *An.* 1572.

6. That the Maſter of *Forbes*, *James Glen* of *Barre* and all other perſons ſhould be ſet at liberty; as likewiſe the Bonds given by the Lord *Semple* and others for entry of priſoners, or for payment of any ranſoms, be diſcharged.

7. That the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *John Hamilton* ſhould dimit, and cauſe all ſouldiers hired or maintained by them or any of their party to be forthwith dimitted.

8. That all proceſſes of forfeiture which had been led, eſpecially the Sentences given againſt the Earl of *Huntley*, Lord *John Hamilton* and Lord *Claud* his brother, *William* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, *Alexander* Biſhop of *Galloway*, *Adam Gordon* of *Awchindown*, and the reſt of their friendſhip, for any crimes or offences done in the common cauſe againſt the King and his Authority ſince the 15 of *June* 1657; or for any other cauſe contained in the Summons of Forfeiture raiſed againſt them, ſhould be declared null and of no force, without any other ſpecial declaration: And that the foreſaid perſons ſhould have liberty given them to reduce the ſaid Forfeitures as they ſhould pleaſe.

9. That all perſons then returning or who ſhould return to the Kings obedience, and for any crime committed in the ſaid common cauſe ſince the time aforeſaid had been diſpoſſeſſed of their Lands, Heritages, Benefices, Penſions, heritable Offices and other profits whatſoever, whether the ſame had proceeded upon ſentences of Forfeiture or Barratry, or any other way, ſhould be effectually reſtored, and be rehabiliated to their bloods and honours; to the end they might enjoy the ſame as freely as if the ſaid Troubles had never happened.

10. That all actions, crimes and tranſgreſſions committed by them and their followers ſince the 15 of *June* 1567, (Inceſt, Witchcraft and Theft excepted) ſhould be freely remitted, ſo as the ſame did not extend to the Murther of the firſt and ſecond Regents, which are matters of ſuch importance as the Regent now in place would not meddle with. And yet in reſpect of the preſent Pacification, if the ſame be moved to the Queen of *England* by the committers thereof, whatſoever ſhe ſhould adviſe to be done therein ſhould be confirmed in Parliament, and the remiſſion under the hand of the Clerk of the Rolls be as ſufficient as if the ſame were paſſed the great Seal. And if any of them ſhould crave a pardon for other crimes committed before the ſaid 15 day, the ſame (upon notice given of the perſons and crimes) ſhould be granted; the Murtherer of the Kings Father, Fire-raiſing, Theft, and the reſſet of Theft, with Inceſt and Witchcraft, being excepted.

11. That all civil Decrees given ſince the ſaid 15 of *June*, wherewith the ſaid perſons or any of them do find themſelves grieved, ſhould be reviewed by the ordinary Judges that pronounced the ſame, and the parties upon their ſupplications be heard to propone any lawful defence, which they might have uſed in the time of the deduction of the proceſs: providing the Supplications be preſented and their Petitions exhibited within ſix months after the date of theſe Articles.

12. That all perſons comprehended in the Pacification, after publication thereof, ſhould indifferently be received in all parts of the Realm as his Majeſties good ſubjects; and that nothing done or that hath occurred during the Troubles ſhould be eſteemed a cauſe of deadly feud and enmity, nor admitted as an exception either againſt Judge, party or witneſſes.

13. That the heirs and ſucceſſors of perſons forfeited, and now departed this life, who are comprehended in this Pacification, ſhould be reſtored to their lands and poſſeſſions, and that it ſhould be lawful for them to enter thereto by Breves, as if their fathers and predeceſſors had never been forfeited, and had died at the Kings peace; eſpecially the heirs of *John* ſometime Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, *Gawan* Commendator of *Kilwining*, *Andrew Hamilton* of *Cocknow* and Captain *James Cullen*.

Unto theſe Articles ſome other particulars were added, which were all confirmed by the Oaths and Subſcriptions of the Commiſſioners and Noblemen in preſence of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, and a time given to *Grange* and thoſe of the Caſtle to

A time given to thoſe of the Caſtle to accept the Pacification.

An. 1572. to accept or refuſe the benefit of the Peace. But that none excepted in the former Abſtinence, nor any at that time forth of the Realm ſhould think themſelves comprehended therein, it was declared, that the benefit of the preſent Pacification ſhould not be extended to them. This was done to exclude the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and Biſhop of *Roſs*, Ambaſſadors for the *Scottiſh* Queen, the one in *France*, and the other in *England*, againſt whom the ſentence of Barratry had been pronounced.

Sir *James Kirkaldy* returneth from *France*.

About this time Sir *James Kirkaldy* brother to *Grange*, who had been directed to *France* for ſupply of thoſe within the Caſtle, returned, bringing with him a years rent of the *Scotiſh* Queens Dowry; but finding the Houſe incloſed, and that there was no ſafe acceſs thereto, he went to *Blackneſs*, which then profeſſed to hold for the Queen. The Captain had betrayed the ſame, as we ſhewed before to the *Hamiltons*; and now turning his coat to make his peace with the Regent, he offered to put in his hand both the man and the mony. The bargain made, the mony was given to the Regent, and *Kirkaldy* detained as priſoner. A few days after, the Captain going abroad to do ſome buſineſs, *Kirkaldy* enticed the ſouldiers by great promiſes to joyn with him, and lay hands upon the Captains brother and a few Gentlemen left to attend him: which they, following their Captains enſample, were eaſily induced to do. Thus the Houſe was poſſeſſed in *Kirkaldie*'s name, and he of a Priſoner turned to be chief Commander. But he did not long enjoy this place, for his wife being come thither to viſit him, when ſhe was the next morrow to depart, deſired the convoy of ſome ſoldiers for a mile or two, fearing, as ſhe pretended, to be robbed by Captain *Lambie*, who lay with a company at *Linlithgow* not far from thence: and as he, to ſave her, went forth himſelf to bring her on a part of the way, ſuſpecting no treachery, he was in his return intercepted by *Lambie*; and carried firſt to *Linlithgow*, then to *Dalkeith*, where he was kept ſome days, and afterwards dimitted. In this ſort did fortune ſport her ſelf with that Gentleman, changing his condition up and down three ſeveral times within the ſpace of a few days.

He takes land at *Blackneſs*, and is delivered by the Captain to the Regent.

The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador travelleth to make *Grange* accept Peace, which he refuſeth.

Peace now made with the chief Noblemen of the Queens Faction, it was ſuppoſed that *Grange* and his partakers would likewiſe be moved to embrace it. Whereupon the Ambaſſador, taking with him the ſubſcribed Articles, went to the Caſtle, and, ſhewing how things had paſſed, uſed many perſuaſions to make them content to be comprehended therein. But they would not, affirming the Conditions to be ſhameful, and ſo far to the prejudice of their Queen, as till they were allowed by her ſelf and by the *French* King they ſhould never admit them. After the Ambaſſador had ceaſed to treat with them, the Earl of *Rothes* and Lord *Boyd* travelled to the ſame effect, repreſenting the danger and inevitable ruin they ſhould fall into if they did not yield in time. But they ſcorned theſe threats, thinking the ſtrength they were in impregnable, and looking ſtill for ſome ſuccours from *France* and the Duke of *Alva*; or if that ſhould fail, they made no doubt to obtain their Peace at eaſier Conditions than the Noblemen had accepted.

The Regent intreateth the Queen of *Englands* help for expugnation of the Caſtle.

The Regent offended with their obſtinacy, diſcharged all farther dealing with them, and ſent to the Queen of *England* for a ſupply of men and munition; which was granted, and Sir *William Drury* Marſhal of *Barwick* commanded to joyn with him in beſieging the Caſtle. How ſoon the Regent underſtood that the direction was given to the Marſhal, the Lord *Ruthven* was ſent to confer with him of the order that ſhould be kept in the ſervice. They meeting at the Church of *Lamberton* in the *Mers*; for preventing all debates that might ariſe, did agree as followeth.

Articles agreed betwixt the Regent and the *Engliſh*.

1. That neither the Regent nor the General ſhould without the advice and conſent of the other tranſact or make any Compoſition with the beſieged.
2. That if it happen the Houſe to be taken by aſſault, the munition, plate, jewels, and houſhold ſtuff pertaining to the King, with the Regiſters and publick Records of the Kingdom there reſerved, ſhould be all delivered to the Regent within three days after the houſe was recovered, and the reſt of the ſpoil diſtributed amongſt the ſoldiers.

3. That,

3. That, ſo far as might be, the perſons within the Caſtle ſhould be reſerved to the trial of Law, wherein the Regent ſhould proceed by the advice of the Queen of *England*. *An.* 1573.
4. That the Regent ſhould provide the *Engliſh* forces with victuals all and other things neceſſary during the ſiege, as likewiſe aſſiſt them with a convenient power of horſe and foot.
5. That recompence ſhould be given at the Generals ſight to the Wives and neareſt friends of the *Engliſh* Souldiers who ſhould happen to be killed.
6. That if any of the Ordnance ſhould break or be otherwiſe ſpoiled, the ſame ſhould be changed with other Pieces of the like quantity within the Caſtle.
7. That the *Engliſh* General ſhould not fortifie within the ground of *Scotland* without the Regents advice, and the ſervice finiſhed ſhould immediately retire his forces.
8. And laſtly, that for the ſafe return of the ſoldiers and munition (the loſs which fortune of War ſhould make being excepted) Hoſtage of Noblemens ſons ſhould be delivered to the *Engliſh*, and entertained in the parts moſt adjacent to *Scotland*. *An.* 1573.

Theſe Conditions made, and the Maſters of *Ruthven* and *Semple*, *John Cunningham* ſon to the Earl of *Glencarn*, and *Douglas* of *Kilſpindie* being entred in *Barwick* as pledges, Sir *William Drury* marched with his forces into *Scotland*, and came to *Edinburgh* the 25 of *April*. The Regent giving out a Proclamation (wherein was ſhewed the care that the Queen of *England* had taken for the Peace of the Realm in times paſt, and the liberal ſuccours ſhe had granted at the preſent for the expugnation of the Caſtle, treaſonably detained and fortified by the Laird of *Grange*) *Did require and charge all good ſubjects to carry themſelves as became them towards the* Engliſh *General and his company, and not to injure them either by word or deed, except they would be eſteemed enemies to the Peace, and partakers to the Traitors in their Rebellious attempts.* A Proclamation given out by the Regent.

The next day the Caſtle was ſummoned, and offer made of their Lives if they ſhould yield before the planting of the Cannon: but the Captain, inſtead of anſwer, ſet upon the higheſt Tower his Enſign for a token of Defiance. Then the Pioneers were put to work, and begun to caſt Trenches, and raiſe Mounts for planting the Artillery. The beſieged made all the hinderance they could, playing with their Ordnance upon the workmen, and killing divers ere the Mounts were brought to perfection. How ſoon they were erected (being five in all, and entituled by the names of their ſeveral Commanders) the Artillery was planted, 31 Pieces in number, more and leſs. All things prepared, and the Parliament finiſhed, which the Regent had called to the laſt of *April* for ratifying the Articles of Pacification, the Battery began the 17 of *May*. On the 27 the Caſtle was made aſſaultable, the Cannon having made great breaches in the fore and back Walls; and the Tower called *Davids Tower* being alſo demoliſhed. The 26 early in the morning the aſſault was given in two places. At the Weſt Part, where the aſcent was moſt difficult, the aſſailers were repulſed after an obſtinate fight that continued 3 hours, and 24 perſons killed: on the Eaſt ſide the Blockhouſe called *the Spurre* was taken with leſs reſiſtence, which put the defendants in fear, and made them demand a Parly. This granted, a Truce was taken for the ſpace of two days, in which time the *Engliſh* General uſed many perſwaſions to the Captain to make him render the Houſe; neither was he then unwilling, ſo as the lives and honors of theſe within might be ſaved: but the Regent would give no condition, and have him ſimply to yield. The Captain ſeeing nothing but extremity, reſolved to ſtand to his utmoſt defence: yet when he came back to the Houſe, he found them all within divided, and the greater part ſo diſcouraged as they refuſed to undergo the hazard of a ſecond aſſault; which forced him to other counſels, and ſo following *Lethingtons* advice, upon the 29 of *May* being let down by a rope over the wall, he and *Pittadrow* his Conſtable did yield themſelves and the Houſe to the *Engliſh* General in the name of his Queen, whoſe diſcretion (misknowng the Regent) they were willing to abide. The General

The Caſtle ſummoned.

The Captain anſwereth by a token of Defiance.

The Caſtle made aſſaultable.

A Truce taken, and the Captain willing to yield upon Conditions.

The Caſtle rendered to the *Engliſh* General.

An. 1573. neral made them to be attended to his Lodging, whither all that were of any note in the Caſtle were brought. Thereafter they were committed to ſeveral places, moſt of them tranſported to *Leith*, and ſome detained in *Edinburgh*, till the Queen of *England* ſhould ſignify her will concerning them. The Ladies and Gentlewomen were licenſed to depart, as likewiſe the private ſouldiers, and others of meaner ſort.

It was thought that the Queen, in regard of the render made to her Lieutenant, would take a favourable courſe with them, and ſave their lives: but ſhe gave direction to put them all in the Regents hands to be uſed as he thought meet: which when *Lethington* heard, either deſpairing of life, or not willing to enjoy it by the mercy of an enemy; he died at *Leith* ſo ſuddenly, as he was thought to have made himſelf away by poiſon. A man he was of deep wit, great experience, and one whoſe counſels were held in that time for Oracles; but variable and unconſtant, turning and changing from one Faction to another, as he thought it to make for his ſtanding. This did greatly diminiſh his reputation, and failed him at laſt: which ſhould warn all Counſellors to direct their courſes by the lines of Piety and true Wiſdom; without which the moſt politick Prudence will prove nothing but Folly in the end. His brother, Mr. *John Maiteland*, who came afterwards to great honors, had his life ſpared; and was impriſoned in *Tantallon*. *Robert Creichton* Biſhop of *Dunkeld* was ſent to *Blacknes*, and the Lord *Home* detained in the Caſtle, which the Regent gave to his Brother *George Douglas* in cuſtody. *Grange* himſelf, with his brother Sir *James Kirkaldy*, and two Goldſmiths, *James Moſman* and *James Cockey*, were publickly hanged in the Mercat-ſtreet of *Edinburgh*. Such was the end of Sir *William Kirkaldy* of *Grange*, a man full of valour and courage, who had ſometimes done good ſervice to his Country againſt the *French*, and purchaſed by that means great honor; but ſeeking ambitiouſly to raiſe his fortunes, and hearkning to perverſe counſel, he did break his faith to the Regent, who had put him in truſt, and thereby loſt all his former eſteem, and drew upon himſelf theſe troubles wherein he periſhed. His part was foul in the death of the Cardinal, and for it, when he was in his beſt eſtate, many did foredeem that he ſhould not eſcape ſome misfortune. Yet herein he was happy, that at his death he expreſſed a great ſorrow for his ſins, and departed this life with a conſtant and comfortable aſſurance of mercy at the hands of God.

Lethington dieth at *Leith*.

Grange and his brother executed.

The Queens. Faction quite defeated.

By this defeat of the *Caſtilians* (ſo they were commonly named) the Queens Faction fell quite aſunder, nor did it ever after this time make head. The Biſhop of *Roſs* (who had followed her buſineſs as Ambaſſador in *England*) being at the ſame time put to liberty, and commanded to depart forth of the Kingdom, went privately to *France*; for he feared the Earl of *Southampton*, and Lord *Henry Howard*, Brother to the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom he had touched in his Examination. When he came to *France*, to mitigate the anger they had conceived, he publiſhed an Apology for the Depoſitions he had made, and whileſt he lived ceaſed not to do the duty of a faithful ſubject and ſervant to the Queen, ſoliciting both the Emperor and Pope, the *French* King and other Catholick Princes in her behalf; who gave many good words, but performed nothing. So little are the promiſes of Strangers to be truſted, and ſo uncertain their help to Princes that are once fallen from their Eſtates. At home the Regent applying himſelf to reform the diſorders cauſed by the late War, begun with the Borders, who had broken out into all ſorts of riot, and committed many inſolencies both on the *Scottiſh* and *Engliſh* ſide. Thither he went himſelf in perſon, where meeting with the *Engliſh* Wardens he took order for redreſs of by-paſt wrongs; and, to ſecure the peace of the Country, cauſed all the *Clannes* to deliver pledges for the keeping of good order, and made choice of the fitteſt and moſt active perſons to rule and overſee thoſe parts. Sir *James Home* of *Cauldinknowes* was made Guardian of the Eaſt Marches, the Lord *Maxwel* of the Weſt, and Sir *John Carmichael* of the Middle: who, by the diligence and ſtrict juſtice they obſerved upon reſetters and entertainers of Thieves, reduced the Country to ſuch quietneſs as none was heard to complain either of theft or robbery.

The Regents Expedition to the Borders.

The

The next care he took was to order the Revenues of the Crown, and recover such Lands as had been alienated from it, or in any ſort uſurped; the Jewels impignorated by the Queen he relieved by payment of the Monys for which they were ingaged. He cauſed repair all the Kings Houſes, eſpecially the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and furniſhed the ſame with munition and other neceſſaries: and by theſe doings did purchaſe to himſelf both love and reverence, with the opinion of a moſt wiſe and prudent Governor. *An.* 1574. His care for the Kings Houſes and Rents.

Yet was it not long before he had loſt all his good opinion by the courſes he took to enrich himſelf. Breaking firſt upon the Church, he ſubtilly drew out of their hands the Thirds of Benefices, offering more ſure and ready payment to the Miniſters than was made by their Collectors, and promiſing to make the Stipend of every Miniſter local, and payable in the Pariſh where he ſerved. To induce them the more willingly to this, promiſe was made, that if they ſhould find themſelves in any ſort hurt or prejudged, they ſhould be reponed to their right and poſſeſſion whenſoever they did require the ſame. He falleth out with the Church.

But no ſooner was he poſſeſſed of the Thirds, than the courſe he took for providing Miniſters was, to appoint two, three and four Churches in ſome places to one Miniſter (who was tied to preach in them by turns) and to place in every Pariſh a Reader that in the Miniſters abſence might read prayers, who had allowed him a poor Stipend of 20 or 40 pounds *Scots*. As to the Miniſters, they were put in a much worſe caſe for their Stipends than before: for when the Superintendents did aſſign the ſame, the Miniſters could come boldly unto them, and make their poor eſtate known, and were ſure to receive ſome comfort and relief at their hands; but now they are forced to give attendance at Court, begging their aſſignation and precepts for payment, or, as their neceſſities grew, ſeeking augmentation, which ſeldom they obtained; or if any petty thing was granted, the ſame was dearly bought with the loſs both of their time and means. The Superintendents were no better uſed, the means allowed to them for their ſervice being withholden; and when they complained, they were anſwered, that *their Office was no more neceſſary, Biſhops being placed in the Dioceſe, and the Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction belonging to them.* Two, three or four Churches appointed to one Miniſter. The Superintendents denied payment of their means.

Theſe things loſt him the Church, which then growing ſenſible of their overſight in denuding themſelves of the thirds, craved to be reponed according to promiſe. But herein divers ſhifts were made, and after ſundry delays it was directly told them, *That ſeeing the ſurplus of the Thirds belonged to the King, it was fitter the Regent and Council ſhould modifie the Stipends of Miniſters, than that the Church ſhould have the appointment or deſignation of a ſuperplus.* They, not able to help themſelves, did in the next Aſſembly take order that the Miniſters who were appointed to ſerve more Churches than one ſhould take the charge of that only at which they reſided, helping the reſt as they might, without neglect of their own Charge. And becauſe the placing of Biſhops was taken for a pretext to withhold the Superintendents means, the Biſhops were inhibited to execute any part of the Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction within the bounds where the Superintendents ſerved, without their conſent and approbation. This croſſing of one anothers proceedings did ſet the Church and Regent ſo far aſunder, that whileſt he continued in Office there was no ſound liking amongſt them. The Church deſired to be reſtored to the Thirds, but is denied. *An.* 1574.

The diſcontents of the Country were ſo great by the Juſtice Aires (as they called them) that went through the Country, and were exerced with much rigour, people of all ſorts being forced to compone and redeem themſelves from trouble by payment of monys impoſed. The Merchants called in queſtion for the tranſport of Coyn were fined in great ſums, and warded in the Caſtle of *Blackneſs* till they gave ſatisfaction. Nor left he any means unaſſayed that ſerved to bring in monys to his Coffers: which drew upon him a great deal of hatred and envy. The Country vexed with Juſtice Courts.

I find at this time a motion made for compiling a Body of our Law, and making collection of ſuch ancient Statutes as were meet to be retained in practice; which were ordained to be ſupplied out of the Civil Law where was any neceſſity, to the end Judges might know what to determine in every caſe, and the ſubjects be foreſeen A motion for compiling a Body of our Law.

An. 1575. seen of the equity and iſſue they might expect of their controverſies. This was entertained a while, and of good men much deſired as a thing beneficial to the Country, and like to have cut off the occaſion of many pleas. But it ſorted to no effect, by the ſubtle dealing of thoſe that made their gain of the corruption of Law.

Black Ormeſton executed for the Kings Murther.

It happened *John Ormeſton* (commonly caled *Black Ormeſton*, becauſe of his Iron colour) to be apprehended and brought to trial at the ſame time for the Murther of the Kings Father. This man was thought to be privy unto all *Bothwells* doings, and a more particular diſcovery expected by him of the form and manner of that Murther. Yet at his Execution he did only confeſs that *Bothwell* had communicated the purpoſe to him, and ſhewed him the Subſcriptions of the Earls of *Argile*, *Huntley*, Secretary *Lethington*, and Mr. *James Balfour*, teſtifying their conſents to that wicked fact. Nottheleſs the Regent, to the offence of many, did ſuffer the ſaid *Balfour* to enjoy the benefit of the Pacification, and paſſed an Act thereof in open Council. Whether the Subſcriptions of *Argile* and *Huntley* were counterfeit or not, it was uncertain; but of the other two it was eaſily believed, as being men univerſally hated. *Argile* died in *September* following, in whoſe place the Lord *Glamis* was created Chancellor.

Adam Heriot, Miniſter at *Aberdene*, his death and qualities.

In the ſame month *Adam Heriot* Miniſter at *Aberdene* departed this life, a man worthy to be remembred. He was ſometime a Frier of the Order of S. *Auſtin*, and lived in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*, an eloquent Preacher, and well ſeen in Scholaſtick Divinity. The Queen Regent coming on a time to the City, and hearing him preach, was taken with ſuch an opinion of his learning and integrity, that in a reaſoning with ſome Noblemen upon the Article of Real preſence, ſhe made offer to ſtand to *Heriots* determination. Warning of this being given, and he required to deliver his mind upon that ſubject in a Sermon which the Queen intended to hear, he did ſo prevariate, as all that were preſent did offend and depart unſatisfied. Being ſharply rebuked for this by ſome that loved him, he fell in a great trouble of mind, and found no reſt till he did openly renounce Popery, and joyn himſelf with thoſe of the Congregation. Afterwards when order was taken for the diſtribution of Miniſters amongſt the Burghs, he was nominated for the City of *Aberdene* (in which there lived divers addicted to the *Roman* profeſſion) as one that was learned in Scholaſtick Divinity, and for his moderation apt to reclaim men from their Errors. Neither did he fail the hope conceived of him, for by his diligence in teaching Schools and Church he did gain all that people to the profeſſion of the Truth: 14 years he laboured among them, and in end was forced by ſickneſs to quit his Charge. He died of the Apoplexy the 28 of *Auguſt*, in the 60 year of his age, greatly beloved of the Citizens for his humane and courteous converſation, and of the poorer ſort much lamented, to whom he was in his life very beneficial.

An. 1575. A Conflict betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh*.

The next Summer there fell out an accident which was like to have cauſed great trouble, and divided the two Kingdoms. Sir *John Forreſter* Warden of the *Engliſh* ſide and Sir *John Carmichael* of the *Scotiſh* meeting in the Borders, at a place called the *Red Swyre*, for redreſſing ſome wrongs that had been committed, it fell out that a Bill (ſo they uſed to ſpeak) was filed upon an *Engliſh*, for which *Carmichael*, according to the law of the Borders, required him to be delivered till ſatisfaction was made. Sir *John Forreſter*, either wearied with the multitude of buſineſs, or deſiring to ſhift the matter, anſwered that enough was done that day, and at the next meeting the complainer ſhould have ſatisfaction. *Carmichael* urging a preſent performance, they fell foul in words, which made the companies that attended draw their weapons. A great Tumult there was, and at firſt the *Scots*, being inferior in number to the *Engliſh*, gave back. But as they were fleeing they met with a company of *Jedburgh* men, who were come to attend the Warden. This giving them new courage, they turned upon the *Engliſh* and made them flee. The chaſe held the ſpace of two miles. Sir *George Heron*, Warden of *Tindale* and *Rhedeſdale*, with 24 *Engliſh*, was killed; the Warden himſelf, *Francis Ruſſel* ſon to the Earl of *Bedford*, *Cuthbert Collinwood*, *James Ogle*, *Henry Fenwick*, and many others of good

good note were taken priſoners. When the Regent heard it, he was ſore diſpleaſed, knowing the Queen of *England* would be much offended; whereupon he ſent for the priſoners, and uſing them with all courteſie, excuſed what was done, and permitted them to return home. And the Queen indeed at the firſt report was much incenſed, and thereupon ſent Mr. *Killigrew* to the Regent to require the delivery of *Carmichael*, which divers of the Council withſtood. Yet ſuch was the Regents care to pleaſe the Queen, as he cauſed him enter into *England*, where he was a while detained. But the provocation being tried to have been made by the *Engliſh*, the Queen dimitted him honorably, and not without rewards. At his return, the Regent meeting the Earl of *Huntington* the *Engliſh* Commiſſioner at *Foulden*, ſome two miles from *Barwick*, all things were peaceably compoſed. *An.* 1575.

A meeting in the Borders betwixt the Regent and the Earl of *Huntington*.

This year the Duke of *Chattellerault* ended his life: A Nobleman well inclined, open, plain, and without all diſſimulation and fraud, but too eaſily led by them he truſted, which bred him much trouble; yet, by the goodneſs of God, who doth always favor the innocent and honeſt-minded, he went through all, and died honorably and in peace. Not long after his ſon Lord *John Hamilton* riding to *Aberbrothock*, accompanied only with his ordinary train (for he held himſelf ſecured by the Pacification) was purſued by *William Douglas* of *Lochlevin*, who did lie with a number in his way of intention to kill him. As he was refreſhing himſelf at *Couper*, he was advertiſed of the danger, and preſently reſolved to ſingle himſelf from his company and flee to the Caſtle of *Lewchars*, deeming (as alſo it fell out) that they would follow the greater company, which he directed to keep together, and take the South of the River of *Edin*. Neither had they paſſed far when they were invaded by a troop of horſemen, and forced to yield themſelves. The Nobleman beholding this from the other ſide of the River, and knowing how ſoon they found themſelves deceived that they would make haſte to overtake him, changed his firſt reſolution, and fled to the Houſe of *Darſey*, where he was received. *Lochlevin* belayed the houſe, and kept him incloſed all that night and the day following. But being charged by an Herauld of Arms to diſſolve his forces, and hearing that the Noblemans friends were gathering for his releaſe, he departed home.

Duke *Hamilton* dieth.

Lord *Aberbrothock* purſued by *Lochlevin*.

He is ſaved in the houſe of *Darſey*.

Being called before the Council for his inſolency, and charged with the breach of the Pacification, he alledged the exception of the firſt Regents Murther; but that being found no warrant, and he refuſing to give aſſurance for keeping peace, was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained till ſurety was given.

In the Church this year began the Innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietneſs. Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who was lately come from *Geneva*, a man learned (chiefly in the Tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, laboring with a burning deſire to bring into this Church, the Presbyterian Diſcipline of *Geneva*; and having inſinuated himſelf into the favor of divers Preachers, he ſtirred up *John Dury*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, in an Aſſembly which was then convened, to propound a queſtion touching the Lawfulneſs of the Epiſcopal Function, and the authority of Chapters in their Election. He himſelf, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the Speakers zeal, and ſeconded the purpoſe with a long diſcourſe of the flouriſhing eſtate of the Church of *Geneva*, and the opinions of *Calvin* and *Theodore Beza* concerning Church-Government, came to affirm, *That none ought to be Office-bearers in the Church whoſe Titles were not found in the Book of God. And for the Title of Biſhops, albeit the ſame was found in Scripture, yet was it not to be taken in the ſenſe that the common ſort did conceive, there being no Superiority allowed by Chriſt amongſt Miniſters; He being the only Lord of his Church, and all the ſame Servants in the ſame degree, and having the like power.* In end he ſaid, *that the Corruptions crept into the eſtate of Biſhops were ſo great, as unleſs the ſame were removed it could not go well with the Church, nor could Religion be long preſerved in purity.*

Innovations in the Church of Mr. *Andrew Melvil*.

The Epiſcopal Function called in queſtion.

This his diſcourſe was applauded by many, and ſome brethren ſet apart to reaſon and confer upon the queſtion proponed. For the one part Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *George*

Some brethren ſelected to confer upon the queſtion.

An. 1575. Mr. *George Hay*, and Mr. *John Row* were nominated: Theſe three ſuſtained the Lawfulneſs of Epiſcopal Function in the Church. For the other part, Mr. *James Lawſon*, Mr. *John Craig* and Mr. *Andrew Mevil* were choſed to impugn the ſame. After divers meetings and long diſceptation amongſt themſelves, they preſented their Opinions to the Aſſembly in writing as followeth.

1. Firſt that they did not hold it expedient to anſwer the queſtions proponed for the preſent: but if any Biſhop was choſen that had not qualities required by the Word of God, he ſhould be tried by the General Aſſembly.
2. That they judged the name of a Biſhop to be common to all Miniſters that had the charge of a particular flock; and that by the Word of God his chief Function conſiſted in the Preaching of the Word, the miniſtration of the Sacraments, and exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, with conſent of his Elders.
3. That from among the the Miniſters ſome one might be choſen to overſee and viſit ſuch reaſonable bounds, beſides his own Flock, as the General Aſſembly ſhould appoint.
4. That the Miniſter ſo elected might in thoſe bounds appoint Preachers, with the advice of the Miniſters of that Province, and the conſent of the Flock which they ſhould be admitted to.

And, fifthly, that he might ſuſpend Miniſters from the exerciſe of their office upon reaſonable cauſes, with the conſent of the Miniſters of the bounds.

The Biſhops preſent in the Aſſembly.

There were preſent in this Aſſembly the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Galloway*, *Brichen*, *Dumblane* and *Iſles*, with the Superintendents of *Lothian* and *Angus*; all of them intereſſed in that buſineſs. Yet neither were they called to the Conference, nor doth it appear by the Regiſter of thoſe proceedings that they did ſo much as open their mouths in defence of their Office and Calling. What reſpect ſoever it was that made them keep ſo quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected thoſe motions ſhould have been daſhed by the Regent, or otherwiſe that they affected the praiſe of humility, it was no wiſdom in them to have given a way to ſuch Novelties, and have ſuffered the Lawfulneſs of their Vocation to be thus drawn in queſtion.

Another Aſſembly of the Church.

In the next Aſſembly I find the ſame matter moved of new, and put to voices, but with a little change of the queſtion, which was thus formed; *Whether Biſhops as they were then in* Scotland *had their Function warranted by the Word of God.* The Aſſembly, without giving a direct anſwer, after long reaſoning, did for the greateſt part (ſo the Records bear) approve the opinions preſented in the laſt meeting, with this addition, *That the Biſhops ſhould take themſelves to the ſervice of ſome one Church within their Dioceſe, and condeſcend upon the particular Flocks whereof they would accept the charge.*

The Regents motion to the Aſſembly.

The Regent hearing how the Church had proceeded, and taking ill the depoſition of Mr. *James Patton* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, who was in the former Aſſembly deprived for delapidation of his Benefice, ſent to require of them whether they would ſtand to the Policy agreed unto at *Leith*; and if not, to deſire them to ſettle upon ſome Form of Government at which they would abide. The Aſſembly taking the advantage of this Propoſition anſwered, that they were to think of that buſineſs, and ſhould with all diligence ſet down a conſtant Form of Church-policy, and preſent the ſame to be allowed by the Council. To this effect they nominated Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *David Cuningham*, Mr. *George Hay*, Mr. *Alexander Arthbuthnet*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, and a number more: the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was named amongſt the reſt, but he, being urged to take the charge of a particular Flock, excuſed himſelf, ſaying, *That he had entered to his Office according to the order taken by the Church and Eſtates, and could do nothing contrary thereto, leſt he ſhould be thought to have tranſgreſſed his Oath, and be challenged for altering a member of the Eſtate. Yet that it might appear*

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* urged with a particular Flock, anſwereth the Aſſembly.

how

how willing he was to beſtow the gifts wherewith God had endued him to the good of the Church, he ſhould teach ordinarily at Glaſgow, *when he had his reſidence in the City, and when he remained in the Sheriffdom of* Aire, *he ſhould do the like in any Church they would appoint; but without aſtricting himſelf unto the ſame, and prejudging in any ſort the juriſdiction he had received at his admiſſion.* This his declaration made, he was no more troubled with that imployment. *An.* 1576.

Meanwhile the See of S. *Andrews* falling void by the death of Mr. *John Douglas*, the Regent did recommend to the Chapter his Chaplain Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* for the place. The Chapter continuing the Election till the Aſſembly of the Church did convene, imparted to them the warrant they had received: and Mr. *Patrick* being enquired (for he was preſent at the time) whether he would ſubmit himſelf to trial, and receive the Office with thoſe Injunctions the Church would preſcrive, anſwered, that he was diſcharged by the Regent to accept the Office otherwiſe than was appointed by mutual conſent of the Church and Eſtate. Hereupon the Chapter was inhibited to proceed. Nottheleſs upon a new charge given them they convened and made choice of him, which did ſo irritate the Church, as in the next meeting they gave Commiſſion to the Superintendent of *Lothian* Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and *David Ferguſon* to call him before them, and prohibit him to exerce any part of his Juriſdiction, till he ſhould be authoriſed thereto by the Aſſembly. Mr. *Patrick Adamſon* provided to S. *Andrews*. The Church offended with the Biſhops anſwer.

A form of Church-policy was in the mean time drawn up and preſented to the Regent by Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Robert Pont*. In a ſhort Preface ſet before it, they proteſted *to wiſh nothing more, than as God had made him a notable inſtrument in purging the Realm of Popery, and ſetling the ſame in a perfect peace, that he would alſo honour him with the eſtabliſhing of a godly and ſpiritual Policy in the Church; intreating his Grace to receive the Articles preſented, and if any of them did ſeem not agreeable to Reaſon, to vouchſafe audience to the brethren whom they had named to attend. Not that they did account it a work complete, to which nothing might be added, or from which nothing might be diminiſhed; for as God ſhould reveal farther unto them, they ſhould be willing to help and renew the ſame.* The Regent reading the preface, though he did not like the purpoſe they were about, gave them a better countenance than in former times, and named certain of the Council to confer with them, and make report of the Heads whereupon they agreed. But the Conference was not well begun, when it brake off by occaſion of Troubles that aroſe. A form of Policy preſented to the Regent.

The Diſcontents in the Country were great and daily increaſing by the Regents ſevere proceedings. One againſt *Adam Whitford* of *Milneton* did open the mouths of many men againſt him. This Gentleman was accuſed as one ſet on by *John* Lord *Hamilton* of *Aberbrothock* and Lord *Claud* his Brother to have killed the Regent. The ſuſpicion did ariſe of ſome raſh and boaſting ſpeeches uttered by *John Semple* of *Biltrees*, out of his ſpleen againſt the Regent for an action intended againſt him concerning ſome lands belonging to the Crown, which had been given by the Queen to *Mary Levingſton* his wife; one of her Maids of honour. His words were the more taken hold of, becauſe he was *Milnetons* Uncle; and upon offer of the Torture he was brought to confeſſion; upon which alſo he was arraigned and condemned to death, and the Scaffold prepared for the Execution; but was pardoned, which did manifeſt that which before was ſuſpected, that by under-hand promiſe of favor he was induced to this confeſſion. The ſame means were tried with *Milneton*, to have furniſhed evidence againſt theſe Noblemen for their forfeiture, which was the chief end of this trial. But he upon his Uncles confeſſion being put to the Torture, valuing more his honor nor his ſafety, endured it with ſuch reſolution ſhewed both by his words and countenance, as was in all mens opinion taken for an undoubted argument of his innocency, and the others teſtimony nothing regarded: but the Regent much blamed for ſuch rigorous proceedings againſt him upon a falſe or faint-hearted mans confeſſion extorted by fear, or drawn from him by other baſe reſpects; wherefore he was deteſted of his neareſt kinſmen, as the other *An.* 1576. The diſcontents great in the Country. *John Semple* and *Adam Whitford* accuſed for conſpiring the Regents death.

An. 1577. [*The same story with the former differently worded.*]

was honoured in all mens estimation for his courage and constancy. Amongst other processes he had intended for helping the Revenues of the Crown, one was for the recovery of a parcel of ground which the Queen had gifted to *Mary Levinston* one of her Maids. The Gentlewomans Husband, called *John Semple*, made the best defence he could, and fearing the Regents rigor, had burst forth in some passionate speeches, avowing that *if he did lose the lands, he should lose his life also.* This reported to the Regent brought him to be suspected of some plot, for a speech was given out that Lord *John Hamilton* and his Brother Lord *Cland* were discontented with some of the Regents proceedings, and had instigated this Gentleman with his Nephew *Adam Whitford* of *Milneton* to kill him, as he went down the street towards the Palace, with an Harquebuse. *Semple* called in question for this and his other rash speeches, upon representation of the torture confessed all, for he was a fearful man and of no courage. *Milneton* being apprehended in the Isle of *Bute*, and brought to his examination, denied that any such motion had been made to him, and being put to the torture, indured the same patiently, not confessing any thing. His constancy and the resolution he shewed both in words and countenance made the others confession not to be credited, every one interpreting the same to have proceeded of weakness and want of courage. The Gentlemans case was much pitied, and the mouths of many opened against the Regent for using such rigor, only upon the confession of a fearful and faint-hearted man: but the Troubles we mentioned did arise by another occasion.

The Earl of *Argile* and *Athol* at variance.

In the High-lands one *Allester dow Macallan*, a notorious Thief, who had committed many Robberies, was apprehended by the Earl of *Athol*, who minding to put him to a trial was inhibited by the Council, and Charges directed against him for exhibition of the man. The fellow being presented, after he had stayed a while in prison, was upon *Argiles* desire set at liberty, and, falling to his accustomed depredations, committed divers insolencies in the bounds of *Athol*. The Earl, to repair this wrong done to his people, prepared to invade *Argile*, and he making to defend his Country, all those parts were in an uproar. This reported to the Regent, a messenger of Arms was sent to discharge those Convocations, and cite them both before the Council; but they disobeyed, and by the mediation of friends were shortly after reconciled.

A great insolence committed by *Argile*.

This trouble was no sooner pacified, than upon an injury done by the *Clandonald* to the Earl of *Argile*, he took Arms; and being charged to dissolve his forces, in stead of obeying, he laid hands on the Messenger, tare his Letters in pieces, and made him and his witnesses swear never to return into *Argile* for the like business. This insolency, whereof the like had not been seen nor heard since the Regents acceptation of the Government, incensed him mightily; but not knowing how to overtake him in that season (for it was done in the beginning of Winter) he resolved to use the course of Law, and proclaim him Rebel.

An. 1577. *Alexander Areskin* practiseth a Change.

Alexander Areskin, who attended the King, having his own discontents, and trusting to better his condition by a change of the Government, dealt secretly with the two Earls, *Argile* and *Athol*, after he understood them to be agreed, and advised them to come, one after another, but much about one time, and mean their case to the King, to whom he promised they should find access. *Argile* coming first complained of the Regents extreme dealing, in that he had denounced him Rebel to his Majesty, whose true and faithful servant he had always been, and requested his Majesty to assemble the Nobility, and do him right according to the Laws: withal he intreated that he might be permitted to remain with his Majesty, till the Nobility should meet for trial of his complaint. The Earl of *Athol* came some two days after, to whom the King did communicate *Argiles* complaint, craving his advice in the business. And he, as though he had known nothing of the matter, answered that the Noblemans Petition seemed reasonable, and that his Majesty could not take a better course than call the Nobility, and by their advice take order for preventing the Troubles that might arise by their dissensions. The King, liking

Argile and *Athol* agreed.

Argile complaineth of the Regent to the King.

Athol his advice to the King for trying *Argiles* complaint.

liking the advice, commanded Letters to be written for all the Noblemen in the Countrey to meet at *Striveling* the tenth day of *March*: yet the advertiſement went only (the two Earls having the direction of the Letters) to thoſe that were their own friends, and enemies to the Regent. Amongſt others, the Lords *Maxwel* and *Ogilvy* were invited to come: of whom the firſt had been lately diſpatched from his office of Wardenry in the Weſt Marches, and committed in the Caſtle of *Blacknes*; the other had of a long time been confined in the City of S. *Andrews*. *An.* 1577.

How ſoon the Regent was advertiſed of *Argile* and *Athols* being with the King, and that they had moved him to call the Nobility to a Meeting upon a pretext of trying *Argiles* complaint, he ſent the Earl of *Angus*, the Lord *Glamis* Chancellor, and the Lord *Ruthven* Theſaurer, with a Letter, and certain Notes under his hand to be communicated to the King. In the Notes he made a particular relation of the contempt done by the Earl of *Argile* to his Majeſties Authority, and of his practices with *Athol* to diſturb the common peace; deſiring to know his Majeſties pleaſure concerning them: 'that if his Highneſs would allow him to follow the 'courſe of Law, he might do his duty; if otherwiſe his Majeſty thought fit to over-'ſee their diſobedience, that he would be pleaſed to disburthen him of his Office, 'and not ſuffer his own Name and Authority to be deſpiſed in the perſon of his ſer-'vant: for as he had at ſundry times made offer to dimit the Regiment whenſo-'ever his Majeſty was pleaſed to take it in his own hands, ſo will he now moſt wil-'lingly reſign the ſame, ſo as a ſubſtantial courſe were taken for the preſervation 'of his Highneſs Perſon, the ordering of his Majeſties Houſe, and the diſpencing 'of the Revenues of the Crown. Herewith he recommended the keeping of the Peace contracted with *England*, becauſe of the danger that a War might bring not only to the Realm, but alſo to his Highneſs Title and right of Succeſſion in that Kingdom. And having recounted the ſervices done by himſelf from his Majeſties birth unto that preſent, ſpecially his aſſiſtence at the Kings Coronation, the danger whereunto he expoſed himſelf and his friends in *Lanſide* field and at the ſiege of *Brichen*, the Legation which he had undertaken to *England*, the recovery of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, the Pacification of the Realm, which at his entry to the Government he found in great trouble, the redeeming of the Jewels and moveables pertaining to the Crown, and the reſtoring of the Royal Patrimony to ſome reaſonable eſtate; in regard of all theſe ſervices he craved no more but an allowance of what he had done in his Office, and a diſcharge of his intromiſſions by the Eſtates of Parliament.

The Regent ſendeth to inform the King of *Argiles* contempt.

His offer to dimit the Regency.

Theſe Notes being ſhewed to the Noblemen who were about the King (for numbers were come upon the rumor of a Change that was in hand) they did all adviſe him to take hold of the offer of Dimiſſion made by the Regent, and accept the Government in his own perſon, after which he might deliberate upon ſuch things as the Regent had moved. Some were of opinion that the King ſhould write to the Regent, and require of him a Dimiſſion: but the greater part, miſliking delays, did reckon it more ſure to do that which was meant at once, and not to protract time with a communing, ſuch as that manner of proceedings would neceſſarily breed. The King liking beſt the perſwaſions that were given him to Reign (a thing natural to Princes) reſolution was taken to diſcharge the Regent of his Authority, and publiſh the Kings acceptation of the Government.

The King is adviſed to accept the Regents Dimiſſion.

This concluſion was the ſame day imparted to the Regent, who thereupon ſent the Laird of *Whittingham* to deſire the King, before any Innovation was made, to reconcile thoſe of the Nobility that were in variance with others; thinking this way to hold off the publication intended at leaſt for ſome days. But it availed nothing, for immediately were the Chancellor and Lord *Herees* ſent with this Commiſſion to him in writing: *That his Majeſty conſidering the diſlike which many had of his Government, and the apparent Troubles to fall upon the Realm, had by the advice of the Nobility determined to accept the Rule in his own Perſon; and becauſe delay of*

A Commiſſion from the King to the Regent.

An. 1577. *time might breed ſome farther grudge & inconvenience, he did therefore require him to ſend his Declaration in writ with all ſpeed, for teſtifying his obedience and allowance of what was done, and to abſtain from all farther adminiſtration or exerciſe of the Office of Regency. As concerning his deſires for the Surety of his Majeſties Perſon, the ordering of his houſe and Revenues of the Crown, with preſervation of the Peace with* England, *and the ſetling of the Borders, and High-lands, his Highneſs ſhould omit nothing that lay in his power to do for effecting the ſame, and therein would follow the counſel which he and the reſt of the Nobility ſhould give unto him: and for the diſcharge of his adminiſtration, he ſhould have all granted which with reaſon he could require; the form whereof his Majeſty did will him to draw up, that he might deliberate with his Council what was fit to be done therein, aſſuring him that he ſhould be well and graciouſly uſed.* With this Commiſſion they did likewiſe carry a Letter written by the King himſelf in very loving terms, declaring, That *becauſe he ſaw no other way to maintain Concord amongſt his ſubjects, he had accepted the Government in his own hands, and that he was confident to have the defects of his age and experience ſupplied by his Nobility, eſpecially by himſelf, whom he would ever love and acknowledge as his truſty Couſin, moſt tender to him in blood* (theſe be the words of the Letter) *and one of his true and faithful Counſellors.*

The Kings acceptation of the Government.

In the mean time the Kings acceptation was publiſhed at *Striveling*, and the next day being the 12 of *March* proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, where the Regent himſelf was aſſiſting, and took inſtruments of his Dimiſſion in the hands of two Notaries. It grieved divers of his friends that he had ſo eaſily condeſcended to quit the place, which they thought he might with good reaſon have kept till a Parliament had been called for that purpoſe. Amongſt others the Lord *Boyd*, who was moſt intire with him, and came to *Edinburgh* ſome few hours after his Dimiſſion, did chide him bitterly, ſpeaking to this effect: *That he did preſume too much of his own wit, who in a matter of ſo great moment would not once ask the opinion of his friends; and that in a ſhort time he ſhould find that he had done unwiſely, to forſake the place committed to him by the whole Eſtates of the Kingdom at the pleaſure of his enemies. For it is ſufficiently known,* ſaid he, *that the King is a Child, and that theſe motions have not proceeded from himſelf. Now when he hath aſſumed the Government, and ye left the place intruſted to you, ſhall he not be governed by thoſe that are about him, whom you know to be your enemies? But ye perhaps do promiſe eaſe and ſafety to your ſelf in a private life: as if you might deſcend without any danger from the place with ye have held. Wiſe men have obſerved that between higheſt and nothing there is not a mean; and it fears me you have wronged your ſelf in imagining the reſt you ſhall never find. If you had kept your place, they ſhould have ſeen the faces of men, and not carried things thus at their pleaſure; but having forſaken your ſelf, there is nothing left to your friends but to lament your misfortune: and God grant that this be the worſt of things.* This ſaid, he went aſide, and burſt forth in tears. The Regent (whom we will no more call ſo) excuſed his doing by the inſtance that the King made for his Dimiſſion, ſaying, that his refuſe would have made a great Commotion in the Realm; yet did he perceive his error, and in his ſecret thoughts, which he covered ſo well as he could, blamed his own raſh and precipitate yielding. But there being no place left to refile, the next beſt he thought was to ſecure himſelf and his friends, by diſcharge of all things that might be laid to him or them during his adminiſtration; and therein he employed the Earl of *Angus* and the Chancellor, whom he did conſtitute his Procurators to compier before the King, and make Dimiſſion of his Office with ſuch Solemnities as by Law were requiſite.

The Lord *Boyd* chideth the Regent for his Dimiſſion.

The Chancellor and Earl of *Angus* imployed in the Regents Dimiſſion to the King.

This done, the Diſcharge was given him in moſt ample form. Therein, after a general approbation of his ſervice, he was declared not to be accuſable of any manner of crime, of whatſoever greatneſs or weight without exception, that might be alledged to have been committed by him in times paſt: which declaration was ordained to be as valid and ſufficient in all reſpects, as if the higheſt crime that could or might be imputed to any perſon had been eſpecially expreſ-

The Regents diſcharge of his Adminiſtration.

expreſſed in the ſame. He was alſo exonerated of all ſums of money, rents, and profits, as well of property as caſualty intrometted with by him or his factors and ſervants ſince his acceptation of the Regiment (the Jewels of the Crown, the Furniture of his Majeſties Houſe, Munition and Artillery only excepted.) A proviſion was adjected, *That the preſent Diſcharge ſhould not prejudge the King and his Succeſſors in the revocation or reduction of whatſoever infeoffments given of the property during his Highneſs Minority, or of whatſoever lands, Lordſhips, Offices or dignities, fallen in his Majeſties hands by forfeiture, recognition, baſtardy, or by any other right and privilege of the Crown.* In all other points the Diſcharge was ordained to ſtand firm and ſure for him, his heirs and ſucceſſors, and the ſame never to be revoked, or any thing attempted to the contrary: and for his greater aſſurance, the ſame was promiſed to be confirmed by the Eſtates of Parliament in their firſt Convention and meeting. The Noblemen and others of the Eſtates then preſent with the King did likewiſe bind themſelves, their heirs and ſucceſſors, to ſee all the foreſaid points truly fulfilled, under the pain of five hundred thouſand pound. So as nothing was omitted which he could deviſe for his ſecuring. Yet in all this he found no aſſurance: to teach men, that it is not to be had in any worldly thing, but to be ſought of God alone. All men are compelled to acknowledge ſo much in the end, though often too late; which was the caſe of this Nobleman, as we ſhall hear. But better late, as the ſaying is, than never. *An.* 1577.

An. 1577.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Sixth BOOK.

The Contents.

The things that happened after his Majesties assuming of the Government in his own Person, unto his happy Succession to the Crown of England.

An. 1577. *Mortons* enemies are still practising against him.

THE King was not yet twelve years complete, when in the manner ye have heard they moved him to assume the Government; yet did he shew more judgment in his very beginning than could be expected from one of his years. The Earl of *Mortons* enemies, not satisfied with his displacing, were still casting how to bring him into the Kings dislike. And first shewing that there was a necessity of the Kings residing at *Edinburgh*, where was the place of Justice, they desired he should be charged to render the Castle. Then informed that he had amassed a great Treasure in the time of his Regiment, they moved the King to require of him some moneys for supporting the charges whereunto he would be put at his first entry. They did farther talk of the Mint-house, and the commodity he reaped thereby. And, to denude him of all Power, they desired the state of the Borders to be looked unto, and the office of Lieutenandry, which the Earl of *Angus* his Nephew had in those parts, discharged. To one or other of these they conceived he should be unwilling, and so they should find some matter against him.

The King his calm proceedings with *Morton*.

But the King, refusing to use him with Charges, took a more moderate course, and sent the Chancellor and Thesaurer to feel his mind in those things. He lay then at *Dalkeith*, and having heard their Propositions, howbeit he knew those motions did proceed from his adversaries, and was not ignorant what they intended, he answered calmly, *That the Jewels and moveables appertaining to the Crown being received of his hand, and he and his Deputies discharged, the Castle should be rendered most willingly.* But for the advancing of moneys he excused himself, saying, *That it was not unknown how he had received his Office in a time full of Trouble, and when the Countrey was embroiled in a Civil War, the burthen whereof he sustained upon his private Charge; and that since the Troubles ceased, he had payed a great many debts, repaired his Majesties Houses and Castles, and put them in a better case than for many years before they had been: That the entertainment of his Majesties House, and maintaining of his own as Regent, was a matter of no small charge, which the ordinary Revennes of the Crown would hardly do; yet when his Majesty should be of perfect age, and his honourable occasions did require it, he should not be wanting according to his ability, and bestow all his means for his Majesties Honour.* Concerning the Mint-house he said, *That he had kept it in the best order he could, and having now no more charge of it, he wished the King to do therewith as he thought best.*

For

For the affairs of the Border, *That he had moved the Earl of* Angus *to undertake that ſervice for the quietneſs of the Countrey; but ſeeing he had no lands in thoſe quarters, and that the Offices of Wardenry might ſuffice to hold thoſe parts in order, he would adviſe the King to diſpoſe them to the moſt ſufficient that could be found.* *An.* 1578.

The Noblemen returning with theſe anſwers, the King did reſt well ſatisfied. But a pitiful accident that fell out in the time gave an hindrance to this buſineſs. The Chancellor going to the Caſtle to make his report to the King, as he returned to his lodging did encounter the Earl of *Crawford* in the Street called commonly *The Schoolhouſe Wynd*. There had been an old grudge betwixt the two Families, whereupon the Noblemen paſſed by others without ſalutations. The ſtreet being narrow, and the companies of each ſide great, when they were almoſt parted, two baſe fellows fell a ſtrugling for the way, and by thruſting one at another raiſed a tumult, in the very beginning whereof the Chancellor was killed with the ſhot of a Piſtol. It was certainly known that the Noblemen did purpoſe no harm to others, for *Crawford* did call to his followers to give way to the Chancellor, as he on the other ſide called to give way to the Earl of *Crawford*; yet by this unhappy accident were the old diſſenſions that had long ſlept revived, & a freſh enmity raiſed, which turned to the great hurt of both. The death of the Chancellor was much lamented, falling out in the time when the King and Country ſtood in moſt need of his ſervice. He had carried himſelf with much commendation in his place, & acquired a great Authority: moſt careful was he to have Peace conſerved both in the Country and Church, & labored much to have the queſtion of Church-Policy ſetled; upon which ſubject he interchanged divers Letters with *Theodore Beza*. Some have blamed him of two great curioſity in that matter, but his intention certainly was pious and commendable.

A pitiful Accident.

The Chancellor killed in a Tumult.

Upon his death the Earl of *Athol* was preferred to be Chancellor, at which the Church did mightily offend; as likewiſe at the admiſſion of the Earls of *Cathnes* and *Eglington*, with the Lord *Ogilvy*, upon the Council, who were all thought to be Popiſhly inclined. This being meaned to the King, was in ſome ſort ſatisfied by their promiſes and ſubſcriptions to the Articles of Religion; yet the ſuſpicions of their unſoundneſs ſtill continued. And now began they who longed for the change of *Mortons* Government to repent the alteration that was made; for howſoever he did not favor the Novations in Church-Policy urged by ſome Miniſters, he kept a ſevere hand over Papiſts, permitting none to enjoy any publick Office who was not ſincerely affected to the Truth.

The Earl of *Athol* created Chancellor.

The firſt of *April* the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* was delivered to the Lords *Ruthven* & *Lindeſay*, who were appointed by the King to receive the Houſe, & a diſcharge given to the Earl of *Morton* of the Jewels, Munition and Moveables within the ſame. And the ſame day *John Seaton* of *Touch*, and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhaſſil*, received the keys in name of *Alexander Areskin* Uncle to the Earl of *Marre*, upon a Warrant directed to them for that effect. The Earl of *Morton* reſolving to live private, and to have no more medling in publick affairs, retired to *Lochlevin*, where he ſtayed not long, being recalled to Court by this occaſion. The friends of the Houſe of *Marre*, of whom the principals were the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, out of ſome jealouſie they conceived of *Alexander Areskin* his courſes, and a fear that the young Nobleman who was then grown to ſome years might be prejudged of his right in keeping the Caſtle, practiſed ſecretly to exclude him, and entring one morning with a number of their followers ſeiſed upon the keeper of the gate, took the keys from him by force, and putting him and his men forth placed others in their rooms, whom they cauſed to ſwear fidelity to the Earl of *Marre*.

An. 1578. The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to the Earl of *Marr*.

The Caſtle of *Striveling* ſurpriſed by the Earl of *Marr* his friends.

How ſoon the Council (which then remained at *Edinburgh*) was advertiſed of this change, they prepared to go to *Striveling*, and for their greater ſecurity were furniſhed with ſome companies of men by the Town of *Edinburgh*; but by Letters from the King they were ſtayed. In theſe Letters the King ſhewed that it was a private diſſenſion only that had happened betwixt the friends of the houſe of *Marre*, which he would have peaceably compoſed, and therefore deſired them to come unto him after a day or two in quiet and ſober manner, and aſſiſt the Reconcilement. They obeyed, and coming to *Striveling*, in a frequent Council kept the third of

The Council goeth to *Striveling*, and compoſeth the controverſie.

May

An. 1578. *May* the Controverſie was in theſe terms compoſed: *That the Earl of* Marre *being now come to a reaſonable age, he ſhould attend the Kings perſon, and have the cuſtody of the Caſtle of* Striveling, *and that the Maſter his Uncle ſhould remain Capt. of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *and when he came to Court have his Table kept as before, and enjoy the place of a Gentleman of his Majeſties Chamber.* The Conditions preſcrived to the Earl of *Marre* were, *That he ſhould guard the Caſtle, attend the Kings perſon therein, and not remove him to any place whatſoever without the knowledge and conſent of the Council. That he ſhould not receive any within the Houſe whom he knew not to be well affected to the King; admitting an Earl with two only in train, a Lord with one, and Gentleman ſingle: That Mr.* George Buchanan *and Mr.* Peter Young *ſhould continue his Inſtructers, and no others be admitted without the Councils conſent, nor any Religious exerciſe kept within the Caſtle but that which the Parliament had approved.* For the obſerving of theſe Articles the Earls of *Athol*, *Angus*, *Argile* and *Montroſs*, with the Lords *Ruthven* and *Lindeſay*, became ſureties. For the Maſter his Uncle, and his fidelity in keeping the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, with the Jewels, Munition and other moveables, the Earls of *Athol*, *Argile*, *Montroſs*, and the Lord *Ruthven* gave their bond and obligation. Some days after this Broil the Captain his eldeſt Son (called *Alexander*) a youth of great hopes, departed this life, as it was thought, of a grief he conceived for the indignity done to his Father.

Conditions preſcrived to the Earl of *Marre*.

A Convention at *Striveling*.

This Agreement being made, and the Lords being then to return to *Edinburgh*, the King did ſignifie unto them, that becauſe the Parliament was indicted to the tenth of *July*, he would before that time call a number of every Eſtate together for the preparing of matters; and that, all emulations laid aſide, they might concur and joyn their counſels for the publick good of the Realm. The Diet for this meeting he appointed at *Striveling* the tenth of *June*. The Convention at the time was frequent: of the Clergy, eight Biſhops and as many Abbots were preſent; of the Nobility, nine Earls and eleven Lords, and divers Commiſſioners of Burghs. The Earl of *Morton* at the Kings earneſt intreaty came alſo thither, and at his coming was admitted upon the Council, having the precedency allowed him, with the conſent of the reſt, becauſe of the Regency he had a long time ſuſtained.

The Earl of *Morton* commeth to *Striveling*.

The Kings motion to the Lords and the reſt of the Eſtates.

In the firſt meeting the King, after he had given thanks to the whole number for the readineſs they had ſhewed to convene in that place, proponed two things. One was touching the Parliament, and the place where it ſhould hold. The other concerned an Ambaſſage which he intended to ſend into *England*. For the *Parliament*, he ſaid, that *he longed to ſee a meeting of the Eſtates, & would have the time to which it was called preciſely obſerved, wiſhing them all to addreſs themſelves thereto in time, and to come in a peaceable manner, as men diſpoſed to do good, and ſeeking the common profit of their Country.* And for *the place, ſeeing his own preſence was neceſſary, & that he could not conveniently remove from* Striveling, *he deſired the Parliament to be fenced at* Edinburgh *at the day appointed, and then prorogated ſome four or five days, and brought to* Striveling. For the *Ambaſſage*, he gave divers reaſons. *Firſt, that having aſſumed the Government in his own hands, he was bound in courteſie to viſit the Queen of* England, *and give her thanks for the kindneſs he had received of her in his Minority. Next, that the diſorder lately fallen out in the Borders* (for about that time ſome Borderers had entred into *England* and committed great Robberies) *laid a neceſſity upon him to clear the Country of that fact, and make offer of redreſs. Thirdly, that he had a private buſineſs which touched him nearly, his Grandmother the Lady* Lennox *being newly deceaſed, and he being her only Heir, it concerned him,* he ſaid, *to inquire what her laſt Will was, and to ſee that no prejudice was done to him in his Succeſſion to the lands ſhe poſſeſſed in* England. *Laſtly, if they did think meet* (but this he remitted to their wiſdoms) *he ſhewed that he could like well to have a motion made of a more ſtrict League betwixt the two Realms during the Queens life and his.*

The Counſellors diſſuade the chnage of the place of Parliament.

It grieved the ordinary Counſellors much that the place of Parliament ſhould be changed, who therefore labored to diſſuade the King from it; but perceiving him reſolved that way, they gave their conſents, though moſt unwillingly. When they came to ſpeak of the Ambaſſage to *England*, they acknowledged the neceſſity thereof; but took exception at the League, pretending the ancient League with

France.

France. It was replied, *That the caſe of things was much altered from that in former times; that* England *and* Scotland *had now the ſame enemies becauſe of their common Profeſſion, ſo as for their own ſafety it was needful they ſhould joyn together in ſtrict friendſhip; and that the League with* England *might be ſo contracted as the old Amity with* France *ſhould remain inviolate.* The King farther declared, *that he did not mean to give power to his Ambaſſador for concluding a League, wherein he would do nothing raſhly, nor without the advice of the Eſtates; only he deſired the ſame ſhould be moved, and upon the report of the Queens liking thereof, that the Conditions of the League ſhould be well and gravely adviſed.* After long reaſoning, the matter being put unto voices, it was by plurality agreed, that the ſame ſhould be made one of the Ambaſſadors Inſtructions: againſt which the Earls of *Argile*, *Montroſs* and *Cathnes*, the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Innermaith*, with the Commendatary of *Deir*, took publick proteſtation. *An.* 1578.

An Ambaſſage to the Queen of *England.*

Theſe things bred a new heart-burning amongſt the Noblemen, for they took *Morton* to be deviſer of all, and that he was craftily drawing back the adminiſtration of affairs unto himſelf; which, albeit they diſſembled for the preſent, brake forth after a few days in an open Diſſention. The Citizens of *Edinburgh* were much offended with the Kings remaining in *Striveling*, and the remove of the Parliament from their Town; and, as it happeneth in ſuch times of diſcontent, Rumors were diſperſed that the King was detained Captive, and was ſhortly to be ſent into *England*, and the ancient League with *France* diſſolved. This being in the mouths of all men, and talked of not in corners, but in open and publick meetings, a Proclamation was given out the ſixth of *July*, 'Declaring the falſhood of thoſe Rumors, 'and that the ſame were raiſed by ſome ſeditious ſpirits that could not live quiet 'under any ſort of Government. For, as to the Kings Detention, it was known to 'be moſt falſe, and that it was his own choice to remain at *Striveling*, attended by 'thoſe whom the Council by common conſent had appointed for the ſafe cuſtody 'of his Perſon. And for the Parliament, which they ſaid was to treat of the diſ-'ſolution of Peace with their old Confederates, and to make up new Leagues with 'others, there was no ſuch matter; it being his Majeſties only purpoſe to have 'ſuch things intreated in that Meeting as might tend to the advancement of Gods 'honor, the ſafety of his Royal Perſon, and the eſtabliſhment of good Laws for 'the quietneſs of the Realm: Whereof if any made doubt, they might be reſolved 'at their coming to the Parliament, which was now approaching. Therefore 'were all good ſubjects advertiſed not to believe thoſe ſeditious Reports, nor ſuf-'fer themſelves to be led by ſuch wicked ſuggeſtions into Rebellion.

Jealouſies among the Noblemen.

A Proclamation againſt the falſe Rumors diſperſed

This Declaration prevailed little with the moſt part, for the minds of men were much exaſperated. And the time of Parliament come, the Lords that remained at *Edinburgh* took counſel not to go thither, but to ſend of their number one or two to proteſt againſt the Lawfulneſs of it. The Earl of *Montroſs* and Lord *Lindeſay* were choſen to that purpoſe, who coming to *Striveling*, ſhew the King the Noblemens excuſe, and declared all they had in Commiſſion to ſay; wiſhing his Majeſty to prorogate the Parliament unto a better time, and make choice of a fitter place. But he reſolved, by the counſel of thoſe that were preſent, to go on; and coming the next day, which was the 16 of *July*, to the great Hall where the Eſtates were advertiſed to meet, he made a ſhort Speech touching the Liberty of Parliaments, and the neceſſity he had to keep one at that time and in that place, aſſuring all perſons who had any thing to move or propone, that they ſhould have free acceſs, and receive ſatisfaction, according to Juſtice. After the King had cloſed his Speech, the Earl of *Montroſs* and Lord *Lindeſay* aroſe, and in the name of the Council and others of the Nobility adhering to them, proteſted againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Parliament, in ſo far as it was kept within the Caſtle, whither they could not ſafely repair, the ſame being in the enemies power. The King, offended with the Proteſtation, commanded them to keep their Lodgings, and not to depart forth of *Striveling* without his licence: which the Lord *Lindeſay* obeyed; but *Montroſs* the next day early in the morning went away, and returned to *Edinburgh*, where it was given out that he had brought from the King a ſecret direction to the Lords to convene the ſubjects in Arms, and liberate him out of *Mortons* hands.

The Lords remaining at *Edinburgh* proteſt againſt the holding of the Parliament.

Montroſs and *Lindeſay* charged to keep their lodgings for uſing the Proteſtation.

Thereupon

An. 1578. A Declaration of the Lords remaining at *Edinburgh.*

Thereupon a Declaration was publiſhed, 'bearing, That his Majeſty having 'aſſumed the Government in his own Perſon, becauſe of the enormities committed 'in the time of *Mortons* Regiment, had appointed the Council to remain at *Edin-* 'burgh for the better miniſtration of Juſtice. And that by the care they took of af- 'fairs, all things had gone well and peaceably till *Morton*, out of his ambitious de- 'ſire to rule, did ſuborn ſome inſtruments to ſurpriſe the Kings Houſe and Perſon 'at *Striveling*, injuriouſly diſplace the Captain, and put his family and ſervants to 'the gates. Of which ſeditious enterpriſe although he did pretend ignorance, yet 'the progreſs of his actions continually ſince that time did ſhew that he was the 'chief plotter of that buſineſs; for after his coming to Court, and admiſſion to be 'one of the Council, he had diſordered all things, thralling the King ſo far, that 'his beſt ſubjects could have no free acceſs unto him, and uſurping the juriſdicti- 'on of his Majeſties ordinary Council, in tranſlating the Parliament from *Edin-* 'burgh, the principal City of the Realm, unto the Caſtle of *Striveling*. Like as to 'bear out his wicked and violent deſigns he had of late preſumed to levy Souldiers 'at the Kings coſt and charge, intending thereby to maintain his uſurped Autho- 'rity, and oppreſs his Majeſties obedient and lawful ſubjects. In conſideration of 'which abuſes, and leſt notorious preſumptions ſhould by their continual patience 'grow to a farther height, they had reſolved, laying aſide all difficulties, to with- 'ſtand the violences practiſed by him under the title of the Kings Authority, and 'to hazard their goods, lives and lands for the delivery of his Majeſties Perſon 'out of his thraldom; proteſting that the inconveniencies which ſhould enſue upon 'the preſent Troubles ſhould not be imputed to them, inaſmuch as they were for- 'ced unto it for their own juſt and neceſſary defence, the reſtitution of their native 'Prince to liberty, and the delivering of the Church and Commonwealth from 'the Tyranny of ſuch as have ever ſought, and ſtill do ſeek, the ruine and over- 'throw of both.

Proclamations to follow the King or his Lieutenant.

This Declaration publiſhed, all parts of the Realm were in a commotion: Soul- diers were levied on either ſide, horſe and foot; and Proclamations ſent to the Sheriffdoms of *Edinburgh*, *Hadington*, *Linlithgow*, *Clackmannam*, *Kinroſs*, *Perth*, *Fife*, *Forfar*, *Lanark*, *Dumbarton*, and to the Bailiaries of *Kyle* and *Cuningham*, to prepare themſelves with victuals for 15 days, and be in readineſs to follow the King or his Lieutenants upon ſix hours warning, as they ſhould be directed. Here- with a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry was given to the Earl of *Angus* for convoca- ting the ſubjects, and purſuing the Rebels who had uſurped the Kings Authority with all ſort of rigor: Charges were alſo directed to command the Earls of *Athol* and *Argile* to depart forth of *Edinburgh* within the ſpace of 24 hours, and return to the places of their dwelling, under the pain of Treaſon: the Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh* were enjoyned to apprehend the perſons that had taken Arms within their Town, and not to ſuffer any armed men to enter in the ſame, except ſuch as ſhould have direction from his Majeſty. Which when the Provoſt (*Archibald Stewart*) came to excuſe, as not being in the Towns power to withſtand the forces of the Noblemen, he himſelf was ſent priſoner to the Caſtle of *Down*.

The Lords charged to depart out of *Edinburgh.*

The Provoſt of *Edinburgh* committed.

A Proclamation for diſſolving the forces convened at *Edinburgh.*

The Parliament in this mean time went on, and all things proceeded therein as in a time of moſt ſecure Peace. Upon their diſſolving, when it was told the King that the Lords were gathering forces, and that they gave out the ſame to be done by warrant from him, he commanded, by a new Proclamation, *all that were aſſembled in Arms to ſeparate and return to their dwellings within the ſpace of ſix hours, promi- ſing pardon to ſuch as obeyed.* And leſt any ſhould be deceived with the rumors of his Captivity and ſecret Warrants from himſelf, he again declared, *That it was his own deſire to remain at* Striveling *and be ſerved by the Earl of* Marre, *with whom he knew his ſurety was greater than if he ſhould be at the devotion of thoſe that cauſed the preſent troubles, whoſe meanings towards him could be no better than it had been in times paſt.* For the Warrants they pretended, *he called God to witneſs, that they had neither word nor writ from him; therefore willed all his good ſubjects to live qui- et, and not to be miſled by ſuch falſe informations.* This Proclamation the Lords would not ſuffer to be publiſhed at *Edinburgh*, but, making the greater expedition,

The Lords march towards *Striveling.*

drew

drew together their Companies, and marched towards *Striveling*. The first night they camped at *Linlithgow*, and the day following having mustered their Army, which they found to be about 4000, they went to *Falkirk*. *An.* 1578.

The Earl of *Angus*, as Lieutenant for the King, took the fields, and displaying the Royal Banner made towards them. In number he did not equal the others, but they were Gentlemen all, active and resolute. Sir *Robert Bowes*, the *English* Ambassador, riding betwixt the Armies, travelled earnestly to bring them to an Agreement, and by his intreaties and the proponing of honourable conditions did keep them from joyning. In which time one *Tait*, a follower of *Cesford*, who as then was of the Lords party, came forth in a bravery, and called to the opposite horsemen, asking if any among them had courage to break a lance for his Mistress. He was answered by one *Johnston*, servant to the Master of *Glamis*, and his challenge accepted. The place chosen was a little plain at the river of *Carron*, on both sides whereof the horsemen stood spectators. At the first encounter *Tait*, having his body pierced through, fell from his horse, and presently died. This was taken by those of *Mortons* side to be a presage of Victory. But by the Ambassadors travels the parties were drawn to the Conditions following. The *English* Ambassador laboureth to compose matters.

1. That the forces on either side should presently separate, and a few horsemen only be retained upon his Majesties charges, who should be imployed for quieting the Borders, and not against the Lords convened at *Falkirk*, or their adherents in the present action. Conditions agreed upon.
2. That the proceedings of the Lords and other partakers with the Chancellor since the tenth of *July* last should be allowed as good service done to the King, in respect his Majesty was assured of their good affection towards his own Person.
3. That the Chancellor and Earl of *Argile* should have their lodging within the Castle of *Striveling*, with the like numbers that were permitted to other Noblemen.
4. That all the Noblemen, Barons, and other Gentlemen who pleased to come unto the King, should be freely admitted to his presence, and have liberty to propone their own affairs.
5. That the Earl of *Montross* and Lord *Lindesay* should be received in the number of the Council.
6. That the King calling to himself eight Noblemen, that is, four of each party to be nominated by themselves, should consider the griefs and offences of either side, take order for removing the same, and make up a perfect Reconcilement amongst the Nobility.
7. That the Commission of Lieutenandry granted to the Earl of *Angus* should be discharged.
8. And last, that the Captains of the Castle of *Edinburgh* and *Dumbarton* should enjoy their offices, till the reconciliation intended was brought to an end.

These Articles being signed by the King, and subscrived by the principals of both parties, the accord and heads thereof were published at *Striveling* and *Falkirk* the fourteenth of *August*, upon which the Armies dissolved. No stir in our memory was more happily pacified; for should it have come to the worst, as it was not far off, such was the heat and hate of both Factions, that the mischief could not but have been great which would have ensued. The Articles signed.

The place and time of the Noblemens meeting for considering the Grievances of both parties being left to the Kings appointing, because delay might breed greater difficulties, his Majesty did assign the 20 of *Sept.* to meet at *Striveling*; whereof he caused the Ambassador give the Chancellor notice, and to desire him to name the four Noblemen whose advice he and the rest would use in that Treaty. The Chancellor answered by Letter, *That neither he nor* Argile *could agree to meet at* Striveling, *nor could they design the four Noblemen whom they would use, because death, sickness and other accidents might hinder one or more of them to convene: but if it should please the King to appoint the place of meeting at* Edinburgh *about the end of* November, *they should keep the day, and for the present nominate* The twentieth of *September* appointed for a meeting of Noblemen at *Striveling*. The Noblemen decline the meeting.

ten,

An. 1578.

ten, of which number they ſhould chuſe ſome 4 *at that time as Arbiters for their party.* The ten they named were, the Earls of *Montroſs* and *Cathnes*, the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Maxwel*, *Hereis*, *Ogilvy* and *Innermeath*, the Abbot of *Newbottle*, and the Lairds of *Bargenny* and *Drumwhaſſil*. Herewith he deſired three things to be granted. *One was, that licence might be given to ſuch an one as they would chuſe to paſs into* England. *Next, that they who were diſpoſſeſſed of their places and Offices ſince the tenth of* July *might be reſtored; namely Mr.* Mark Ker, *Son to the Abbot of* Newbottle, *Maſter of Requeſts, and* William Cunningham, *Son to the Laird of* Drumwhaſſil, *Gentleman of the Kings Bedchamber. Thirdly, that none ſhould be called in queſtion for their abſence upon the late Proclamations, ſeeing all they who came not to* Striveling *muſt be underſtood to have been their adherents.*

The Petition of the Chancellor and the Lords and Gentlemen adhering to him.

The King offended with the Petitions.

This anſwer communicated to the King did highly offend him. Firſt, that they ſhould uſurp the appointing of the time and place of meeting, which was left in his power: next, that they would preſume to ſend a meſſage into *England*, they being his ſubjects, and neither acquaint him with the perſon nor the meſſage. For the other Petitions he judged them impertinent, and more fit to be proponed at the meeting of the Noblemen: whereof in a Letter ſent by Mr. *William Ereskin* to the Chancellor he ſhewed, that ſince they had delayed to nominate the four Noblemen, he himſelf would make choice of four of them whoſe names they had given to the Ambaſſador; to wit, the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Ogilvy*, *Innermeath* and *Hereis*; to whom he would joyn the Earls of *Rothes* and *Buchan*, with the Lords *Ruthven* and *Boyd*; and by their advice proceed in the Reconciliation by him intended, which if they ſhould refuſe, he would notifie to the Queen of *England* and other Chriſtian Princes the care he had taken to perform all things as they had been lately accorded.

The Noblemen cited to appear at *Striveling*.

To this letter no anſwer was given, but that they ſhould adviſe with their friends, and afterwards ſignifie their minds: wherewith the King being diſcontent, he ſummoned the Noblemen to meet at *Striveling* the 20 of *September*, warning all the ſubjects whom that buſineſs concerned to addreſs themſelves thither againſt the day. At the day none of them appeared, and the more careful the King was to have Peace made, the more they ſeemed to draw back, protracting time upon frivolous excuſes. Wherefore the King for the laſt Diet appointed the 20 of *October*, which moſt of them kept. Being all Aſſembled, the King ſpake to them to this effect. *Ye do all underſtand what an earneſt deſire I have that you ſhould joyn in friendſhip one with another, which cannot be more contentment to me than it is benefit to your ſelves; although I have many occaſions given me to fall from that deſire, yet I abide in the ſame mind, and ſhall wiſh you to lay aſide your needleſs jealouſies and ſuſpicions. For as to me I will ſtudy to be indifferent, and beſtow my favors unpartially, and never repoſe my ſelf upon any one ſo much as to deny others the regard which is due to them. Ye that are Noblemen have a ſpecial intereſt in me, and unleſs there be a correſpondence of wills and minds amongſt you, I ſhall never find that concurrence that ought to be for mine honour and the good of the Commonwealth. It is not long ſince, at your own deſires, I accepted the Government of the Realm, being perſwaded by you that this was the only way to ceaſe all grudges; but now that I ſee them increaſed, it repents me to have yielded to your deſires, and intangled my ſelf in ſuch buſineſs. What ſhould lett you to be reconciled, and become perfect friends, I know not. If there be any grief or offence that hath exaſperated your minds, will ye ſhew it? I am here with the advice of my Lords to remove it, and ſee ſatisfaction made by thoſe that have done the wrong. I hope you do not carry minds irreconcilable. Ye profeſſed that ye laid down Arms for the love ye bare to your King; by the ſame love I intreat you to lay aſide jealouſies and ſuſpicions, which ye will doubtleſs do, except ye mind to expoſe your Country and your ſelves to utter ruine.*

His Majeſties Speech at the meeting.

The Lords are deſired to ſet down their Complaints in writing.

The Lords moved with this Speech profeſſed themſelves willing at his Majeſties deſire to bury all Diſcords; and that their Agreement might be the more ſound, they were required to ſet down in writing the Injuries and unkindneſs whereof they complained, that ſatisfaction might be made at the ſight of the King and Noblemen whom he had named. Hereupon the Chancellor and *Argile* preſented

their

their grievances in ſome ſhort Articles, bearing the unkindneſs they had received from the Earl of *Morton* in the time of his Regiment. Whereunto he anſwered, firſt generally, That what he did in that time was done by order of Law, and that they themſelves had allowed his proceedings, and were ſureties for ratifying the ſame in Parliament. Then replying more particularly to every Article, he gave the King and other Noblemen full ſatisfaction, and made it ſeen, that on the part of the other Lords there was a great miſtaking: for what he did he could not leave undone, without a manifeſt violation of juſtice. 'Yet for himſelf, he ſaid, although he had 'been ill rewarded by them for his pains taken in the publick ſervice, and received 'more unkindneſs at their hands than he had deſerved, he would freely remit all 'at the King's deſire. After ſome days ſpent in ſuch reckonings, they were brought in end to joyn hands. *An.* 1578. The Lords reconciled.

During theſe Contentions in the State, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* held the Church buſied with the matter of Policy, which was put in form, and preſented to the Parliament at their ſitting in *Striveling*. The Eſtates having no leiſure to peruſe it, gave a Commiſſion to divers of their number to meet and confer with the Commiſſioners of the Church, and if they did agree, to inſert the ſame among the Acts of Parliament. How theſe affairs went, and what effect the Commiſſion took, becauſe of the great buſineſs that afterwards was made about the ſame, is neceſſary to be known; wherefore I thought meet to ſet down the Form of Policy as it was preſented, with the notes of their agreement and diſagreement, as they ſtand in the Original, which I have by me. A form of Church-Policy preſented to the Parliament, and remitted to certain Commiſſioners.

Heads and Concluſions of the Church; and firſt of the Policy thereof in General, wherein it differeth from Civil.

FIrſt, The Church of God is ſometimes largely taken, for all them that profeſs the Evangel of *Jeſus* Chriſt; and ſo it is a Company and fellowſhip not only of the Godly, but alſo Hypocrites, profeſſing outwardly one true Religion. 1. Agreed.

2. At other times it is taken for the Elect only and the godly; and ſometimes for them that exerciſe the Spiritual Function amongſt the Congregation of them that profeſs the Truth. 2. Agreed.

3. The Church in this laſt ſenſe hath a certain power granted by God, according to which it uſeth a proper Juriſdiction and Government, exerciſed to the comfort of the whole Church.

3. Agreed that the Church is ſometimes taken for them that exerciſe the Spiritual Function in particular Congregations.

4. This Power Eccleſiaſtical is an Authority granted by God the Father, through the Mediation of *Jeſus* Chriſt, unto his Church gathered, and having the ground in the Word of God, to be put in execution by them unto whom the ſpiritual Government of the Church by lawful calling is committed.

4. Continued to farther reaſoning, and when it is ſaid this power floweth from God to his Church, whether this ſhould be underſtood of the whole Church or of the Office-bearers, and whether it floweth mediately or immediately.

5. The Policy of the Church flowing from this Power is an Order or Form of Spiritual Government, which is exerced by the members appointed thereto by the Word of God; and therefore is given immediately to the Office-bearer, by whom it is exerciſed to the weal of the whole body. 5. Referred to farther reaſoning.

6. This Power is diverſly uſed; for ſometime it is ſeverally exerciſed (chiefly by the Teachers) ſometime conjunctly by mutual conſent of them that bear Office and charge, after the form of judgment: the former is called *poteſtas Ordinis*, the other *poteſtas Juriſdictionis*.

6. The laſt words of the Article are thought not neceſſary, and therefore to be delete.

7. Theſe two kinds of Power have both one Ground, one Final cauſe, but are different in the form and manner of Execution, as is evident by the ſpeech of our Saviour in the 16*th* and 18*th* of S. *Matthew*. 7. Agreed.

8. This Power and Policy is different and diſtinct in their own nature from that Power and Policy which is called the Civil Power, and appertains to the Civil Government of the Commonwealth; albeit they be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly uſed, that is, to advance the glory of God, and to have godly and good ſubjects. 8. Agreed.

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9. For this Power Eccleſiaſtical floweth from God immediately, and the Mediator *Jeſus* Chriſt, and is Spiritual, not having a Temporal Head in the earth, but only Chriſt, the only Spiritual King and Governor of the Church.

9. Say in ſtead hereof, For this power is ſpiritual, not having--- deleting the other words.

10. It is a title falſely uſurped by Antichriſt, to call himſelf the Head of the Church, and ought not to be attributed to Angel or to man, of what eſtate ſoever he be, ſaving to Chriſt the Head and only Monarch of the Church.

10. Agreed.

11. Therefore this Power and Policy of the Church ſhould lean upon the Word immediately as the only ground thereof, and ſhould be taken from the pure fountains of the Scriptures, hearing the voice of Chriſt the only Spiritual King, and being ruled by his Laws.

11. Agreed.

12. It is proper to Kings, Princes and Magiſtrates, to be called Lords and Dominators over their ſubjects whom they govern civilly; but it is proper to Chriſt only to be called Lord and Maſter in the Spiritual Government of the Church, and all others that bear Office therein ought not to uſurp dominion, nor be called Lords, but Miniſters, Diſciples and Servants: for it is proper to Chriſts Office to command and rule his Church univerſally, and every particular Church, through his Spirit and Word, by the miniſtery of men.

12. Agreed, changing theſe words, they ſhould not be called Lords over their Flock.

13. Notwithſtanding, as the Miniſters and others of the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate are ſubject to the Magiſtrate civilly; ſo ought the perſon of the Magiſtrate be ſubject to the Church ſpiritually, and in Eccleſiaſtical Government.

13. Change the laſt words of Eccleſiaſtical Government, and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, according to the Word of God.

14. And the exerciſe of both theſe Juriſdictions cannot ſtand in one perſon ordinarily.

14. Referred to farther reaſoning, when the order of Biſhops ſhall be diſcuſſed.

15. The Civil Power is called the Power of the Sword, the other Power the Power of the Keys.

15. Referred till they come to the attribution of the Power.

16. The Civil Power ſhould command the Spiritual to exerciſe and to do their Office according to the Word of God; the Spiritual Rulers ſhould require the Chriſtian Magiſtrate to miniſter Juſtice and puniſh Vice, and to maintain the Liberty of the Church, and quietneſs within their bounds.

16. Agreed as the words are conceived.

17. The Magiſtrate commands in things external for external Peace and quietneſs among the ſubjects; the Miniſter handleth external things only for Conſcience cauſe.

17. Deferreth this to be reſolved with the 15

18. The Magiſtrate external things only and actions done before men; but the Spiritual Ruler judges both the affection and external actions in reſpect of Conſcience, by the Word of God.

18. Referred.

19. The Civil Magiſtrate getteth obedience by the Sword and other external means; but the Miniſter by the Spiritual Sword and Spiritual means.

19.

20. The Magiſtrate ought neither preach, miniſter the Sacraments, nor execute the Cenſures of the Church, nor yet preſcribe any rule how it ſhould be done, but command the Miniſter to obſerve the rule preſcrived in the Word, and puniſh tranſgreſſors by Civil means; the Miniſter again exerciſes not the Civil Juriſdiction, but teaches the Magiſtrate how it ſhould be exerciſed according to the Word.

20. Agreed that neither ought the Magiſtrate preach, nor miniſter the Sacraments, nor execute the Cenſures of the Church, which is to be underſtood of Excommunication, and referreth the ſecond part of this Article to farther reaſoning.

21. The Magiſtrate ought to aſſiſt, maintain and fortify the Juriſdiction of the Church; the Miniſters ſhould aſſiſt their Princes in all things agreeable to the Word, providing they neglect not their Charge in involving themſelves in Civil affairs.

21. Referred.

22. Finally, as Miniſters are ſubject to the judgment and puniſhment of Magiſtrates in external things, if they offend: ſo ought the Magiſtrates ſubmit themſelves to the Diſcipline of the Church, if they tranſgreſs in matter of Conſcience and Religion.

22. Referred.

CHAP.

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CHAP. 2. *Of the parts of Policy of the Church, and Perſons or Office-bearers to whom the Adminiſtration is committed.*

1. The name of the Church in this Article is taken for the Church in the firſt ſignification, to wit for the whole church. Agreed with the reſt of the Articles.

FIrſt, as in the Policy Civil the whole Commonwealth conſiſts in them that are Governors or Magiſtrates, and them that are governed and ſubjects: ſo in the Policy of the Church ſome are appointed to be Rulers, and the reſt of the members are to be ruled and obey according to Gods Word, and the inſpiration of his Spirit, always under one Head and chief Governor *Jeſus* Chriſt.

2. Again, the whole Policy of the Church conſiſts in three things chiefly, in Doctrine, Diſcipline and Diſtribution; with Doctrine is annexed the Miniſtration of the Sacraments. 2. Referred.

3. And according to this diviſion ariſes a ſort of threefold Officiars in the Church; to wit, Miniſters or Preachers, Elders or Governors, and Deacons or Diſtributers: and all theſe may be called by one general word, Miniſters of the Church. 3. Referred.

4. For albeit the Church of God be ruled and governed by *Jeſus* Chriſt, who is the only King, high Prieſt and Head thereof; yet he uſeth the miniſtery of men, as a neceſſary middes for this purpoſe. 4. Referred.

5. For ſo he hath from time to time, before the Law, under the Law, and in the time of the Evangel, for our great comfort, raiſed up men indowed with the gifts of his Spirit for the ſpiritual Government of his Church, exerciſing by them his power through his Spirit and Word, to the building of the ſame. 5. Referred.

6. And to take away all occaſion of Tyranny, he wills that they ſhould rule with mutual conſent of brethren and equality of power, every one according to their Functions. 6. Referred to reaſoning of the head of Viſiters.

7. In the New Teſtament and time of the Evangel he hath uſed the Miniſtery of the Apoſtles, Prophets, Evangeliſts, Paſtors and Doctors, in adminiſtration of the Word; the Elderſhip for good order and adminiſtration of Diſcipline; the Deaconſhip to have the care of Eccleſiaſtical goods. 7. Referred.

8. Some of theſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions are ordinary, ſome extraordinary, or temporal. The extraordinary are the Apoſtles, Prophets and Evangeliſts, which are not perpetual, and now have ceaſed in the Church, except when it pleaſes God extraordinarily for a time to ſtir up ſome of them again. 8. Referred.

9. There are four ordinary Officers or Functions in the Church of God; the Paſtor, Miniſter or Biſhop, the Doctor, the Presbyter or Elder, and the Deacon. 9. Referred.

10. Theſe Offices are ordinary, and ought to continue perpetually in the Church, as neceſſary for the Government and policy of the ſame; and no mo Offices ought to be received or ſuffered in the true Church of God, eſtabliſhed by his Word. 10. Referred.

11. Therefore all the ambitious Titles invented in the Kingdom of Antichriſt and his uſurped Hierarchy, which are not one of thoſe four ſorts, together with the Offices depending thereupon, ought in one word to be rejected. 11. Referred.

CHAP. 3. *How the Perſons that bear Eccleſiaſtical Functions are admitted to their Offices.*

FIrſt, Vocation or Calling is common to all that ſhould bear Office in the Church, which is a lawful way by which qualified perſons are promoved to any ſpecial Office in the Church of God. 1. Agreed.

2. Without this Calling it was never lawful for any perſon to meddle with any Eccleſiaſtical Function. 2. Agreed.

3. There are two ſorts of Calling, one extraordinary by God immediately, as were the Apoſtles and Prophets, which within a Church already well eſtabliſhed hath no place. 3. Agreed.

4. The other calling is ordinary, which beſide the calling of God, and the inward 4. Agreed.

An. 1578. ward teſtimony of a good Conſcience, hath the lawful approbation of men according to Gods Word, and the Order eſtabliſhed in the Church.

5. Agreed. 5. None ought to preſume to enter in any Office Eccleſiaſtical, unleſs he have a good teſtimony in his Conſcience before God, who only knoweth the hearts of men.

6. 6. This ordinary and outward calling hath two parts, Election and Ordination.

7. Referred. 7. Election is the chuſing out of one man or perſon to the Office that is void, by the judgment of the Elderſhip and conſent of the Congregation to whom the perſon preſented is to be appointed.

8. Agreed with the generality hereof. 8. The qualities in general required in all them who ſhould have charge in the Church conſiſt in ſoundneſs of Religion and Godlineſs of life, according as they are ſet forth in the Word.

9. Agreed. 9. In this ordinary Election it is to be eſchewed, that no perſon be intruded in any of the Offices of the Church contrary to the will of the Congregation to whom they are appointed, or without the voice of the Elderſhip.

10. 10. None ought to be intruded or placed in the Miniſtery in places already planted, or in any room that is not void, for any worldly reſpect; and that which is called the Benefice ought to be nothing but the Stipend of the Miniſter who is lawfully called.

11. Agreed. 11. Ordination is the Separation and ſanctifying of the perſon appointed by God and his Church, after that he is well tried and found qualified.

12. Agreed. 12. The Ceremonies of Ordination are Faſting, Prayer, and Impoſition of hands of the Elderſhip.

13. Agreed. 13. All theſe, as they muſt be raiſed up by God, and made able for the work whereunto they are called, ſo they ought know that their meſſage is limited within Gods Word.

14. Agreed. 14. Theſe ſhould take the names and titles only (leſt they be exalted and puffed up in themſelves) which the Scripture gives them, as theſe which import labour, travel and work, and are names of Offices and Service, and not of idleneſs, dignity, worldly honor or preeminence, which by Chriſt our Maſter is expreſly reproved and forbidden.

15. Agreed. 15. All theſe Office-bearers ſhould have their own particular Flocks, amongſt whom they ought to exerce their charge, and ſhould make reſidence with them, taking inſpection and overſight of them every one in his vocation.

16. Agreed. 16. And generally ought to reſpect two things; that is, the glory of God, and edifying of his Church, by diſcharging their duties in their Callings.

CHAP. 4. *Of the Office-bearers in particular, and firſt of the Paſtors and Miniſters.*

1. Agreed, ſaving the word Biſhop is referred to the place of Viſitation. 1. PAſtors, Biſhops or Miniſters, are they who are appointed to particular Congregations, which they rule by the Word of God, and over which they watch: in reſpect whereof ſometime they are called Paſtors, becauſe they feed their Congregation; ſometimes *Epiſcopi* or Biſhops, becauſe they watch over their Flock; ſometimes Miniſters, by reaſon of their Service and Office; ſometimes alſo Presbyters or Seniors, for the gravity in manners which they ought to have, taking care of the Spiritual Government, which ought to be moſt dear unto them.

2. Agreed. 2. They that are called the Miniſtery, or offer themſelves thereto, ought not to be elected without one certain Flock to be aſſigned to them.

3. Agreed. 3. No man ought to ingyre himſelf, or uſurp this Office without a lawful calling.

4. Agreed. 4. They who are once called of God, and duly elected by men, having once accepted the charge of the Miniſtery, may not leave their Functions; and the deſertors ought to be admoniſhed, and in caſe of diſobedience excommunicated.

5. Referred. 5. No Paſtor may leave his Flock without licence of the Provincial Aſſembly; which if he do, after Admonition not obeyed, let the Cenſures of the Church ſtrike upon him.

6. To

6. To the Paſtor belongeth the Preaching of the Word of God in ſeaſon and out of ſeaſon, publickly and privately, always to edifie and diſcharge his Conſcience, as God hath preſcribed. And unto them only appertains the miniſtration of the Sacraments; for both theſe are appointed by the Word of God as means to teach us, the one by the ear, and the other by the eyes and other ſenſes, that by both knowledge may be conveighed to the mind. *An.* 1578. 6. Agreed.

7. By the ſame reaſon it pertains to Paſtors to pray for the people, and namely for the Flock committed to their charge, and to bleſs them in the name of God, who will not ſuffer the bleſſings of his faithful ſervants to be fruſtrate. 7. Agreed.

8. He ought alſo to watch over the Manners of his Flock, that he may the better apply his Doctrine to them, in reprehending the diſſolute, and exhorting the godly to continue in the fear of the Lord. 8. Agreed.

9. It appertains to the Miniſter, after lawful proceeding of the Elderſhip, to pronounce the ſentence of Binding and Looſing upon any perſon, according to the power of the Keys granted to the Church. 9. Agreed, that the Miniſter of the Word may pronounce the ſentence of Excommunication, after lawful proceeding.

10. It belongs to him likewiſe, after lawful proceeding in the matter by the Elderſhip, to ſolemnize Marriage betwixt thoſe that are contracted, and to pronounce the bleſſing of the Lord upon them that enter in that Bond in the fear of God. And generally, all publick Denunciations that are made in the Church before the Congregation concerning Eccleſiaſtical affairs belong to the Miniſters Office, for he is the meſſenger and herauld betwixt God and the people in all theſe affairs. 10. Agreed with the preſent orders concerning Marriage.

CHAP. 5. *Of Doctors and their Offices, and of Schools.*

1. ONE of the two ordinary and perpetual Functions that labour in the Word is the Office of Doctor, who may alſo be called Prophet, Biſhop, Elder and Catechiſer, that is, the teacher of the Catechiſm and Rudiments of the Religion. This whole Chapter referred to farther reaſoning.

2. His Office is to open up the mind of the Spirit of God in the Scriptures ſimply, without ſuch application as the Miniſter uſes, to the end that the faithful may be inſtructed in ſound Doctrine, the purity of the Goſpel taught, and not corrupted through ignorant or evil opinions.

3. He is different from the Paſtor, not only in name, but in diverſity of Gifts: For to the Doctor is given the gift of Knowledge, to open up by ſimple Teaching the myſteries of Faith; to the Paſtor the gift of Wiſdom, to apply the ſame by Exhortion to the manners of the Flock, as occaſion craves.

4. Under the name and Office of Doctor we comprehend alſo the order in Schools, Colleges and Univerſities, which have from time to time been carefully maintained, as well amongſt Jews and Chriſtians, as among profane nations.

5. The Doctor being an Elder, ſhould aſſiſt the Paſtor in the Government of the Church, and concur with the Elders his brethren in all Aſſemblies, by reaſon the Interpretation of the Word, which is only judged in matters Eccleſiaſtical, is committed to his charge.

6. But to preach unto the people, to miniſter the Sacraments, and celebrate Marriages, pertains not to the Doctor, unleſs he be otherwiſe called ordinarily; yet may the Paſtor teach in Schools, as he who hath the gift of Knowledge oftentimes, which the example of *Polycarpus* and others teſtifie.

CHAP. 6. *The Elders, and their Office.*

1. THE word Elder in the Scripture is ſometime the name of Age, ſometime the name of Office; and when it hath the name of Office is ſometimes taken largely, comprehending as well the Paſtors and Doctors, as theſe who are called Seniors or Elders. 1. Paſſed over.

An. 1578. 2. In our diviſion, we call theſe Elders whom the Apoſtle calleth Preſidents or Governors; whoſe Office as it is ordinary, ſo it is perpetual, and always neceſſary in the Church of God, and a ſpecial Function, as is the Miniſtery.

2. Agreed, that name of Elders be joyned with Miniſters.

3. The perpetuity of Elders referred to farther deliberation.

3. Elders once lawfully called to the Office, and having Gifts of God fit to exerciſe the ſame, may not leave it again; yet ſuch a number of Elders may be choſen in certain Congregations, as one part may relieve another for a reaſonable ſpace, as was amongſt the *Levites* under the Law in ſerving the Temple.

4. Agreed. 4. The number of Elders in every Congregation cannot be limited, but ſhould be according to the bounds and neceſſity of the people.

5. Referred. 5. It is not neceſſary that all Elders be Teachers of the Word, albeit chiefly they ought to be ſuch, and ſo worthy of double honor.

6. Referred. 6. What manner of perſons they ought to be, we remit it to the expreſs Word, and the Canons ſet down by the Apoſtle S. *Paul.*

7. Agreed. 7. Their Office is as well ſeverally as conjunctly to watch with diligence over the Flock committed to their charge, both publickly and privately, that no corruption of Religion or Manners grow amongſt them.

8. Agreed. 8. As the Paſtors and Doctors ſhould be diligent in Teaching and ſowing the ſeed of the Word, ſo the Elders ſhould be carefull in ſeeking the fruits of the ſame among the people.

9. Agreed. 9. It pertains to them to aſſiſt the Paſtor in Examining thoſe that come to the Lords Table, and in Viſiting the ſick.

10. Agreed. 10. They ſhould cauſe the Acts of the Aſſemblies, as well particular as general to be put carefully in execution.

11. Agreed. 11. They ſhould be diligent in admoniſhing all men of their duties, according to the rule of the Word.

12. Agreed. 12. Things that they cannot correct by private Admonitions they ſhould bring to the Elderſhip.

13. Agreed. 13. Their principal Office is to hold Aſſemblies with the Paſtors and Doctors, who are alſo of their number for eſtabliſhing good order and execution of Diſcipline, unto which Aſſembies all perſons are ſubject that remain within the bounds.

CHAP. 7. *Of Elderſhips, and Aſſemblies, and Diſcipline.*

1. Agreed that Miniſters and Elders may judge ſpiritual things within their own bounds.

1. Elderſhips are commonly conſtitute of Paſtors, Doctors and ſuch as we call commonly Elders that labor not in the Word and Doctrine, of whom and of their power we have ſpoken.

2. Agreed. 2. Aſſemblies are of four ſorts: for either they are of a particular Congregation, or of a Province, or of a whole Nation, or of all and divers Chriſtian Nations.

3. Agreed that Synods be kept twice in the year by him that hath the charge of Viſitation.

3. All Eccleſiaſtical Aſſemblies have power to convene lawfully together, for treating of things concerning the Churches pertaining to their Charge.

4. General Aſſemblies once yearly, his Majeſties Authority being interponed, and from the General Aſſembly, Noblemen and ſuch as pleaſe to come ſhall not be excluded, providing that fifteen only, with his Majeſties Commiſſioner, have voice therein.

4. They have power to appoint times and places to that effect, and every Aſſembly to appoint the Diet, time and place for another.

5. Agreed. 5. In all Aſſemblies a Moderator ſhould be choſen by common conſent of the whole brethren convened, who ſhould propone matters, gather voices, and cauſe good order to be kept.

6. Agreed. 6. Diligence ought to be taken chiefly by the Moderator that only Eccleſiaſtical things be handled in the Aſſemblies, and no medling be with any thing pertaining to Civil Juriſdiction.

7. Agreed. 7. Every Aſſembly hath power to ſend forth of their own number one or mo Viſitors, to ſee how all things are ruled in their Juriſdicton.

8. Viſitation

8. Viſitation of Churches is not an ordinary Office Eccleſiaſtical in the perſon of one man, neither may the name of a Biſhop be attributed to a Viſitor only, neither is it neceſſary to abide in the perſon of one man always, but it is in the power of the Elderſhip to ſend out qualified perſons to viſit *pro re nata*. *An.* 1578. 8. Referred to the head of Biſhops, and their Reformation.

9. The final end of all Aſſemblies is firſt to keep the Religion and Doctrine in Purity without error and corruption; next to keep Comelineſs and good Order in the Church. 9. Agreed.

10. For this Orders cauſe, they may make Rules and Conſtitutions pertaining to the good behaviour of all the members in the Church in their vocation. 10. Agreed, joyning in the end of the Articles theſe words, or ſpiritual things only.

11. They have power alſo to abrogate and aboliſh all Statutes and Ordinances concerning Eccleſiaſtical matters that are found noiſome and unprofitable, and agree not with the time, or are abuſed by the people. 11. Agreed, that as they make Acts in Spiritual things; ſo they may alter the ſame as the neceſſity of time requires.

12. They have power to execute Diſcipline and puniſhment Eccleſiaſtical upon all tranſgreſſors and proud contemners of the good order and Policy of the Church, ſo as the whole Diſcipline is in their hands. 12. Referred.

13. The firſt ſort and kind of Aſſemblies, although they be within particular Congregations, yet they exerce the power, authority and juriſdiction of the Church with mutual conſent, and therefore bear ſometime the name of the Church. 13. Referred.

14. When we ſpeak of Elders of particular Congregations, we mean not that every particular Pariſh-Church can or may have their particular Elderſhips, eſpecially to Landwart; but we think three or four, mo or fewer particular Churches may have a common Elderſhip to them all, to judge their Eccleſiaſtical cauſes. 14. Referred.

15. Albeit it is meet that ſome of the Elders be choſen out of every particular Congregation, to concur with the reſt of their brethren in the common Aſſemblies, and to take up the delation of offences within their own Churches, and bring them to the Aſſembly. 15. Referred.

16. This we gather of the practice of the Primitive Church, where Elders, or Colleges of Seniors, were conſtitute in Cities and famous places. 16. Referred.

17. The power of the particular Elderſhip is to give diligent labour, in the bounds committed to their charge, that the Churches be kept in good order; to inquire of naughty and unruly perſons, and travel to bring the way again, either by admonition and threatning of Gods judgments, or by correction. 17. Referred.

18. It pertains to the Elderſhip to take heed that the Word of God be purely preached within their bounds, the Sacraments rightly miniſtred, Diſcipline maintained, and the Eccleſiaſtical goods uncorruptly diſtributed. 18. Referred.

19. It belongs to this kind of Aſſembly to cauſe the Ordinances made by the Aſſemblies Provincial, National and General, to be kept and put in execution; to make Conſtitutions which concern τὸ πρέπον, for the decent order of theſe particular Churches which they govern; providing they alter no Rules made by the Provincial and General Aſſemblies, and that they make the Provincial Aſſemblies foreſeen of thoſe Rules they make, and to aboliſh ſuch Conſtitutions as tend to the hurt of the ſame. 19. Referred.

20. It hath power to excommunicate the obſtinate. 20. Referred.

21. The power of Election of them who bear Eccleſiaſtical charge pertains to this Aſſembly within their own bounds, be well conſtitute, and erected of many Paſtors and Elders of good ability. 21. Referred.

22. By the like reaſon their Depoſition alſo pertains to this Aſſembly, as of them that teach erroneous Doctrine, that be of a ſcandalous Life, and after admonition deſiſt not, that be given to Schiſm or Rebellion againſt the Church, manifeſt Blaſphemy, Simony, and all corruption of Bribes, Falſhood, Perjury, Whoredom, Theft, Drunkenneſs, Fighting worthy of puniſhment by the Law, Uſury, Dancing, and ſuch diſſoluteneſs as imports civil infamy; and all other that deſerve ſeparation from the Church. 22. Referred.

23. Theſe alſo who are altogether found unable to execute their Charge ought to 23. Referred.

An. 1578. to be depoſed, and other Churches advertiſed thereof, leſt they receive the perſons depoſed.

24. 24. But they who through age or ſickneſs, or any other accident, become unmeet to do their Office, their honor ſhould remain to them, and others be provided to their Office, the Church maintaining thoſe who are by that occaſion diſabled.

25. Referred. 25. Provincial Aſſemblies we call lawful Conventions of the Paſtors, Doctors, and other Elders of any Province gathered for the common affairs of the Churches thereof; which may alſo be called the Conference of the Church and brethren.

26. Referred. 26. Theſe Aſſemblies are inſtitute of weighty matters to be intreated by mutual conſent, and aſſiſtence of the brethren within the Province, if need be.

27. Referred. 27. This Aſſembly hath power to redreſs, order and handle all things committed or done amiſs in the particular Aſſemblies.

28. Referred. 28. It hath power to depoſe the Office-bearers of that Province, for good and juſt cauſes deſerving Deprivation. And generally theſe Aſſemblies have the whole power of the particular Elderſhips whereof they are collected.

29. Referred. 29. National Aſſembly, which we call General, is a lawful Convention of the whole Church of the Realm or Nation where it is gathered, for the common affairs of the Church; and may be called the General Elderſhip of the whole Church within the Realm.

30. Paſſed over. 30. None are ſubject to repair unto this Aſſembly for giving voice but Eccleſiaſtical perſons, to ſuch a number as ſhall be thought good by the ſame Aſſembly; not excluding other perſons that will repair to it for propounding, hearing and reaſoning.

31. Anſwered before. 31. This Aſſembly is inſtitute, that all that is either committed or done amiſs in the Provincial Aſſemblies may be redreſſed, and things generally ſerving for the good of the whole body of the Church within the Realm may be foreſeen, intreated and ſet forth to Gods glory.

32. The laſt part of the Article referred to the heads of Biſhops. 32. It ſhould take care that Churches be planted in places where they are not planted, and preſcrive a rule for the proceeding of the other two ſort of Aſſemblies in all things.

33. Deferred. 33. This Aſſembly ſhould take heed that the Spiritual Juriſdiction and Civil be not confounded nor abuſed: and generally towards all weighty affairs that concern the good order of the Churches within the Realm, it ought to interpone authority thereto.

34. Agreed in Spiritual matters. 34. There is beſides theſe another more General Aſſembly, which is of all Nations, and of all eſtates of perſons within the Church, repreſenting the Univerſal Church of Chriſt, which may be properly called the General Aſſembly, or General Council of the whole Church of God.

35. Referred. 35. Theſe Aſſemblies were appointed and called together ſpecially when any great Schiſm or Controverſie in Doctrine did ariſe in the Church, and were convocated at the command of godly Emperors, being for the time for avoiding of Schiſms within the univerſal Church of God; which, becauſe they pertain not to the particular ſtate of our Realm, we paſs by.

CHAP. 8. *Of Deacons and their Office, the laſt ordinary Function in the Church.*

1. The Chapter of Deacons and Patrimony of the Church are thought to be ſuppreſſed till the head of Corruptions be reaſoned. 1. THE word διάκονος is ſometimes largely taken, as comprehending all them that bear Office in the Miniſtery and ſpiritual Function in the Church; but as we now ſpeak, is only taken for them to whom the Collection and Diſtribution of Alms of the faithful and Eccleſiaſtical goods do belong.

2. The Office of Deacon ſo taken is an ordinary and perpetual Function in the Church. Of what properties and duties they ought to be that are called thereto, we remit to the Scriptures.

3. The Deacon ought to be called and elected as the reſt of the ſpiritual Officers, and their Office and power is to receive and diſtribute the whole Eccleſiaſtical goods to whom they are appointed.

4. This

4. This they ought to do according to the judgment and appointment of the Presbyteries or Elderſhips, of the which the Deacons are not, that the Patrimony of the Church and poor be not converted to private mens uſes, nor wrongfully diſtributed. *An.* 1578.

CHAP. 9. *Of the Patrimony of the Church, and diſtribution thereof.*

1. BY the Patrimony of the Church we underſtand whatſoever thing hath been at any time before, or ſhall be hereafter, given, or by univerſal conſent or cuſtom of Countries profeſſing Chriſtian Religion applied, to the publick uſe and utility of the Church.

2. So that under the Patrimony of the Church we comprehend all things given or to be given to the Church and ſervice of God; as Lands, Buildings, Poſſeſſions, annual Rents, and the like, wherewith the Church is endowed either by Donations, Foundations, Mortifications, or any other lawful titles of Kings, Princes, or any other perſons inferior to them, together with the continual Oblations of the faithful.

3. We comprehend alſo all ſuch things as by laws, cuſtoms or uſe of Countries hath been applied to uſe and utility of the Church: of which ſort are Tithes, Manſes, Gleibs, and the like; which by the common and municipal Laws and univerſal cuſtom are poſſeſſed by the Church.

4. To take any part of this Patrimony by unlawful means, and convert to the particular and prophane uſe of any perſon, we hold a deteſtable Sacrilege before God.

5. The goods Eccleſiaſtical ought to be collected and diſtributed by Deacons, as the Word of God appoints, that they who bear Office in the Church may be provided for without care or ſolicitude.

6. In the Apoſtolick Church the Deacons were appointed to collect and diſtribute whatſoever was collected of the faithful to the neceſſity of the Saints, ſo as none amongſt them did want.

7. Theſe Collections were not only of that which was gathered by way of Alms, as ſome ſuppoſe, but of other goods movable and unmovable, of lands and poſſeſſions, the price whereof was brought and laid at the Apoſtles feet.

8. This Office continued in the Deacons hands, who intromitted with the whole goods of the Church till the eſtate thereof was corrupted by Antichriſt, as the ancient Canons bear witneſs.

9. The ſame Canons make mention of a fourfold diſtribution of the Patrimony of the Church; whereof one part was applied to the Paſtor, or for his ſuſtentation and hoſpitality: another to the Elders and Deacons, and the whole Clergy; the third to the poor, ſick perſons and ſtrangers; and the fourth to uphold the edifice of the Church, and other affairs ſpecially extraordinary.

10. We add hereunto the Schools and Shoolmaſters, who ought and may well be ſuſtained of the ſame goods, and are comprehended under the Clergy: to whom we joyn Clerks of Aſſemblies, as well particular as general, Procurators of the Church affairs, takers up of Pſalms, and other Officers of the Church, who are neceſſary.

1. For this whole Chapter, it is thought meet that an Article be preſented to his Majeſty and eſtates, craving a puniſhment to be appointed for thoſe that put violent hands in Miniſters, and likewiſe to deſire ſuch Immunities and Priviledges to them as ſhall be thought convenient.

CHAP. 10. *Of the Office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate in the Church.*

1. ALthough all members of the Church are holden, according to their vocation, to advance the Kingdom of Chriſt *Jeſus* ſo far as lies in their power; yet chiefly Chriſtian Princes, Kings and other Magiſtrates are holden to do the ſame, for they are called in the Scripture *Nurſes of the Church*, becauſe by them it is, or at leaſt ought to be, maintained and defended againſt all thoſe that would procure the hurt thereof.

2. So it pertains to the Office of a Chriſtian Magiſtrate to fortifie and aſſiſt the godly proceedings of the Church, and namely to ſee that the publick eſtate and miniſtery

An. 1578. miniſtery thereof be maintained and ſuſtained, as appertains to the Word of God.

3. To ſee that the Church be not invaded or hurt by falſe Teachers and Hirelings, nor the rooms thereof occupied by dumb Dogs or idle Bellies.

4. To aſſiſt and maintain the Diſcipline of the Church, and puniſh them civilly that will not obey the Cenſures, without confounding the one Juriſdiction with the other.

5. To ſee that ſufficient proviſion be made to the Miniſtery, Schools and Poor; and if they have not ſufficient to wait upon their Charges, to ſupply their indigence with their own Rents.

6. To hold hand as well for the ſafety of the Perſons from injury and open violence, and their Rents and proviſions, that they be not defrauded, robbed and ſpoiled thereof; and not to ſuffer the Patrimony of the Church to be applied to profane and unlawful uſes, or to be devoured by idle bellies, and ſuch as have no lawful Function in the Church, to the hurt of the Miniſtery, Schools, Poor, and other godly uſes upon which the ſame ought to be beſtowed.

7. To make Laws and Conſtitutions agreeable to Gods Word for the advancement of the Church and Policy thereof, without uſurping any thing that pertains not to the Civil ſword, but belongs to the Officers meerly Eccleſiaſtical; as the Miniſtery of the Word, Sacraments, or uſing the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, and ſpiritual execution thereof, or any part of the ſpiritual Keys, which the Lord *Jeſus* gave to the Apoſtles and their true Succeſſors.

8. And although Kings and Princes that be godly ſometimes by their own authority, when Churches are corrupted, and all things out of order, do place Miniſters and reſtore the true ſervice of God, after the enſample of ſome godly Kings of *Judah*, and divers godly Emperors and Kings alſo in the days of the New Teſtament: yet where the Miniſtery of the Church is once well conſtitute, and they that are placed do their Office faithfully, all godly Princes and Magiſtrates ought to hear and obey their voice, and reverence the Majeſty of God ſpeaking by them.

CHAP. 11. *Of the preſent Abuſes remaining in the Church which are deſired to be reformed.*

1. AS it is the duty of the godly Magiſtrate to maintain the preſent liberty which God hath granted by preaching of the Word and the true miniſtration of the Sacraments within this Realm; ſo it is to provide that all abuſes which as yet remain in the Church be removed and taken away.

3. Let his Majeſty and Eſtates be ſupplicated for diſſolving theſe Prelacies, that Miniſters may be provided to the ſeveral Churches, at leaſt after the death of the preſent poſſeſſors.

2. Therefore firſt the admiſſion of men to Papiſtical titles of Benefices, ſuch as ſerve not nor have any Function in the reformed Church of Chriſt, as Abbots, Commendators, Priors, Prioreſſes, and other titles of Abbeys, whoſe places are now by the juſt judgment of God demoliſhed, and purged of Idolatry, is plain Abuſion, and not to be received in the Kingdom of Chriſt amongſt us.

3. In like manner, ſeeing they that were called of old the Chapters and Convents of Abbeys, Cathedral-Churches, and the like places, ſerve for nothing now but to ſet Fews and Leaſes of Church-lands (if any be left) and Tithes, to the hurt and prejudice thereof, as daily experience teaches, the ſame ought to be utterly aboliſhed and abrogated.

4. Paſſed over.

4. Of the like nature are the Deans, Archdeacons, Chantors, Subchantors, Theſaurers, Chancellors and others, having the like titles, which flowed from the Pope and Canon law only, and have no place in the Reformed Church.

5. Paſſed over.

5. The Churches alſo which are united and joyned together by annexation to Benefices ought to be ſeparated and divided, and given to qualified Miniſters, as Gods Word requires: neither ought ſuch abuſers of the Patrimony of the Church have voice in Parliament, nor ſit in Council in name of the Church and Churchmen, to the hurt and prejudice of the liberty thereof, and Laws of the Realm made in favors of the Reformed Church.

6. Anſwered by the Act of Diſſolution.

6. Much leſs is it lawful that one perſon amongſt theſe ſhould have five or ſix, ten or twenty Churches, all having the Cure of Souls, and enjoy the Patrimony thereof,

thereof, either by admiſſion of the Prince or of the Church in this light of the Goſpel; for it is but mockery to crave Reformation where the like have place. *An.* 1578.

7. And albeit it was thought good, for avoiding greater inconveniences, that the old poſſeſſors of ſuch Benefices who imbraced the Religion ſhould enjoy by permiſſion the two parts of the Rents which they poſſeſſed before, during their life time; yet it is not tolerable to continue in the like abuſe, to give theſe places and other Benefices of new to men as unmeet, or rather unmeeter, who have no mind to ſerve in the Church, but live an idle life, as others did who enjoyed the ſame in time of blindneſs. 7. An Act to be ſought for diſponing theſe united Churches to Miniſters after deceaſe of the preſent poſſeſſors.

8. And whereas, by the Order taken at *Leith* 1571, it appears that ſuch may be admitted, being found qualified; either that pretended Order is againſt all good order, or elſe it muſt be underſtood not of them that are qualified for worldly affairs, or to ſerve in Court, but ſuch as are qualified to teach Gods Word, and have their lawful admiſſion of the Church. 8. Referred.

9. As to Biſhops, if the name be properly taken, it is all one with the name of Miniſter, as was declared; for it is not a name of Superiority or Lordſhip, but of Office and Watching: Yet becauſe in the corruption of the Church this name hath been abuſed, and is like to be, we cannot allow this faſhion of theſe new choſen Biſhops, nor of the Chapters that are their Electors to ſuch in Office. 9. The laſt part of the Article deferred.

10. True Biſhops ſhould addict themſelves to one particular Flock, which divers of them refuſe; neither ſhould they uſurp Lordſhip over their brethren and the inheritance of Chriſt. 10. Agreed that Biſhops have a particular Flock.

11. Paſtors, in ſo far as they are Paſtors, have not the Viſitation of mo Churches joyned to the Paſtorſhip, unleſs it be committed to them. 11. & 12. Let the Dioceſe be divided in ſuch ſort as a man may reaſonably viſit; and for the perpetuity of Viſitors, it is referred to farther reaſoning.

12. It is a corruption that Biſhops ſhould have farther bounds to viſit than they may conveniently overtake; neither ought any man to have the Viſitation of Church but he that is choſen by the Presbytery.

13. The Elderſhips well eſtabliſhed have power to ſend out Viſitors with Commiſſion to viſit the bounds within their Elderſhip, and after accompt taken be either continued or changed from time to time, being ſubject always to their Elderſhips. 13. Paſſed over.

14. The criminal juriſdiction in the perſon of a Paſtor is a Corruption. 14. Agreed.

15. It agrees not with the Word of God, that Biſhops ſhould be Paſtors of Paſtors, or Paſtors of many Flocks, and yet be without a certain Flock, and no ordinary Teacher; nor doth it agree with the Scripture, that they ſhould be exeemed from the correction of their brethren, and the diſcipline of the particular Elderſhips of the Church where they ſhall ſerve; neither that they uſurp the Office of Viſitation of other Churches, nor any other Function beſides that of other Miniſters, unleſs the ſame be committed to them by the Church. 15. Paſſed over.

16. Heretofore we deſire the Biſhops that now are, either to agree to that order which Gods Word requires, and not to paſs the bounds preſcrived by the general Church, either in Civil or Eccleſiaſtical affairs, or to be depoſed from all Function in the Church. 16. Paſſed over.

17. We deny not in the mean time that Miniſters may and ſhould aſſiſt their Princes, when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word of God, whether it be in Council or Parliament, or out of Council: providing always they neither neglect their own Charges, nor through flattery of Princes hurt the publick eſtate of the Church. 17. Agreed.

18. But generally we ſay, that no Paſtor under whatſoever title of the Church and ſpecially the abuſed titles in Popery, of Prelates, Chapters and Convents, ought to attempt any thing in the Churches name, either in Parliament, or out of Council, without the Commiſſion of the Reformed Church within this Realm. 18. Referred.

19. It is provided by Act of Parliament, that the Papiſtical Church and juriſdiction ſhall have no place within the Realm, and that no Biſhop nor Prelate ſhould uſe any juriſdiction in time coming flowing from the Popes Authority: and likewiſe that no other Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction ſhould be acknowledged within this Realm, but that which is and ſhall be in the Reformed Church, and flowing 19. Agreed, that an Act be made that none hurt or diminiſh the Patrimony of the Church.

An. 1578. flowing from the ſame. And ſuch we eſteem the Chapters holden in Papiſtical manner, either of Cathedral-Churches, Abbeys, Colledges, or other conventual places, uſurping the name and authority of the Church, to hurt the Patrimony thereof, or uſing any other Act to the prejudice of the ſame ſince the year 1560. by abuſion and corruption, contrary to the liberty of the Church and Laws of the Realm; which therefore ought to be annulled, reduced, and in time coming utterly diſcharged.

20. The dependences alſo of the Papiſtical Juriſdiction are to be aboliſhed, of which ſort is the mingled Juriſdiction of the Commiſſars, in ſo far as they meddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, and have no Commiſſion of the Church thereto, but were elected in time of our Sovereigns Mother, when things were out of order. It is an abſurd thing that divers of them having no Function in the Church, ſhould be Judges in depoſing Miniſters from their places. Wherefore they would be either diſcharged to meddle with Eccleſiaſtical matters, or it would be limited to them in what matters they might judge, and not hurt the liberty of the Church.

21. Anſwered before. 21. They alſo that before were of the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate in the Popes Church, or that are admitted of new to the Papiſtical titles, and now tolerated by the Laws of the Realm to poſſeſs the two parts of their Eccleſiaſtical Rents, ought not to have any farther liberty, but to intromet with the portion granted and aſſigned unto them for their life-times, and not under the abuſed titles which they carry to diſpone the Church-rents, ſetting in fews and leaſes the ſame at their pleaſure, to the great hurt of the poor laborers that dwell upon the Church-lands, and the prejudice of the Church, contrary to good conſcience and all order.

CHAP. 12. *Special Heads craved to be reformed.*

1. Agreed. 1. WHatſoever hath been ſpoken of Church-Offices, the ſeveral power of Office-bearers, their conjunct powers, and laſt of the Patrimony of the Church, we underſtand it to be the right Reformation which God requires: but becauſe ſomething would be touched in particular concerning the eſtate of the Country, and that which we crave preſently to be reformed in the ſame, we have collected them in the Heads following.

2. Agreed. 2. Seeing the whole Country is divided in Provinces, and theſe Provinces in Pariſhes, as well to Landwart and in Towns, in every Pariſh and reaſonable Congregation there would be placed one or mo Paſtors, and no Paſtor or Miniſter be burthened with the Charge of more Churches than are allenarly.

3. Agreed. 3. And becauſe it will be thought hard to find out Miniſters to all the Pariſh-Churches of the Realm, we think, by the advice of ſuch as the Prince or Church may appoint, Pariſhes in ſmall Villages or to Landwart may be united, and the principal or moſt commodious Church, at which the Miniſter reſides, repaired ſufficiently; the reſt that are not found neceſſary being ſuffered to decay, and the Church-yards reſerved for Burial-places. As alſo where the Congregation is too large, the ſame would be divided.

4. Agreed. 4. Doctors would be appointed in Univerſities, Colleges and other places needful for opening the Scriptures, and teaching the Rudiments of Religion, who would alſo be ſufficiently provided.

5. Deferred until joyning of Churches. 5. As to Elders, there would be in every Congregation one or mo appointed for cenſuring of manners, but not an Aſſembly of Elders, except in Towns and famous places, where men of judgment and ability may be had: And theſe to have a common Elderſhip placed among them, to treat of all things that concern the Congregations of whom they have the overſight.

6. Agreed as depending on the former. 6. And as there ought men to be appointed for the dividing or uniting of Pariſhes, as need and commodity requires; ſo by the general Church, with the conſent of the Prince, ſome that fear God, and know the eſtate of the Countrys, would be choſen to deſign the places where particular Elderſhips ſhould convene; taking conſideration of the Dioceſes, as they were divided of old, and of the eſtate of the Countrys and Provinces.

7. Likewiſe

7. Likewiſe concerning Provincial and Synodal Aſſemblies, conſideration would be taken how many, and in what places they ſhould convene: how often the ſame muſt be referred to the liberty of the general Church. *An.* 1578. 7. Paſſed over in the Article of Provincial Aſſemblies.

8. The National Aſſemblies, called commonly the General, ought to be maintained in their liberty, and have their own place, with power to the Church to appoint times and places of meeting; and all men, as well Magiſtrates as Subjects, be ſubject to their judgment in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, without reclamation or appellation to any Judge, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical. 8. Agreed as before.

9. The liberty of electing perſons to Eccleſiaſtical Functions, obſerved without interruption ſo long as the Church was not corrupted by Antichriſt, we deſire to be reſtored and retained within this Realm; ſo as none be intruded upon any Congregation, either by the Prince or any other inferiour perſon, without lawful Election and the Aſſent of the People over whom the perſon is placed, according to the practice of the Apoſtolick and Primitive Church. 9. Agreed to the general.

10. And becauſe this order cannot ſtand with Patronages and Preſentation of Benefices uſed in the Popes Church, we deſire all thoſe that truly fear God to conſider, that Patronages and Benefices have no ground in the Word of God, but is contrary to the ſame, and to the liberty of election of Paſtors, and ought not now to have place in the light of Reformation: And therefore whoſoever will embrace the light of Gods Word, and deſires the Kingdom of his Son *Jeſus* Chriſt to be advanced, would alſo embrace and receive the Policy which the Word of God craves, otherwiſe it is in vain that they have profeſſed the ſame. 10. Referred.

11. Notwithſtanding, for other Patronages of Benefices not having *Curam animarum*, ſuch as Chaplanries, Prebendaries, founded upon Temporal lands, Annuals, or ſuch like, they may be reſerved to the ancient Patrons, and be diſponed by them to Scholars, Burſers, when they fall void, as they are required by Act of Parliament. 11. To be ſought of the Parliament.

12. As to the Church-rents in general, we deſire that order be maintained and admitted, which may ſtand with the ſincerity of Gods Word and practice of the Church of Chriſt in the pureſt times thereof: that is, that the whole Patrimony of the Church (the ſmall Patronages before mentioned being excepted) may be divided in four portions, one thereof to be aſſigned to the Paſtor, for his entertainment and keeping Hoſpitality; another to the Elders, Deacons, and other Officers of the Church, as Clerks of Aſſemblies, takers up of Pſalms, Beadles, and Keepers of the Church, ſo far as they are neceſſary, joyning therewith the Doctors of Schools, for help of the old Foundations, where need requires; the third portion to be beſtowed upon the poor members of Chriſt; and the fourth upon the Reparations of Churches, and other extraordinary charges, that are profitable to the Church and Common-wealth. 12. Referred to the head of Deacons.

13. We deſire therefore the Eccleſiaſtical goods to be uplifted and faithfully diſtributed by the Deacons, to whoſe Office the Collection and Diſtribution belongeth, that the poor may be anſwered of their portion, the Miniſters not diſtracted from their Callings, and the reſt of the Theſaury of the Church beſtowed upon the right uſes.

14. If theſe Deacons be elected with ſuch qualities as Gods Word requires, there is no fear to be taken of their abuſe: yet becauſe this Vocation appears to be dangerous to many, let them be obliged, as they were of old, in an yearly account to the Paſtors and Elderſhip; and, if the Church and the Prince think expedient, let ſurety be found for their fidelity, and that the Church-rents ſhall no way be dilapidated.

15. And to the effect this order may take place, all other intromettors with the Church-rents, Collectors general or ſpecial, whether by the appointment of the Prince, or otherwiſe, muſt be diſcharged of farther intromiſſion, and ſuffer the Church-rents hereafter to be wholly intrometted with by the Deacons, and diſtributed to the uſes before mentioned.

16. And alſo to the effect that the Eccleſiaſtical Rents may ſuffice theſe uſes, we deſire all Alienations by Fews or Leaſes of the Rents of the Church, as well Lands as Tithes, in diminution of the old Rentals, to be reduced and annulled, & the Patri-

An. 1578. mony of the Church fully reſtored. As likewiſe that in time coming the Tithes be ſet to none but to the laborers of the ground, as was agreed, and ſubſcribed by the Nobility, or then not ſet at all.

CHAP. 13. *The Concluſion, ſhewing the Utility that ſhall flow from this Reformation in all Eſtates.*

1. SEing the end of this Spiritual Government and Policy is, that God may be glorified, the Kingdom of *Jeſus* Chriſt advanced, and they who are of his myſtical body live peaceably, keeping a good Conſcience; we do boldly affirm that all who have true reſpect to theſe ends, will even for conſcience cauſe gladly agree, and conform themſelves to this order, advancing the ſame ſo far as lies in them; that their Conſcience being ſet at reſt, they may be repleniſhed with ſpiritual gladneſs in giving full obedience to Gods Word, & refuſing all corruption contrary to the ſame.

Next, this Realm ſhall become an enſample and pattern of good and godly order to other Nations, Countries, and Churches profeſſing the ſame Religion; that as they have praiſed God for our continuing in the ſincerity of the Word without all Errors, ſo they may have the like occaſion when we ſhall conform our ſelves to that Diſcipline, Policy, and good order, which the ſame Word and purity of Reformation craves at our hands: otherwiſe that fearful ſentence may be juſtly ſaid to us, *That Servant that knoweth the Maſters will, and doth it not*, &c.

3. Moreover, if we have any pity or reſpect of the poor members of *Jeſus* Chriſt, who greatly increaſe and multiply amongſt us, we will not ſuffer them to be longer defrauded of that part of the Patrimony of the Church that juſtly belongeth to them. And by this order, if it be duly put in Execution, the burthen of the Poor ſhall be taken off the Country, and the ſtreets cleanſed of their cryings and murmurings, ſo as we ſhall not be any more a ſcandal to other Nations, as we have hitherto been.

4. Beſides, it ſhall be a great eaſe and commodity to the whole Commons, relieving them of the building and repairing of their Churches, Bridges, and other like publick works; it ſhall be a relief to the laborers of the ground in paiment of their Tithes, and all other things wherein they have hitherto been rigorouſly uſed by them that were falſly called Church-men, and their Task-men, Factors, Chamberlains, and Extortioners.

5. Finally, to the Kings Majeſty and Eſtate this profit ſhall redound, that the affairs of the Church being ſufficiently provided according to the foreſaid diſtribution, the *Superplus* may be liberally beſtowed for the ſupporting the Prince's Eſtate, and the affairs of the Common-wealth.

6. So to conclude all, being willing to apply themſelves to this Order, the people ſuffering themſelves to be ruled according thereto, the Princes and Magiſtrates not exempted, and they that are placed in the Eccleſiaſtical eſtate ruling and governing rightly, God ſhall be glorified, the Church edified, and the bounds thereof enlarged, Chriſt *Jeſus* and his Kingdom advanced, Satan and the Kingdom of Darkneſs ſubverted, and God ſhall dwell in the midſt of us to our comfort in *Jeſus* Chriſt, who with the Father and Holy Ghoſt abideth bleſſed in all eternity. *Amen.*

The courſe the Aſſembly took for admitting this form of Policy.

THis was the form of Policy preſented to the Parliament, and the effect of the Commiſſion granted for the ſame. Such general Heads as did not touch the Authority of the King, nor prejudge the Liberty of the Eſtate, were eaſily agreed. The reſt were paſſed over or deferred, as we have ſeen, to farther reaſoning; which could not after this time be obtained of the Council, one excuſe or other being ſtill pretended. The Miniſters perceiving they would not ſpeed this way, did in their next Aſſembly reſolve to put their Concluſions in practice, without inſiſting any more for Ratification thereof. And beginning with Mr. *James Boyd*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, whom they hoped to find moſt tractable, he was deſired to ſubmit himſelf to the Aſſembly, and to ſuffer the Corruptions of the Epiſcopal eſtate to be reformed in his Perſon. After long reaſoning kept with him by the Moderator *David Ferguſon*

The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* urged to ſubmit himſelf.

Ferguſon, and ſome others, he preſented his Anſwer in writing. *An.* 1578.

The Archbiſhops Anſwer preſented in writing.

I underſtand the Name, Office, and Reverence given to a Biſhop to be lawful, and allowable by the Scriptures of God; and being elected by the Church and King to be Biſhop of Glaſgow, *I eſteem my Calling and Office lawful, and ſhall endeavour with all my power to perform the duties required, ſubmitting my ſelf to the judgment of the Church, if I ſhall be tried to offend, ſo as nothing be required of me but the performance of thoſe duties which the Apoſtle preſcribeth. As to the Rent, Living, and Priviledges granted to me and my Succeſſors, I think I may lawfully and with a good Conſcience enjoy the ſame. And for aſſiſting the King with my beſt ſervice in Council and Parliament, as my ſubjection ties me thereto, ſo I eſteem it no hurt, but a benefit to the Church, that ſome of their number ſhould be always preſent at the making of Laws and Statutes; wherein for my ſelf I neither intend, nor by the grace of God ſhall ever do any thing but that which I believe may ſtand with the purity of the Word of God, and the good of the Church and Country.*

This anſwer read in open Aſſembly was judged inſufficient, and he required to bethink himſelf better, and be preſent in the afternoon. But he excuſing himſelf, returned not to the Aſſembly: whereupon Commiſſion was given to Mr. *Andrew Hay*, Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, and ſome Brethren in the Weſt; to urge his Subſcription to the Act made at *Striveling* for Reformation of the eſtate Epiſcopal; & if he did refuſe, to proceed againſt him with the Cenſures of the Church. The Biſhop taking grievouſly theſe proceedings, and having received about the ſame time a great wrong at the hands of his Couſin *Robert Boyd*, of *Baydinbeth*, by the demoliſhing of the houſe of *Lockwood*, which is in the Barony of *Glaſgow*, contracted a melancholy, whereof he died not long after at *Glaſgow*. Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to *Glaſgow*, placed him Principal in the Colledge, beſtowed otherwiſe liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindneſs with moſt diſgraceful contempt. In private, and at the Biſhops Table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did uſe him with greater reſpect, giving him his Titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings, where he owed him greateſt reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and uſe him moſt uncivilly. The Commiſſion of the Aſſembly he exerced with all rigour, and by threatning the Biſhop with the Cenſures of the Church, induced him to ſet his hand to certain Articles, which, as he profeſſed in his ſickneſs, did ſore vex his mind; yet being comforted by Mr. *Andrew Polwart*, Subdean of *Glaſgow*, he departed this life in great quietneſs. He was a wiſe, learned, Religious Prelate, and worthy to have lived in better times than he fell into. His Corps was ſolemnly buried in the Quire of the Cathedral, and laid in the Sepulchre of Mr. *Gawan Dumbar*, one of his Predeceſſors.

The anſwer doth not content the Aſſembly.

The Archbiſhop contracts ſickneſs, and dieth.

The ſmall reſpect carried to Biſhops in theſe Aſſemblies of the Church made them diſhaunt and come no more unto the ſame. Yet matters went on; and becauſe the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* did abſent himſelf, Commiſſion was given to certain of their number to call him before them, and charge him to remove the Corruptions in the eſtates of Biſhops in his own Perſon, which they reckoned to be ſeven; ordaining him, and the Biſhops that would ſubmit themſelves to correction, to ſet their hands to the Conditions following.

The conditions preſcribed to Biſhops.

1. That they ſhould be content to be Miniſters and Paſtors of a Flock.
2. That they ſhould not Uſurp any criminal Juriſdiction.
3. That they ſhould not vote in Parliament in name of the Church, unleſs they had a Commiſſion from the general Aſſembly.
4. That they ſhould not take up for maintaining their ambition the Rents which might maintain many Paſtors, Schools, and Poor, but content themſelves with a reaſonable portion for diſcharging their Office.
5. That they ſhould not claim the title of Temporal Lords, nor uſurp any Civil Juriſdiction, whereby they might be withdrawn from their Charge.
6. That they ſhould not empire over Presbyteries, but be ſubject to the ſame.
7. That they ſhould not uſurp the power of Presbyteries, nor take upon them to viſit any bounds that were not committed to them by the Church.

An. 1578. Laſtly, it was provided, that if any more Corruptions ſhould afterwards be tried, the Biſhops ſhould agree to have them reformed.

What troubles hereupon aroſe, both in the Church and Country, we ſhall afterwards hear.

A Tumult in *Glaſgow* for pulling down the Cathedral.

In *Glaſgow* the next Spring there happened a little diſturbance by this occaſion. The Magiſtrates of the City, by the earneſt dealing of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and other Miniſters, had condeſcended to demoliſh the Cathedral, and build with the materials thereof ſome little Churches in other parts for the eaſe of the Citizens. Divers reaſons were given for it; ſuch as the reſort of ſuperſtitious people to do their devotion in that place; the huge vaſtneſs of the Church, and that the voice of a Preacher could not be heard by the multitudes that convened to Sermon; the more commodious ſervice of the people; and the removing of that Idolatrous Monument (ſo they called it) which was of all the Cathedrals in the Country only left unruined, and in a poſſibility to be repaired. To do this work, a number of Quarriers, Maſons, and other Workmen was conduced, and the day aſſigned when it ſhould take beginning. Intimation being given thereof, and the Workmen by ſound of a Drum warned to go unto their work, the Crafts of the City in a tumult took Arms, ſwearing with many oaths, that he who did caſt down the firſt ſtone ſhould be buried under it. Neither could they be pacified, till the Workmen were diſcharged by the Magiſtrates. A complaint was hereupon made, and the principals cited before the Council for Inſurrection: where the King, not as then thirteen years of age, taking the protection of the Crafts, did allow the oppoſition they had made, and inhibited the Miniſters (for they were the complainers) to meddle any more in that buſineſs, ſaying, *That too many Churches had been already deſtroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuſes in that kind.*

The matter brought before the Council.

The Abbot of *Dunfermlin* returned from *England*.

A little before this time the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, being returned from *England*, related in Council the effects of his Negotiation, and was approved by all. For that which he had in Commiſſion touching the Lady *Lennox*, he remitted the anſwer to the Queens own Letters delivered to the King. Concerning the Diſorders fallen out in the Borders, the Queen, he ſaid, did accept the excuſe he made in good part, ſaying, ſhe was aſſured that both the King and Council were offended therewith, and that ſhe was content the ſame ſhould be redreſſed by the advice of the Wardens on both ſides: only deſired that in time coming the King would make choice of wiſe and experienced men, inclined to peace and juſtice, to command in thoſe parts. As to the League, he declared that the Queen had a good inclination unto it, holding the ſame a moſt ſure means to repreſs the practices of Enemies both at home and abroad: But in regard he had no warrant to deſcend into particulars, he had abſtained from any dealing therein, and could not but teſtifie that he ſaw in her a great care of the King his good eſtate, and that both he and his meſſage were moſt kindly accepted.

The report of his Commiſſion.

The Lord *Ruthven* made Lieutenant of the Borders.

The King in this mean time, to pacifie the Borders, which were broken looſe, chiefly in the Weſt parts, gave the Lord *Ruthven* a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry, which he diſcharged with great commendation, and bringing with him the Lord *Maxwel*, who was Warden of the bounds, returned to *Striveling* the twentieth of *January*. A frequent Council was there kept for the time, wherein the Lord *Maxwel* being challenged of negligence in his office, did anſwer, *That he had only the title of a Warden, and that the limitations of his charge, and the exceptions granted to the Gentlemen of the Country, made the Office needleſs and contemptible. But if the King ſhould be pleaſed to diſcharge the exceptions, and give him a free Commiſſion, ſuch as his Predeceſſors had wont to have, he ſhould ſtrive to do his beſt ſervice to his Majeſty and the Country.* This anſwer was not well taken, and the Lord *Hereis* (as one known to have greateſt experience in theſe matters) being deſired to give his opinion, delivered the ſame in a long ſpeech, to this purpoſe. *Your Majeſty*, ſaid he, *hath in deliberation a buſineſs of great importance, whereof it were more fitting any man ſhould give his opinion than I, by reaſon of the ſuſpicion I ſtand in with the preſent Warden; for what I ſay will be interpreted to proceed of ſpleen, & of a deſire to have the charge taken from him, and not of any care I take of your*

your Majeſties ſervice, or the good and benefit of the Country: yet ſeeing your Majeſty commands me to ſpeak, I will rather hazard on ſuch miſinterpretings, than keep back any thing which I know to be uſeful and neceſſary for the errand. And what I ſpeak, I deſire it to be underſtood of the Weſt Marches only, to which my experience chiefly reacheth. But becauſe the evils would firſt be known, I will begin at them, and then propone the fitteſt and moſt eaſie remedies to my conception. Sir, a little before the death of your Majeſties Noble Grandfather, King James *the Fifth, ſome few diſloyal Subjects of this Realm fleeing into* England, *did plant themſelves in a parcel of waſte ground that lies oppoſite to the Weſt Borders of* Scotland, *and being maintained by the* Engliſh, *grew unto ſuch numbers, and became ſo inſolent, as they made daily Incurſions upon the Country. Your Majeſties Grandfather did hereupon imploy certain forces againſt them, intending to ſack and deſtroy their houſes, & make them unable from thenceforth to annoy his ſubjects. But theſe forces not being rightly governed, and lacking the proviſion that was required for ſuch an enterpriſe, were put to the worſe, and ſhamefully diſcomfited. At that time, what by ranſoming priſoners, what by the ſpoil they got, they gain'd above one hundred thouſand Marks, wherewith, and by the depredations they have made ſince that time, they are become wealthy, have built eight or nine ſtrong houſes upon the Frontiers of your Realm, that no Wardens power is able to force. They have joyned in Alliance with divers of our own Borders, as wickedly diſpoſed as themſelves, and are ſo feared, that every man is glad of their friendſhip, without which none is thought to have any ſurety either of life or goods. When your Grandfather departed this life, which was in the year* 1542, *they did not exceed the number of* 20 *or* 30 *men at moſt. Now they are grown to three or four hundred, dwell nigh to others, are well Armed, have good horſes, and upon a ſimple ſhout are ready to joyn in defence one of another. The Borderers on the* Scots *ſide are not in this condition; for the ſpace of twenty miles there is not a ſtrength in which an honeſt man may ſleep ſafe, no Town nor ſtrong hold to retire unto in time of neceſſity, neither is the Country populous, nor is it fruitful, the ground being a paſture ground, barren, and profitable only for the beſtial; the people that inhabit the ſame, poor, unruly, and not ſubject to order. So what for the number of theſe wicked men that live in the* Engliſh *Borders, what for the evil diſpoſition of our own, it is a charge moſt difficile to guard theſe Marches, & to contain the people from doing or receiving wrong. The only remedy in this time of Peace is, to keep our own Countrymen in awe and fear of Juſtice, ſo as neither they break looſe themſelves, nor have any dealing with their neighbours under-hand in their wicked practices. And how this may be done moſt ſurely, your Majeſty and this Honourable Council is to think; my Opinion I have ſet down in ſome Articles, which I humbly ſubmit to your Majeſties and Councils cenſure.* An. 1579.

Having thus ſpoken, he preſented a writing, containing theſe Heads.

Articles preſented by the Lord *Hereis.*

1. That the Warden ſhould make his reſidence in *Lochmaben* with his Family; and if in the Winter ſeaſon he made his ſtay in *Dumfreis*, he ſhould Depute a ſufficient Gentleman for holding Courts of Juſtice weekly, according to the ancient form.
2. That the Warden ſhould be aſſiſted with five or ſix of the wiſeſt men in the Country, of which number two ſhould be of the name of *Johnſton*; and leſt their chief ſhould think the Wardens proceeding againſt his followers partial, and done out of old rancor, that a moderate courſe ſhould be kept in confiſcation of their goods, the half being allowed to the Wives and Children of them that ſhould happen to be convicted and executed, and the other half diſponed to the Laird of *Johnſton* himſelf.
3. That the Barons and landed men within the bounds ſhould preſent their tenants and ſervants as they ſhould be required, and no man excuſed or exempted.
4. That the Lords *Carlile* and *Hereis*, the Lairds of *Drumlanrig*, *Apilgirth*, *Lag*, and *Johnſton*, ſhould remain nigh to the Warden; and when the Lord *Maxwell* hath not the charge, that he be obliged to dwell in the Houſe of *Langhome*; or if he be Warden himſelf, that he maintain a Captain therein with twelve horſemen, to be ready upon all occaſions.

An. 1579.

5. That the Warden be allowed a guard of 24 horſemen with their Captain, who ſhall be laid in the Town of *Annand*.
6. That the Kings Houſes of *Lochmahen* and *Annand*, with the Watch-Tower, called *Repentance*, be repaired, a great bell and fire-pan put into it, with ſome honeſt man to watch and give warning to the Country where the fray is, and a husband land allowed for his ſervice.
7. That the Lands, called *The debateable Lands*, be viſited, that it may be known how much there is claimed by the broken men of the Country to be their ſteedings, and ſecurity taken of them for keeping good Order.
8. That days of Truce be kept every 40 days once, or within two months at leaſt, and ſuch as ſhall be found to be robbed of their goods be redreſſed to the double, and with ſafer, according to the Law of Marches.

Laſtly, that his Majeſty every year in the month of *September*, ſend one or two of the Council to try the eſtate of the Country, what Duty the Warden doth, and if the Barons and landed men do give their aſſiſtance; that where any defect is found, the ſame may be puniſhed.

The Lord *Maxwel* excepteth againſt the Articles.

At theſe Articles the Lord *Maxwel* took exception, eſpecially at the firſt and ſecond: for the Houſe of *Lochmahen* he ſaid was his own, as heritable Steward of *Annandale*; and that any part of the Eſcheats ſhould be given to the Laird of *Johnſton*, he held it prejudicial to the Wardens Office, and ſaid, it would be an occaſion for other Barons to ſuit the like. But that which did moſt diſpleaſe him (though this he diſſembled) was, that any ſhould be joyned with him as aſſiſters: for he would needs be abſolute in theſe parts, and have all to depend of him; which ambition he ſtill nouriſhed, and thereby in end wrought his own ruine. Yet the King, not willing to diſplace him (for he underſtood his power to be great in theſe Marches) made offer to continue him in the charge, and to allow him a company of 24 horſemen with a Captain for repreſſing the outlaws, upon three conditions. Firſt, that he ſhould take the advice of the Barons of the Country in all affairs, and proceed in the miniſtring of juſtice by their counſel. Next, that none ſhould be declared fugitives but by their conſents. And, Thirdly, that the ſervants of landed men ſhould not be apprehended, till their Maſters were firſt charged to exhibit them, unleſs they were taken in the fact, and, as they ſpeak, *with the red hand*. He excuſing himſelf, and profeſſing a great willingneſs to give his attendance to any other whom his Majeſty ſhould appoint; the Lord *Hereis* was choſen Warden, and the cuſtody of the Weſt Marches committed to him.

The Earl of *Athol* dieth.

In the beginning of this year (to wit, upon the 24 of *April*) the Earl of *Athol* died at *Kincarne* of a ſickneſs contracted in *Striveling*, where he and ſome other Noblemen had been feaſted by the Earl of *Morton*; and, as report ſpeaketh always the worſt of great mens deaths, ſo the rumor at this time went, that *Morton* had made him away by poiſon: which his Lady and friends did ſo ſtrongly apprehend, as when the Council was examining the Phyſicians that embalmed his Corps, whether they perceived any ſign of poiſon at his unbowelling, they took upon proteſtation, that the trial of the Council ſhould not prejudge the criminal purſuit which they intended before the Juſtice. And albeit the Phyſicians did upon their oaths declare that his death was not cauſed by any extraordinary mean, yet the ſcandal was foſtered a long time by a ſort of rhyming libels, which were afterwards tried to be compoſed by one *Turnbull* a Schoolmaſter at *Edinburgh*, and another called *William Scot*, who were executed for the ſame at *Striveling* in the end of the Summer.

Certain Libellers executed at *Striveling*.

Commiſſion for apprehending the Lord *Hamilton* and his Brother Lord *Claud*.

A conſultation was held at the ſame time in *Striveling*, for puniſhing the Murtherers of the two Regents, which by the edict of Pacification was delayed unto the King his aſſuming of the Government in his own Perſon. Touching the form of proceeding, the opinions of thoſe that were privy to the buſineſs were different: for ſome thought that the perſons who were ſuſpected ſhould be ſummoned to a day, and form of Proceſs kept with them; others judged that there needed no ſuch formality, ſeeing the Authors were known, and the ſentence of Forfeiture pronounced

nounced againſt them ſtood unreduced. To uſe a Citation, they ſaid, was to give them warning to flee, whereas otherwiſe they might be taken unprovided, and brought to their cenſure. At laſt it was agreed that a Commiſſion ſhould be given to ſome Noblemen that had power, and affected the buſineſs, to apprehend them. This Commiſſion was given to the Earls of *Morton*, *Marre*, and *Eglinton*, and to the Lords of *Ruthven*, *Cathcart*, and *Boyd*; which was not ſo cloſely carried, but advertiſement went to the Lord *Hamilton* and his Brother Lord *Claud*, ſo as they eſcaped. The Lord *Hamilton*, going on foot through the moſt part of *England* in the habit of a Seaman, fled into *France*. Lord *Claud*, after he had lurked a while amongſt his friends at home, found refuge in the North parts of *England*. Others of their friendſhip who ſtood in fear ſaved themſelves where beſt they could. *An.* 1579.

They eſcape and depart forth of the Realm.

Upon the report of their eſcape, charges were directed for rendering the Houſes of *Hamilton* and *Draffon*, which belonged to the Earl of *Arran* their elder Brother, and were poſſeſſed by the Lord *Hamilton* as Adminiſtrator to his Brother, becauſe of his deceaſe. The Earl of *Arran* himſelf they had kept in the Caſtle of *Draffan*, attended by ſome ſervants, and he was known to have no part in any of theſe facts wherewith they were charged, ſo as by way of Juſtice his Eſtate could not fall under forfeiture; yet ſome colour of right behoved to be made for bringing the ſame under the Courts diſpoſing. To this effect it was deviſed, that a Complaint ſhould be preferred in the name of the Earl of *Arran* and his Majeſties Advocates, bearing the miſerable condition of the ſaid Earl, and how he was detained in cloſe Priſon by his two brothers, without fire, air, and the company of his honeſt friends; his living violently poſſeſſed by the Commendators of *Aberbrothock*, his Sheriff-ſhip of *Lanrick* uſurped, himſelf denied the benefit of Marriage, and debarred from ſucceſſion, againſt all Law: for if he was an Idiot or furious (as they gave out) he ought to have had Curators given him by the King; and if he was *mentis compos*, it was an intolerable wrong to uſe him in that ſort. Therefore deſired letters to be directed for his exhibition before the Council, that it might be known in what eſtate he was, and an honourable proviſion appointed unto him, ſuch as befitted his birth and condition. This deſire being judged reaſonable, ſummons were directed againſt the two Brothers that were fled, and they not appearing at the day, were denounced Rebels. But this not ſufficing to work their ends, the diſobedience of the Keepers in not rendring the Strengths, when they were charged, was made the Earls crime, and he found to have incurred the pain of Treaſon; an act of the greateſt injuſtice that could be done. Nottheleſs upon this ground were both the Caſtles at that time demoliſhed, and Captain *James Stewart* afterwards preferred to the Earldom of *Arran*.

Charges directed for the rendring the Houſes of *Hamilton* and *Draffan*.

A complaint preſented in name of the Earl of *Arran*.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, *Monſieur No*, a *Frenchman*, Secretary to the Queen of *Scots*, came to *Striveling* with Letters and ſome Preſents to the King; but becauſe in the Superſcription of the Letters he was only intituled *Prince of Scotland*, the Meſſenger was denied acceſs, and neither his Letters nor Preſents received. The reſt of this Summer was ſpent for the moſt part in ſummoning the Gentlemen of the name of *Hamilton*, and putting them under ſurety, that they ſhould not give ſupply to the Fugitives, and be always ready to anſwer before the Council when they ſhould be called. Dame *Margaret Lion*, Counteſs of *Caſſils*, who not long before had married the Commendator of *Aberbrothock*, was ſuffered to poſſeſs the Joynture ſhe had by her firſt Husband upon the like condition. And becauſe many were put in fear, by this proceeding, that the Pacification of *Perth* ſhould be altogether annulled, his Majeſty made a publick Declaration, *That what was done in the preſent purſuit, was only for the Murther of his Father and Regents (unto which both in honour and conſcience he was tied) and that no Article of the Pacification ſhould be infringed or called in queſtion.*

The Queen of *Scots* her Secretary denied acceſs to the King.

The Gentlemen of the name of *Hamilton* put under ſurety.

In the beginning of *July* the Earl of *Athols* Funerals were performed with great ſolemnity, and his body interred in the Church of S. *Giles* at *Edinburgh*; after which *Colin*, Earl of *Argile*, was created Chancellor in his place. The King then reſolving to ſhew himſelf to his people, & to fall into the exerciſe of his Princely Authority, cauſed proclaim a Parliament to be kept at *Edinburgh* the twentieth of *October*.

The Earl of *Argile* created Chancellor.

A Parliament Indicted.

Whilſt

An. 1580. The Lord *D' Aubigny* cometh from *France.*

Whilſt things were preparing for his remove, the Lord *D' Aubigny* arrived from *France* of purpoſe to viſit the King, as being nigh of blood, and Couſin-german to his Father. The King receiving him kindly, after a few days entertaiment at *Striveling* took him in Company to *Edinburgh*, when he grew into ſuch favour by his courteous and modeſt behaviour, as the King would not permit him to return unto *France*; and moving his grand Uncle to reſign in his favours the Earldom of *Lennox*, he gave to him in recompence the title of the Earldom of *March*. Soon after the Abbacy of *Aberbrothock*, which was fallen by Lord *John Hamilton*'s forfeiture, was beſtowed on him, and he preferred to be one of the Privy Council.

He is created Earl of *Lennox.*

The Earl of *Lennox* hated becauſe of his credit with the King.

This ſudden and unexpected Preferment got him much hatred, and being of the *Roman* Profeſſion, his enemies filled the Country with rumors, that he was ſent from *France* only to pervert the King in his Religion. Nottheleſs in the Parliament which held at the time appointed divers good Acts were made in favor of the Church; but the matter of Juriſdiction, which the Miniſters did chiefly urge, was put off to a new Commiſſion. Some months before the King had required them, by a Letter directed with *John Doncanſon* his Miniſter, to abſtain from making any novation in the Church-Policy, and to ſuffer things to continue in the ſtate wherein they were unto the Parliament approaching, without prejudging the deciſion of the Eſtates by their Concluſions. But they, neglecting the Letter, went to examine the Conference kept at *Striveling* the year preceding; and whereas in that Conference divers heads were remitted to a farther conſultation, they ordained nothing to be altered either in form or matter of that which amongſt themſelves was concluded. They farther called the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* in queſtion for granting Collations upon ſome Benefices, and for giving voice in Parliament, not being authorized thereto by the Church. This did ſo diſpleaſe the King, as from that time forth he did not countenance the Miniſters as in former times; and upon the complaint of perſons who otherwiſe deſerved not much regard (that the Church might find in what need they ſtood of his favour) he ſuffered divers Sentences to paſs in Council, ſuſpending their Cenſures and Excommunications.

The King writeth to the Aſſembly of the Church.

The proceedings of the Church diſpleaſe the King

This diſſenſion betwixt the King and the Church brought with it many evils; for upon the notice of it, divers Jeſuites and Prieſts did reſort into the Country, and at home ſuch as were Popiſhly affected began openly to avow their Profeſſion. In S. *Andrews*, Mr. *Nicholl Burn*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in S. *Leonards* Colledge, made open Apoſtaſie from the Truth; as Mr. *Archibald* and *John Hamiltons*, Regents in the new Colledge, had (not long before) done. In *Dumfreis*, Mr. *Ninian Daliel* Schoolmaſter, did read to his Scholars the *Roman* Catechiſm; and in *Paiſlay* a number of Papiſts aſſembling together, did in deriſion ſing a Soul-Maſs for the Miniſters, as if they and their Religion had been utterly gone. Theſe things being complained of, and not much hearkened to, the Miniſters in their Sermons fell to regrate the countenance given to Papiſts in the Court, and the dangers wherein both the King and Country were brought by the ſecret practices of the *French*.

Jeſuites and Prieſts reſort to the Country

The King his care for reclaiming the Earl of *Lennox.*

The King, to ſtay theſe declaimings, which he knew to be made againſt the Earl of *Lennox*, called the Miniſters to *Edinburgh*, and ſhewed them what travel he had taken to convert his Couſin, and how he had obtained his conſent for taking a Miniſter in his houſe, which would be to good purpoſe, and ſerve both to debar Jeſuites from acceſs to the Nobleman, and win him by conference to a greater liking of the Truth, deſiring therefore that one of their number might be appointed for ſome ſhort ſpace to attend him. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, then Miniſter at *Leith*, being held the fitteſt, as well for his skill in the *French* Tongue, as for his moderation otherwiſe, was with the Kings approbation nominated to this ſervice; by whoſe labours the Nobleman was brought in a ſhort ſpace to joyn himſelf to the Church, and openly in S. *Giles* to renounce the Errors wherein he had been Educated. Yet did not this remove the jealouſies of the People, which were increaſed by the intercepting of certain Diſpenſations ſent from *Rome*; whereby *the Catholicks were permitted to promiſe, ſwear, ſubſcribe, and do what elſe ſhould be required of them, ſo as in mind they continned firm, and did uſe their diligence to advance in ſecret the* Roman *Faith.*

The Earl joyns himſelf to the Church, but is ſtill ſuſpected.

Theſe

Craig form a ſhort Confeſſion of Faith, wherein all the Corruptions of *Rome*, as well in Doctrine as outward Rites, were particularly abjured, and a clauſe inſerted (becauſe of theſe Diſpenſations) by which the Subſcribers did *call God to witneſs, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the ſaid Confeſſion, & did not feign or diſſemble in any ſort.* This confeſſion the King, for an Example to others, did publickly ſwear and ſubſcribe; the like was done by the whole Council and Court, and obſervers appointed to take notice of thoſe that did not reſort to Sermon, or behaved themſelves in any ſort ſcandalouſly. So careful was the King to have the Church ſatisfied, and the rumors of the Courts defection from Religion repreſſed. *An.* 1580. A Confeſſion of Faith formed becauſe of the Diſpenſations from *Rome*.

After this, all things continued quiet for a while, till by a bruit ſuddenly raiſed, none knew by whom, the Earl of *Morton* was taxed for keeping ſecret intelligence with the Queen of *England*, and a purpoſe he had to put the King in her hands. *Morton* complaineth of this in Council, and deſireth a Trial. But the King, not willing to make buſineſs for a Tale, whereof the Author would hardly be found, put it off, ſaying, that he knew it to be a lie, and a malicious invention of enemies, and thereupon ſent forth a Proclamation againſt lies and carriers of tales, tending to breed diſcord betwixt him and his Nobility. Yet, as if ſome ſuch thing had been feared, a motion was made ſome days after in Council for guarding the Kings Perſon, and electing of an high Chamberlain (which Office none had born for many years in this Kingdom) who ſhould have twenty four to attend him, all of them the Sons of Barons or Noblemen, and be ever at hand to accompany the King whitherſoever he went. A rumor raiſed againſt the Earl of *Morton*. A motion of electing a Chamberlain.

The motion was applauded of all, and after ſome ten days deliberation the Earl of *Lennox* preferred to the place. *Alexander Areskin*, Captain of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, was choſen to be his Deputy, and a Roll made of the Gentlemen that ſhould give attendance. Theſe were the Maſters of *Marſhal*, *Rothes*, *Caſſils*, *Lindeſay*, *Levingſton*, *Elphingſton*, *Hereis*, & *Ogilvy*, the Lairds of *Cowdinknowes*, *Bargainy*, *Bomby*, *Kilſyth*, *Minto*, *Strathurd*, and *Moncreeffe*, Mr. *Mark Ker* of *Preſton Grange*, *George Douglas* of *Rumgawy*, Captain *James Stewart*, ſon to the Lord *Ochiltrie*, *Alexander Ruthven* the Commendator of *Inchaffrey*, the Prior of *Coldingham*, *Alexander Home* of *North-Berwick*, & *James Chiſholm*. As extraordinaries, the Lord *Maxwel*, the Lairds of *Ceſford*, *Alexander Home* of *Manderſton*, and *William Stewart* of *Caverſton*, were added to the number. All theſe took the Oath of Fidelity to the King, and obedience to his Chamberlain in the things they ſhould be directed for his Majeſties Service. The Earl of *Lennox* created Chamberlain.

The Earl of *Morton*, albeit he was much diſpleaſed with theſe courſes, did carry a fair countenance, and concealing his diſcontents, waited ſtill on the King, and was aſſiſting in Council and publick meetings. Once he minded to have withdrawn himſelf from Court, and to have lived privately; but was detained by a diſſention that fell out in the time betwixt the Lord *Ruthven* and Maſter of *Oliphant*, who had married a Daughter of *Lochlevin*; whom whilſt he laboured to protect, he drew upon himſelf the hatred of the Lord *Ruthven*, and thereby was laid more open to the malice of his enemies. Sir *Robert Bowes* being ſent at the ſame time Ambaſſador from *England*, to charge the Earl of *Lennox* with ſome practices againſt the Peace of the two Realms, the blame, as well of his employments as his ſudden departing was laid upon him: for the Ambaſſadors Commiſſion and Inſtructions being queſtioned, and he deſired to exhibit the ſame before the Council, he refuſed to ſhew them but to the King himſelf; which not being admitted, he went away, complaining that the Queen had deſerved better than thus to have her Ambaſſage miſregarded. A trouble betwixt *Oliphant* and *Ruthven*. The Earl of *Lennox* charged by the Ambaſſador of *England*.

His ſudden departure amazed the Court not a little before, wherefore to excuſe the King, and try what the Accuſations were wherewith *Lennox* ſhould have been charged, *Alexander Home* of *North-Berwick* was ſent in Commiſſion to *England*: but the Queen denying him acceſs, he was remitted to the Lord Theſaurer, who courteouſly told him, *That the Queen had refuſed him preſence, not for any diſlike ſhe had of himſelf, whom ſhe knew to be ſound in Religion, and one that loved his King and his Country; but becauſe the King had not uſed her well, calling in queſtion the credit* *Alexander Home* ſent into *England*. He is remitted to the Lord Theſaurer.

An. 1580. The Theſaurers conference with *Alexander Home.*

credit of her Ambaſſador, and requiring him to ſhew his Inſtructions, which was ſtrange, he keeping himſelf within the bounds of his Commiſſion. But your King, ſaith he, *is young, and miſled by new Counſellors, whoſe fault the Queen knoweth it to be; I ſhould therefore adviſe your King to hearken to her Majeſties counſel, who carrieth to him a true Motherly affection, and make more account of her than of his* French *Couſin, who is ſubject to the* French *King, matched with a* French *woman, addicted wholly to that Faction, and, what profeſſion ſoever he maketh, a Papiſt in Religion. The* Hamiltons, ſaith he, *being now exiled, he hopeth to be deſigned Succeſſor and Heir to the Crown: but let your King know that Ambition hath no limits, and that the troubles which the* French *made in* Scotland *are not yet forgotten, which would have perilled the Liberty of that Kingdom, if the Queen by her prudence and power had not prevented the ſame.*

Alexander Home his anſwer to the Theſaurer.

The Gentleman profeſſing his thankfulneſs for her Majeſties good opinion of him, anſwer'd, 'That if he ſhould be permitted to ſpeak with the Queen, he would 'ſatisfie her Majeſty in that point which concerned her Ambaſſador. And for the 'King his Maſter, albeit he was young and of few years, yet God had given him 'great wiſdom and underſtanding; and that he would never willingly do the thing 'that might diſpleaſe the Queen, nor hearken to any that ſhould otherwiſe adviſe 'him; for he knew her Majeſties good affection, and would not forget the care 'ſhe had of him in his tender Age. That he could not be juſtly blamed for favour-'ing his Couſin; but as the Nobleman (he believed) would never adviſe the King 'his Maſter to any thing that might prejudice the Amity with *England*, ſo he was 'perſuaded that his credit did not extend ſo far as to make any publick breach 'with the Queen. *But there are more dangerous Plots in hand*, ſaid the Theſaurer, *than your King is wary of, and it is no wiſdom to put too much confidence in any one perſon. Always time will diſcover the truth of every thing; at the preſent you muſt have patience, for the Queen will not ſee you.* Thus was he dimitted.

Ult. Decemb.

The Earl of *Morton* challenged for the Murther of the Kings Father.

Upon his return, & report of the Conference he had with the Theſaurer, the King was eaſily made to believe that all proceeded from the Earl of *Morton* and his intelligence in the Court of *England*, which by one way or other was held needful to be ſtopt. After ſome conſultation taken about this, it was reſolv'd to charge him with the Murther of the Kings Father; for a rumor had gone in former times that he was conſcious and privy unto it. Captain *James Stewart* (a man eager to win credit by what means ſoever) takes the matter in hand, and coming one day as the King was ſitting in Council at *Halirudhouſe*, deſired to be heard; being admitted, he fell upon his knees, and directing his ſpeech to the King, he ſaid, *Out of the duty I owe to your Majeſty, I am come hither to reveal a Wickedneſs that hath been long obſcured. The Earl of* Morton, *who ſitteth there in a place unſeemly for him, was one of thoſe that conſpired your Fathers Death; and how dangerous it is to your Majeſties Perſon that he ſhould be ſo near unto you, let the Noblemen here preſent conſider: for me, I ſhall make good what I ſpeak, only let him be committed and put to trial.*

The Earl of *Morton* his anſwer.

The Earl riſing up with a diſdainful ſmile, anſwered, *By whoſe inſtigation this Gentleman cometh to accuſe me I know not, & I wonder what grounds he buildeth upon in charging me with this crime; for none that ever ſuffer'd for it did touch me therewith, and it is known what diligence and ſeverity I uſed againſt thoſe that were ſuſpected of that Murther. If I pleaſed I could many ways decline this challenge, but my Innocency is ſuch as I fear not the moſt rigorous trial. Sir* (with this he turned himſelf to the King and ſaid) *do in it as you pleaſe; either here or before any other Judge, I ſhall be ready to anſwer, and when my Innocency is cleared, your Majeſty will think what the malice of thoſe, that have ſet on this man to accuſe me, deſerveth.*

Captain *James Stewart* his reply.

Captain *James Stewart* ſitting all this time on his knees, replied, *that by no mans inſtigation, nor out of any private grudge of his own, did he intend this accuſation, but his deteſtation of the fact, & the love of his Majeſties ſafety & honor, had only incited him thereto. For that he ſpeaks of his diligence & ſeverity; let me but ask him,* ſaid he, *how & why he did prefer Mr.* Archibald Douglas *his Couſin to the place of a Senator in the Colledge of Juſtice, who was known to have been an actor in that Murther, if he himſelf had no part in it.* As the Earl was about to anſwer, the King commanded

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the Captain to go forth, and the Earl being likewiſe removed, after a ſhort deliberation taken with the Council he was committed in a Chamber of the Palace, where he abode two nights. The third day he was conveyed to the Caſtle with a company of his own friends, who did earneſtly move him to make an eſcape. But he chiding them with great bitterneſs ſaid, *That he had rather die ten thouſand deaths than betray his Innocency in declining Trial.* After ſome few days he was removed to *Dunbritton* Caſtle, that he might be the farther from his Friends, and kept from all intelligence with them. The King had ſent privily to apprehend Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, who dwelt then at *Norham*; but he having notice of the Earls committing, fled into *England*. *An.* 1580. *Morton* is committed 2. *Januarii.* 18. *Januar.*

In the *July* preceding the Aſſembly of the Church had convened at *Dundy*, where it was concluded, *That the Office of a Biſhop, as it was then uſed and commonly taken within the Realm, had neither foundation, ground, nor warrant in the Word of God; and thereupon an Ordinance was made, that all perſons, either called to the ſaid Office, or that ſhould be called thereto at any time thereafter, ſhould be charged to demit and forſake the ſame, as an Office whereunto they are not called of God; as alſo to deſiſt and ceaſe from Preaching, miniſtring the Sacraments, or uſing in any ſort the Office of a Paſtor, till they ſhould be admitted of new of the general Aſſembly, under the pain of Excommunication.* In the end of the Act it was directed, *That concerning the Patrimony of the Church poſſeſſed by the Biſhops, the next Aſſembly ſhould reaſon and adviſe upon the diſponing thereof.* An Aſſembly of the Church, with their proceedings againſt the Biſhops.

Whether the folly or iniquity of this Ordinance was greater, it can hardly be ſaid; for granting that the Office of a Biſhop had been as they judged unlawful, there was no reaſon to diſcharge them of uſing the miniſterial Office till they ſhould be received of new. And what a fooliſh thing was it to think that the Prince and Eſtates would permit the Rents of the Biſhops to be diſponed at their appetites? They ſaw what was done with the other Prelaces, and how the Abbots and Priors were no ſooner declared to be no Office-bearers in the Church, but preſently they turned temporal Lords, and carried the Rents with them quite away from the Church. And could they look for other dealing with the Biſhopricks? Sure it was, if the titulars themſelves did not find the credit to enjoy them, that others of the Laiety would have invaded the ſame, as afterwards alſo they did. The iniquity of their proceedings.

But to paſs this, the Earl of *Lennox* deſiring by all means to win the favour of the Church, ſent to this Aſſembly Sir *William Stewart*, a Brother of *Traquaire*, with a Letter, to this effect: *That it was not unknown to them, how it had pleaſed God to bring him ſince his coming into the Country to the knowledge of the Truth, which he eſteemed more than all worldly happineſs, and that he had made open profeſſion thereof firſt in St.* Giles *Church at* Edinburgh, *and afterwards ſubſcribed the Confeſſion of Faith at* Striveling, *and was yet, if any farther was thought needful, ready to perform whatſoever ſhould be required; aſſuring them of his beſt advice in all things tending to God's glory, and to the good of the Church; requeſting, together with the aſſiſtance of their prayers, that he might continue in their good favours.* But all this could not remove their ſuſpicions of his counterfeiting, ſtill he was taxed in publick Sermons, and made odious to the people. Neither was it long after this Aſſembly diſſolved, that *John Dury*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, was called before the Council, and committed in the Caſtle for certain ſpeeches of that kind uttered by him in Pulpit; but upon the ſupplication of his fellow Miniſters, and promiſe of forbearing, he was after a ſhort ſtay in the Caſtle licenced to return to his Charge. A Letter from the Earl of *Lennox* to the Aſſembly. *John Dury* committed to the Caſtle.

In *October* following Mr. *John Row*, Miniſter of *Perth*, departed this life, who for his Piety and ſingular moderation deſerveth here to be mentioned. In his younger years having applied his mind to Letters, and taking the degree of a Maſter in Arts, he became a pleader in the Conſiſtory of S. *Andrews* (a Judicatory then much frequented) and grew to be ſo skilled in the Cannon Law, as he was choſen to negotiate the affairs of the Church in the Court of *Rome*. *Julius* the Third did then govern that See, of whom he was well accepted, and in poſſibility to have attained unto ſome preferment if he would have ſtayed there; for he gained the favour of all to whom he was known, and was in ſpecial grace with *Guido Aſcanius Sforti*a, The death of Mr. *John Row*.

An. 1580. *Sfortia*, Cardinal of *Santta Flora*, who made ſuch account of his skill and knowledge in the Laws, that he would have him paſs Doctor in the Univerſity whereof he was Chancellor. After ſome eight or nine years abode in thoſe parts, coming home to viſit his Country, and giving account of the affairs wherewith he had been truſted, he found the ſtate of the Church quite overturned, and the Country all in Tumult by the Reformation which was then in hand. Thereupon doubting what courſe then to take, and minding to return to *Rome*, he was diſſuaded by the Prior of S. *Andrews*, who held him in good eſteem, and afterwards induced by the perſwaſion of *John Knox* to betake himſelf to the Miniſtry, which he exerciſed a certain ſpace at --- in *Fife*, till by the general Aſſembly he was tranſlated to the Town of *Perth*; there he continued unto his death, which happened in the year of our Lord 1580, and of his age the 54. A man whilſt he lived well reſpected, and much lamented at his death by the people whom he ſerved.

An Ambaſſador from *England*.

In *January* next Sir *Thomas Randolph* came Ambaſſor from *England*. His Errand was to intercede with the King for the Earl of *Morton* his Liberty; to which purpoſe, having called to mind the ſervices done by the Nobleman in his Majeſties Minority, and chiefly the diligence he had uſed in finding out and puniſhing the Murtherers of his Father, which by the malice of his adverſaries was now laid to his charge, he requeſted in the name of the Queen his Miſtreſs, that the Nobleman might be releaſed from his Ward, declaring that her Majeſty would eſteem it a ſingular kindneſs done unto her, and otherwiſe would take it ill to be denied in ſo juſt and reaſonable a matter. The King, after he had heard him patiently, made anſwer,

His Majeſties anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

That the many good offices he had received from his Siſter the Queen did tie him to a thankful requital, but in that particular which touched him ſo nigh (the trial of his Fathers Murther) he knew ſhe would excuſe him; always, becauſe of her interceſſion, he would be the more careful to have the Trial rightly carried, and as liberty had been given to his adverſaries to accuſe, ſo the like, and greater ſhould be allowed him for his defence.

An Aſſembly of the Eſtates.

The Aſſembly of the Eſtates being called at the ſame time, and the Ambaſſador pretending that his Inſtructions concerned them in a part, did in the hearing of them all charge the Earl of *Lennox* as one that had travelled to divert the Kings mind from keeping Friendſhip with *England*, and done beſides many ill offices ſince his coming to *Scotland*, both to the King and Kingdom; *For he hath put*, ſaid he, *the Kings moſt faithful ſubjects and ſervants from their places, brought in others nothing ſo truſty, ſtirred up the King againſt the Miniſters of Gods Word, making no other account of them than as of Seditious Rulers and turbulent Perſons; he hath looſed the Borders*, ſaid he, *& made Juſtice there to ceaſe, and hath practiſed with foreign Princes for the invading of* England: which he offered to manifeſt by Letters intercepted and brought to the Queen his Miſtreſs. *But this beyond all meaſure doth grieve her, that a Prince of ſuch hopes, joyned in ſuch nearneſs of blood, and for whom ſhe had taken ſo great care, ſhould be thus miſled and abuſed by wicked devices. If ſuch a perſon ought to be tolerated to poſſeſs the King alone, and rule all things at his pleaſure, your honours may judge.* This diſcourſe moved few or none, the wiſer ſort eſteeming the Letters he produced counterfeit, as afterwards alſo was known.

The Ambaſſador laboureth with Noblemen to take Arms for *Morton*'s Liberty.

This courſe not prevailing, he dealt privately with the Friends of *Morton*, and thoſe that he knew envied *Lennox* his credit, to take Arms, and procure both *Mortons* Liberty and the Baniſhment of the Earl of *Lennox*; aſſuring them of aid both of men and monies from the Queen of *England*: and by his perſuaſions brought the Earls of *Argile*, *Montroſs*, *Angus*, *Marre*, and *Glencarn* to enter into a Confederation for performance both of the one and other. But this Combination held not long, being quickly diſcovered and broken. Of all the number *Angus* and *Marre* only ſtood firm, reſolving to hazard all, rather than *Morton* ſhould periſh.

Forces ſent by the Queen of *England* to the Borders.

The Queen of *England*, to make good her Ambaſſadors promiſe, ſent down at the ſame time certain forces to the Borders; which troubled the Court a little, but was to no purpoſe, only it gave occaſion to haſten *Mortons* Trial and Execution. The King, not to be taken unprovided, if Invaſion ſhould be made by *England*, ſent forth Proclamations, commanding all the ſubjects to be in a readineſs for reſiſting ſuch attempts; and withal levied ſome companies of horſe and foot, to guard his

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perſon againſt any ſudden aſſault. Next, a courſe was taken for confining thoſe of *Morton*'s friendſhip in ſome remote parts of the Realm, and the Earl of *Angus* charged to keep Ward beyond the River of *Spey*, the Laird of *Lochlevin* being beyond the water of *Cromarty*. The Lairds of *Mains* and *Carmichael*, with *Morton*'s two natural Sons, *James* and *Archibald*, were cited to appear before the Council. The Laird of *Johnſton* was diſcharged of his Wardenry in the Weſt Marches, and the Lord *Maxwel* put in his place. *Angus*, for not entring within the time prefixed, was denounced Rebel, and prohibitions made to reſſet or ſupply him in any ſort under pain of Treaſon. *Mains* and *Carmichael*, and *Morton*'s two Sons not appearing before the Council, were likewiſe proclaimed Rebels. *An.* 1581. The proceeding againſt *Morton*'s friends at Court.

This rigorous proceeding, and a fear the Ambaſſador took that his practices were diſcovered, made him to depart ſecretly to *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton*, Maſter of the horſes, was thereupon directed to complain both of his dealings, and of the forces ſent unto the Borders in a time of Peace; but he was ſtayed at *Berwick*, and not ſuffered to go any farther. Then order was taken for bringing *Morton* to his Trial, and Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Montroſs* and Captain *James*, who was then firſt ſtyled Earl of *Arran*, to make his Convoy to *Edinburgh*. When the Commiſſion was ſhewed to the Earl of *Morton*, and that he found named in it *James* Earl of *Arran*, he wondered what man it was, for he knew the Earl of *Arran* to be deceaſed, and had not heard that Captain *James* did aſſume that title. Thereupon asking the Keeper of the Caſtle who was Earl of *Arran*; when it was anſwered, that Captain *James* was the man; after a ſhort pauſe, he ſaid, *And is it ſo? I know then what I may look for*; meaning, as was thought, that the old Prophecie of *the falling of the heart by the mouth of Arran* ſhould then be fulfilled. Whether this was his mind or not, it is not known; but ſome ſpared not at the time when the *Hamiltons* were baniſhed, in which buſineſs he was held too earneſt, to ſay, that he ſtood in fear of that Prediction, and went that courſe only to diſappoint it. But if ſo it was, he did find himſelf now deluded, for he fell by the mouth of another *Arran* than he imagined. However it was, this is ſure, that the news did at firſt perplex his mind not a little, and that after this time he gave over all hope of life. *An.* 1581. The Ambaſſador departeth ſecretly to *Berwick*. Sir *John Seaton* denied paſſage into *England*. *Morton* brought from *Dumbritton* to *Edinburgh*.

Being brought to *Edinburgh* his Proceſs was made the firſt of *June*. The Indictment charged him with conſpiring and concealing the Murther of King *Henry*, and of being *art and part* (as the phraſe is) in committing the ſame. He denied all, and pleaded not guilty. The Jurors being called, he excepted againſt *Argile*, the Lord *Seaton* and the Laird *Waughton*; yet they were all received upon their purgation, that they had not given any counſel to his hurt or prejudice. This done, and they all ſworn, according to the cuſtom, they went apart, and after they had conſulted a while, returning into the Court, the Earl of *Montroſs* Chancellor of the Aſſize, declared him convict of counſel, concealing, and being art and part of the Kings Murther. At theſe laſt words he ſhewed himſelf much grieved, and beating the ground once or twice with a little ſtaff he carried in his hand, ſaid, *Art and part, art and part! God knoweth the contrary*. When doom was given that he ſhould be taken to the place of Execution, hanged on the Gibbet, have his head cut off, his Body quartered and affixed in the moſt publick places, he uttered not a word, nor did he ſeem to be moved therewith; and becauſe it was drawing towards night, he was conveyed back to the Lodging wherein he was kept. *Morton* his Indictment. Sentence pronounced.

In the morning Mr. *James Lawſon* with two or three other Miniſters did viſit him. They asking how he had reſted that night, he anſwered, that of a long time he had not ſlept more ſoundly: *Now I am*, ſaith he, *at an end of my troubles; ſome nights before my trial I was thinking what to anſwer for my ſelf, & that kept me from ſleep, but this night I had no ſuch thoughts*. Then falling to ſpeak of his preſent caſe, & the Sentence pronounced againſt him, they ſaid, that he ſhould do well to unburthen his mind, and declare what his part was of the Kings Murther. He anſwered with a great atteſtation that he never gave conſent to that wicked fact. *The Earl* Bothwel, ſaid he, *upon my return from* England (*where I remained a while, becauſe of Seignior* Davies *ſlaughter*) *came to me in* Whittingham, *and after a long diſcourſe brake the matter unto me, ſaying that the Queen would have the King taken away, for that ſhe blamed* The Miniſters conference with the Earl of *Morton*.

An. 1581. *him more of* Davies *murther than all the actors; and asked what would my part be therein. I made him this anſwer, that being newly relieved of a great trouble, I would not willingly enter into another, and that I would have no medling in that buſineſs. He not ſatisfied with my anſwer, inſiſted to have me conſent, ſaying, the Queen would have it done. If ſo be, ſaid I, bring me the Queens hand-writing, that I may know that it is her mind. This he never did; and if he had brought it, I was fully reſolved to have turned my back upon* Scotland, *and baniſh'd my ſelf, till I ſaw better times.* Next, they inquired whether Mr. *Archibald Douglas* had any dealing with him in that purpoſe. Whereunto he anſwered, that Mr. *Archibald* (being at that time a depender upon *Bothwell*) did bring him (he being then at St. *Andrews*) a Letter from *Bothwell*, containing credit, and that he travelled to perſuade him to give his aſſiſtance to that fact: but he excuſed himſelf, becauſe he ſaw no warrant from the Queen, as *Bothwell* had promiſed. After the Murther committed, he ſaid that Mr. *Archibald* came again unto him, and told him that he did accompany *Bothwell* and *Huntley* to the place, and was aſſiſting to the fact. *Therefore can I not deny*, ſaith he, *that I fore-knew and concealed the ſame; but to whom ſhould I have revealed it? for the King, when he was advertiſed of the danger, would not believe it. But they have condemned me of art and part*, ſaid he, *which is more than concealing; but as I wiſh God to be merciful to me now at my laſt, I never gave counſel nor conſent thereto.* The Miniſters replying that he could not juſtly complain of the Sentence, being guilty of fore-knowledge and concealing by his own declaration; he acknowledged the ſame to be true: but, ſaith he, *It would have gone alike with me if I had been as innocent as St.* Steven, *or as guilty as* Judas. *But of that I am not to complain, nor will I ſtand to my juſtification, being aſſured, howſoever men have carried themſelves in it, God hath dealt juſtly with me; and that I am to ſuffer nothing but that which I have merited, yea worſe.*

The Sentence mitigated.

This Confeſſion reported to the King, the rigour of the Sentence was mitigated, and order given that he ſhould be beheaded only, and his body committed to burial. In the afternoon, when it was told him by his Keeper that the time was come, and all things were in a readineſs, he ſaid, *I praiſe God I am alſo ready*: and making forth, was met by the Earl of *Arran* in the very entry, who deſired him to ſtay and ſubſcribe his Confeſſion. He anſwered, *I pray you trouble me not, for I am now to prepare my ſelf for death, and cannot write in this eſtate.* The Earl ceaſing to urge that point any farther, deſired he might be reconciled with him, proteſting that he had done nothing upon any particular grudge: he anſwered, *It was no time to reckon quarrels, I forgive you and all others.* When he was come to the Scaffold, which was erected in the publick ſtreet, he repeated the ſubſtance of his Confeſſion; and in ſome few words exhorted the people to continue in the profeſſion of the true Religion, and maintain it at their power, intreating them to aſſiſt him with their prayers to God. The chief Miniſter did then conceive a prayer, during the time whereof he lay proſtrate upon his face, and was greatly moved, as appeared by the rebounding with many ſobs and ſighs. The prayer ended, divers came to be reconciled with him, whom he received very kindly: all the reſt that were on the ſcaffold he took by the hand, bidding them farewel, and going towards the Block, laid down his head, and cried aloud, *In thine hand, O Lord, I commit my ſpirit: Lord Jeſus receive my Soul.* Which words he was ſtill uttering whenas the Ax fell and cut off his head. His Corps left on the place, lay from the hour of Execution to Sun-ſetting, covered with a beggerly Cloak, every man fearing to ſhew any kindneſs, or ſo much as to expreſs a ſign of ſorrow. His Corps was afterwards carried by ſome baſe fellows to the common Sepulchre, and his head fixed on the *Tolbuith*.

Arran deſireth *Morton* to ſubſcribe his Confeſſion.

Morton his anſwer.

Morton his behaviour at his death.

Monton's qualities and good parts.

Never was ſeen a more notable example of Fortunes mutability: he who a few years before had been reverenced of all men, and feared as a King, abounding in wealth, honour, and number of friends and followers, was now at his end forſaken of all, and made the very ſcorn of Fortune; to teach men how little ſtability there is in honour, wealth, friendſhip, and the reſt of theſe worldly things which men ſo much admire. He was of a perſonage comely, of a mean ſtature, and a graceful countenance,

tenance, and ſingular courage, whereof in the civil Troubles he gave many proofs; wiſe and able for Government, a lover of juſtice, order, and policy; but inclined to covetouſneſs, which the wants and neceſſity he indured in his younger years was thought to have cauſed; and given too much to the pleaſures of the fleſh, as at his dying he acknowledged with a great remorſe. In this laſtly moſt happy, that though his death in the worlds eye was ſhameful and violent, yet did he take it moſt patiently, quitting this life with the aſſurance of a better. *An.* 1581.

Arrans proceeding againſt *Morton* and his ſervants approved.

The day following the Earl of *Arran* in Council made a diſcourſe of his proceedings in the trial of *Morton*, declaring what he had done, and how to come to the knowledge of the fact, for which he had ſuffered, he was forced to uſe ſome rigorous dealing towards his ſervants, and put certain of them to the torture: leſt this ſhould be imputed to him as a crime, his deſire was to have his Majeſties and the Councils approbation. This was eaſily obtained, and an Act made, ratifying all that he had done in that buſineſs, as good ſervice to his Majeſty and the Eſtate. Yet was it well enough known, that the inquiſition he made upon *Mortons* ſervants was to find out where his gold and mony was hidden, and for no purpoſe elſe.

Arran his Marriage with the Counteſs of *March*.

Near about the ſame time he took to Wife the Earl of *March* his Lady, a Woman intolerable in all the imperfections incident to that Sex. She had forſaken her Huſband not long before, and obtained ſentence againſt him for alledged impotency; yet was ſhe known to be with child even then by *Arran*, which made the Proceſs on her part more ſhameful: nor was his part a whit better, nay, rather much worſe, having been a long time entertained in the Noblemans houſe, and furniſhed by him in every thing neceſſary, whilſt his eſtate was but yet mean; to have repayed the Nobleman ſo diſhonourably, was accounted a vile ingratitude. The Marriage always went on, and their unlawful love held that way legitimated.

In *Auguſt* next, the Earl of *Lennox* was created Duke of *Lennox*, Lord *Robert Stewart*, Uncle to the King by his Mother, made Earl of *Orkney*, *William* Lord *Ruthven* Earl of *Gowry*, and *John* Lord *Maxwel* Earl of *Morton*. *Arran*, although he had aſſumed the title before, would then alſo be created Earl, which was done with great ſolemnity, and the firſt place beſtowed on him, for he would not endure to be ſecond to any, and took ſo ill the credit which he ſaw the Duke carried with the King, as he ſpared not to affront him at all occaſions. The Laird of *Farnhurſt* was then newly returned from *France*, where he had lived divers years in exile, and by the Dukes favour, to whom the King could deny nothing, had reſpite given him for certain crimes committed in the Kings Minority. As it was paſſing in Council, the Earl of *Arran* did proteſt againſt it, alledging an Oath made at *Striveling* by the Counſellors, not to give way to reſpites, or remiſſions granted to the Kings enemies. Herewith the Duke offended, and a great heart-burning grew amongſt them, which in the Parliament kept at *Edinburgh* in the moneth of *October* following burſt forth in an open breach. The queſtion was about ſome priviledges belonging to the Chamberlain in time of Parliament, which *Arran* would not acknowledge, taking upon him, as Captain of the Guard, to place near unto the King whom he pleaſed. The Duke not indaring this inſolency, abſented himſelf from Parliament; which did ſo irritate the King, as the next day he went to *Dalkeith*, taking the Duke with him, and charged *Arran* not to come towards Court. Many were glad to ſee them thus committed amongſt themſelves, and for a while matters went ſo hot, as it was not expected the diſcord ſhould be ſuddenly appeaſed. The Duke had the advantage of the Kings favour; *Arran* ſtrengthned himſelf with the common cauſe, giving out that the quarrel was for Religion, and for oppoſing the Dukes courſes, who craftily ſought the overthrow thereof. And all this time the frowning of the Court continued, you ſhould have ſeen him and his Lady repair ſo devoutly to Sermon and Prayers, that the People believed this to be the ground of the diſſention, and that he was only diſliked for his ſincerity in Religion. But *Arran* knowing this would not long bear out, and fearing to loſe the Kings favour altogether, he imployed ſome friends to make offer of ſatisfaction to the Duke; and in end things were ſo compoſed, as *Arran* did quit the commandment of the Guard, and the charge thereof was given to the Duke.

An. 1581. To return to the matters of the Church. There was a general Synod this year kept at *Glaſgow* in the month of *April*, wherein the queſtion of Biſhops was again agitated; and becauſe of the ſcruples which ſome Brethren had at the Act concluded in *Dundy* the year preceding, eſpecially where it was ſaid, *that the Office of a Biſhop had no warrant of the Word of God*, the Aſſembly declared, that their meaning was to condemn the eſtate of Biſhops as they were then in *Scotland*. A number of the more wiſe and moderate ſort interceded that the concluſion of that matter might be for a time deferred, becauſe of the inconveniences it would draw upon the Church; but they were cried down by the multitude. Amongſt others, one Mr. *Robert Montgomery*, Miniſter at *Striveling*, was ſo fervent in the cauſe, as he would have the Aſſembly cenſure thoſe that had ſpoken in defence of that corrupted Eſtate. Yet before the end of that year this zealous man did ſuffer himſelf to be more pitifully corrupted, the ſtory whereof ſhall now be related. The See of *Glaſgow* being then void, it was ſuggeſted to the Duke of *Lennox* by ſome flatterers, that he had a fair occaſion preſented to make himſelf Lord of that City, and of the Lands pertaining to that See, if he ſhould only procure a gift thereof to ſome one that would make a diſpoſition of the ſame to him and his heirs. The offer was made to divers, who refuſed all, becauſe of the condition required. At laſt the agents in that buſineſs fell upon this *Montgomery*, who was content to accept it. A gift was thereupon formed, and a Bond given by him, 'That how ſoon he was admitted Biſhop, he ſhould diſpone 'the Lands, Lordſhips, and whatſoever belongeth to that Prelacy, to the Duke 'and his heirs, for the yearly payment of one thouſand pounds *Scots*, with ſome 'horſe-corn and poultrey. A vile bargain it was, for which juſtly he ought to have been repulſed. But the Church paſſing this point, made quarrel to him for accepting the Biſhoprick, which the King would not acknowledge to be a reaſon ſufficient. *If they could charge him with any fault in Doctrine or Life, he was content they ſhould keep their order; but to challenge him for accepting the Biſhoprick, he would not permit the ſame, having lately ratified the Acts agreed upon at* Leith, *Anno* 1571, *touching the admiſſion of Biſhops, and ordained the ſame to ſtand in force until his perfect Age, or till a change was made thereof in Parliament.*

Montgomery his Simoniacal bargain for the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*.

Inquiſition made of *Montgomery* his life and doctrine.

This related to the Church, they did appoint *Montgomery* his Life and Doctrine to be inquired upon, if poſſibly they could find any matter againſt him: which done, an accuſation was framed, and he cited to anſwer in the next Aſſembly. The Articles laid to his charge, were theſe.

1. That he Preaching at *Striveling*, had proponed a queſtion touching the Circumciſion of Women, and affirmed they were circumciſed in the skin of their forehead.
2. That teaching in *Glaſgow*, he ſhould ſay, the Diſcipline was a thing indifferent, and might ſtand this or that way.
3. That he called the Miniſters captious, and men of curious brains.
4. That he laboured to bring the Original Languages in contempt, abuſing the words of the Apoſtle, in the 1 *Cor.* 14. and jeſtingly asked, In what School were *Peter* and *Paul* graduated?
5. That to prove the Lawfulneſs of Biſhops in the Church, he had uſed the examples of *Ambroſe* and *Auguſtine*.
6. That in his Doctrine he ſaid it was ſufficient to baptize in the name of the Father only, or in the name of the Son, or in the name of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeeing they are all one God; and to that effect alledged the nineteenth of the *Acts*.
7. That he ſhould have called matters of Diſcipline, and the lawful Calling of the Church, Trifles of Policy.
8. That he charged the Miniſtry with Sedition, warning them not to put on or off Crowns; for if they medled therewith, they would be reproved.
9. That he condemned the particular application of Scripture, diſdainfully asking, In what Scripture they found a Biſhop for a thouſand pounds, Horſe-corn and Poultrey, *&c.*

10. That

10. That he oppugned the Doctrine of our Saviour, ſpeaking of the number of the wicked and them that periſh. *An.* 1581.
11. That he denied any mention to be made in the New Teſtament of a Presbytery or Elderſhip.
12. That he accuſed the Miniſters of Paſquils, Lying, Backbiting, *&c.*
13. That the Church being traduced with infamous Libels, he did not only not find fault therewith, but ſeemed to approve the ſame, having uſed in his Preaching the very words of the Libel caſt in the Kings Chamber againſt the Miniſters.
14. That theſe three months paſt he had been negligent in Doctrine and Diſcipline, and given no aſſiſtance to the Elderſhip.

The Articles were ſent to the King by ſome Miniſters, who were deſired to ſhew his Majeſty that the Accuſation was not founded upon the accepting of the Biſhoprick, but upon erroneous points of Doctrine. The King anſwered, *That what ſoever colour they gave to the proceſs, he knew that his yielding to accept the place was the true quarrel; and for himſelf, albeit he loved the Religion, and agreed fully therewith, he allowed not divers heads of their Policy; always for the particular in hands, he would leave the man to make his own anſwer.* This reported to the Aſſembly, they went on with the Accuſation, and *Montgomery* being called, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* became his accuſer. The Articles upon his denial were admitted to probation, but few of them were verified; yet the concluſion of the Aſſembly was, that he ſhould continue in his Miniſtry at *Striveling*, and meddle no more with the Biſhoprick under pain of Excommunication. Mean while the Presbytery of *Striveling* (for they had now erected Presbyteries in divers places of the Country) was joyned to try his Converſation, and how he did exerciſe Diſcipline, if poſſibly any thing might be found againſt him that way. The Articles againſt *Montgomery* communicated to the King.

It fell out at the ſame time, that Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did utter ſome reproachful ſpeeches in a Sermon againſt the Duke of *Lennox*, ſaying, *That within theſe four years Popery had entered into the Country and Court, and was maintained in the Kings Hall by the Tyranny of a great Champion, who was called Grace. But if his Grace continued in oppoſing himſelf to God and his Word, he ſhould come to little Grace in the end.* The King, advertiſed of this, ſent *James Melvil* his ſervant to complain to the Aſſembly, requiring ſome order to be taken therein. The Miniſter being put to his anſwer, ſaid, *That he praiſed God for two things: Firſt, that he was not accuſed for any thing done againſt his Majeſty & the Laws; Secondly, that he perceived the Church had obtained ſome victory: For when he was laſt queſtioned for his Sermon, the Council did make themſelves Judges of Miniſters Doctrine; now that he ſaw the complaint remitted to the Aſſembly, he was glad, and willingly ſubmitted his Doctrine to their trial: Only, that he ſhould not give advantage to his enemies, he deſired the Apoſtolick Canon to be kept, which prohibiteth an accuſation to be received againſt an Elder but under two or three Witneſſes.* Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* queſtioned for ſpeeches in Pulpit. *Balcanquel's* anſwer.

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* and *David Ferynſon* were upon this directed to ſhew the King, that the Aſſembly was willing and ready to try the complaint: but withal, that the liberty craved by the perſon accuſed could not be denied, he being a Preſbyter. So if it ſhould pleaſe his Majeſty to ſend an accuſer aſſiſted by two or three witneſſes, the accuſation ſhould be received, and juſtice done. The King not liking this anſwer, for he knew the difficulties he ſhould have to find out an accuſer, followed the buſineſs no more: but the Miniſter not contenting, that the cauſe ſhould thus deſert, would needs have the judgment of the Aſſembly, whether or not he had uttered in his Sermon any ſcandalous or offenſive words; for they had been all Auditors of that he ſpake. This being put to voices, the Aſſembly declared his Doctrine to have been good and ſound, and that he had given no juſt offence thereby to any perſon. When this was told the King, he was much offended; for not many days before, whenas the ſame Miniſter with his Collegue *John Dury* was called to give account of ſome ſpeeches they had uttered in Pulpit, it was accepted, *that the King & Council could not be Judges of their Doctrine*; and now his Majeſty having The King ceaſeth from purſuing the complaint. *Balcanquel's* Sermon approved by the Aſſembly.

An. 1582. having complained to themſelves, and they being Auditors of the ſpeeches, when, he expected ſome cenſure to be inflicted, they had juſtified all that was ſpoken, and ſo would force him to take other courſes than he deſired to follow.

Montgomery ſuſpended by the Presbytery of *Striveling.*

But to return to *Montgomery* his cauſe: the Miniſters of *Striveling*, as they were enjoyned, made a viſit of the Church, to try what they could find againſt him. All they got delated was, that he had baptized ſome Children begotten in Fornication, not calling the offenders before his Seſſion. Upon this declaration he was cited to appear, and becauſe he kept not the Diet, ſuſpended from his Function. He nottheleſs preached ſtill, and exerciſed all the parts of his Miniſtry, as in former times; which they took to be an high contempt, and therefore did ſummon him to the Aſſembly which was ſhortly to meet at S. *Andrews*, to hear their ſentence approved, and to anſwer to ſuch other things as in that meeting ſhould be laid to his charge: and becauſe they underſtood, that againſt the inhibition of the laſt Aſſembly he was ſtill labouring to ſecure himſelf in the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, and had cited the Chapter before the Council for refuſing to convene to his Election, they likewiſe charged him to compeir before the Synod of *Lothian*, to hear the ſentence of Excommunication pronounced againſt him.

He is cited to appear before the Synod of *Lothian.*

An. 1582. The Synod inhibited to proceed.

The King being informed of this, cauſed warn the Synod to appear the twelfth of *April* at *Striveling*, diſcharging in the mean time all proceeding in the buſineſs. Mr. *Robert Pont*, and with him a few others compeiring at the day, he in the name of the reſt proteſted, *That albeit they had compeired to teſtifie their obedience to his Majeſty, yet he did not acknowledge his Majeſty and Council Judges in that matter, the ſame being a cauſe Eccleſiaſtick, and that nothing done at that time ſhould prejudge the Liberties of the Church and Laws of the Realm.* This proteſtation the Council rejected, inhibiting the Miniſters to uſe any proceeding againſt *Montgomery*; which becauſe of the General Aſſemblies approaching they yielded unto, only they cauſed charge him to appear before the Aſſembly. When the Diet came, he appeared, and firſt proteſting for remedy if they ſhould uſe him wrongfully, he ſaid, that the proceſs of *Striveling* could not be allowed, for that he was never lawfully ſummoned to hear any Sentence given againſt him. The Presbytery of *Striveling* remitting themſelves to the proceſs, the Aſſembly declared the ſame to be rightly deduced, and ratified the ſuſpenſion pronounced. As they were proceeding to his Cenſure for contempt of the Sentence, Mr. *Mark Ker*, then Maſter of the Requeſts, preſented a letter from his Majeſty, inhibiting them to trouble the Biſhop for any thing that concerned the Biſhoprick, or whatſoever cauſe preceding; for that the King would have thoſe things heard and handled in his own preſence. The Aſſembly anſwered, that becauſe of his Majeſties requeſt they ſhould look more carefully to the buſineſs, and ſee all things carried rightly according to Juſtice.

An Aſſembly at S. *Andrews.*

Mr. *Mark Ker* ſent to diſcharge the Aſſemblies proceeding.

The Maſter of Requeſts replying, that his Majeſty had willed them by his letter to deſiſt, and treat no more of that buſineſs; Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, who preſided for the time, anſwered, *That they did not meddle with things belonging to the Civil power; & for matters Eccleſiaſtick, they were warranted to proceed in theſe, ſpecially with one of their own number.* He perceiving that notwithſtanding of his Majeſties Letter they would proceed, cauſed a meſſenger of Arms, whom he had brought with him, charge them under pain of Rebellion to deſiſt. Then was *Montgomery* called to ſee if he would abide by the charges uſed at his inſtance: but he was retired to his lodging, and could not be found (& the night drawing on) was appointed to be ſummoned to the next morning to receive his Cenſure. After the hour appointed, one *William Montgomery* having procuration from him, appeared, and appealing from the Aſſembly to the King and Council, gave this for a reaſon amongſt others, that *he who was his accuſer in the laſt Aſſembly was turned to be his Judge.* But the Aſſembly rejecting the Appellation, fell preſently a reading the *enorm crimes* (ſo they called them) whereof he was guilty; nor was there any thing omitted that ſerved to aggravate the ſame; corruption in Doctrine, diſſoluteneſs of Life, contempt of the Churches Sentence, Falſhood and breach of promiſe, Lying, Perjury, moving of Sedition, and ſtirring up certain of the Nobility againſt the Church. Of all theſe he was declared culpable, and ordained therefore to be deprived and caſt forth of the Church.

The Aſſembly diſcharged under pain of Rebellion to deſiſt.

The Aſſembly proceedeth, and findeth him culpable of divers crimes.

How

How ſoon he heard that this concluſion was taken, his courage, which ſeemed before high and reſolute, began to cool; whereupon preſenting himſelf to the Aſſembly, he renounced his Appeal, deſiring conference of ſome godly and learned brethren: which granted, he was induced by them to confeſs his offence in divers particulars, ſubmitting himſelf to the will of the Aſſembly; and in end, to promiſe ſolemnly in the preſence of the whole number, that he ſhould meddle no further with the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow*, and neither accept of it nor of any other Office in the Church, without the advice and conſent of the General Aſſembly. Yet this gave not an end to the buſineſs; for how ſoon he returned to the Court, and perceived the Kings countenance caſt down upon him for that he had done, he undertook of new to ſettle himſelf at *Glaſgow* and had Letters from his Majeſty to the Gentlemen of thoſe parts to aſſiſt him. At his coming to *Glaſgow* with purpoſe to preach the Sunday following, a number of the Students in the Colledge entred into the Church on Saturday at night, and excluding him, did keep the Chair for Mr. *Thomas Smeton* their Principal; who taking for his Theme that ſaying in the Goſpel, *He that enters not by the door, but by the window, is a thief & a robber*, inveighed againſt the Biſhop for his Simoniacal entry, and the levity he had ſhewed in all his proceedings. The next Sunday the Biſhop with a great convocation of Gentlemen came to the Church, and diſplacing the ordinary Preacher, Mr. *David Weymes*, made the Sermon himſelf. The Presbytery of *Glaſgow* intending proceſs againſt him for moleſtation of the Church, and uſurping the place of the ordinary Preacher; *Matthew Stewart* of *Minto*, Provoſt of the City, came and preſented a Warrant from the King to ſtay all proceedings againſt the Biſhop, willing them to deſiſt. Mr. *John Howeſon*, Miniſter of *Cambuſtange*, moderating in his courſe (as the cuſtom then was) and replying ſomewhat peremptorily, that notwithſtanding his Warrant they would proceed, ſome words of offence paſſed; whereupon the Provoſt, pulling him from the Seat, made him Priſoner in the *Tolbuith*.

An. 1582.

Montgomery falling from his reſolution, ſubmits himſelf to the Aſſembly.

Montgomery changeth, and returneth to his firſt courſe.

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* his Sermon at *Glaſgow*.

Montgomery proceſſed for preaching at *Glaſgow*.

The Moderator of the Presbytery impriſoned in the *Tolbuith*.

The rumor of this fact ran quickly through the Kingdom, and a ſolemn Faſt being kept by the appointment of the former Aſſembly, the Cauſes whereof were made to be the abundance of Sin, the Oppreſſion of the Church, the Dilapidation of the Rents & the danger wherein the King ſtood by the company of wicked perſons, who did ſeek to corrupt him in manners and Religion: the inſolency committed at *Glaſgow* was likewiſe adjected, and furniſhed matter of long diſcourſe to the Preachers. Amongſt others *John Dury* did exclaim mightily againſt the Duke of *Lennox*, upon whom the blame of all things was laid, and thereby did ſo irritate the King, as he would needs have him removed forth of the Town. Charges to that effect were directed, commanding the Magiſtrates within the ſpace of 24 hours to remove him: who not daring diſobey, yet being unwilling to uſe their Miniſter in that ſort, travelled with him to depart quietly and leave the Town. The Miniſter proponing the caſe to the General Aſſembly (for upon advertiſement given by the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* they were there convened) deſired their advice: for *to leave his Flock at the pleaſure of the Court*, he ſaid, *might work a prejudice to the Church; & to depart privately, as the Magiſtrates adviſed him, might be imputed to fear, or then make him to be thought guilty of ſome fault.* The brethren after a ſhort conſultation did adviſe him to ſtay till he ſhould be commanded to depart, and then obey. Meanwhile Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and *David Ferguſon* were ſent to the King, who was then at *Striveling*, to intreat his Majeſties favor unto him, and therewith to requeſt a continuation of the Diet, for the appearing of the Miniſters of *Glaſgow* at *Perth*. The King deſiring to have matters quieted, anſwered the laſt Propoſition firſt, ſaying, *That if the Aſſembly would delay the Proceſs which they had againſt the Provoſt of* Glaſgow *and his Aſſiſters, he would likewiſe diſpenſe with the appearing of the Miniſters at the time appointed.* And as to *John Dury* he ſaid, *that upon his Supplication, how ſoon the Duke returned to Court, whoſe intereſs was greateſt in that buſineſs, order ſhould be taken with him, and conſideration had of the Aſſemblies requeſt.* But they not ſatisfied herewith, ſtriving to make good what they had taken in hand, went on with the Proceſs of *Glaſgow*, and leading probation againſt *Minto* and the reſt, decerned them to be excommunicated and caſt forth of the ſociety of the

A ſolemn Faſt kept.

John Dury, Miniſter at *Edinburgh*, was removed from his Charge.

Miniſters directed to the King.

An. 1582. the Church; only the pronouncing of the Sentence was delayed, till they ſaw what courſe was kept with their brethren before the Council.

Mr. *John Davidſon* excommunicated *Montgomery.*

Mr. *John Davidſon*, then Miniſter at *Liberton*, pretending a Warrant from the Church, had in his private Pariſh pronounced Biſhop *Montgomery* excommunicate, which (albeit done againſt all form) was allowed, and intimated in all the Churches of the Country. The Duke of *Lennox* notwithſtanding did ſtill entertain him in his company, and at ſome occaſions had made him to preach publickly. Thereupon Mr. *Alexander Archbuthnet* & Mr. *Adam Johnſton* were directed by the Aſſembly to intimate unto the Duke his Excommunication, and the Acts of the Church againſt ſuch as kept excommunicate Perſons in their company. The Duke taking them up ſomewhat hotly, asked them, *Whether the King or the Church were Superiors*; and thereafter anſwered them directly, *That he was commanded by the King and Council to entertain him, which he would not forbear to do for any fear he had of their Cenſures.* This amongſt other Grievances of the Church was ordained to be repreſented to his Majeſty by the Commiſſioners appointed to attend the Council at *Perth.* But touching this, the King anſwered, *That the Excommunication was null, and declared ſuch by the Council, as being pronounced againſt equity and all lawful form, no Citation being uſed, nor any Admonition proceeding, which all Laws and even their own Diſcipline appointed to be obſerved.* To their other Grievances they received general anſwers; and for the brethren of *Glaſgow*, their trial was continued to the tenth of *September* next.

The Surpriſe of the King at *Ruthven*, 23. *Aug.* 1582.

Before which time the Surpriſe of the Kings perſon at *Ruthven* fell out, which altered the ſtate of all affairs. Some of the Nobility combining themſelves for defence of Religion and the Liberty of the Kingdom (as they pretended) upon notice of the Duke of *Arrans* abſence from the Court, placed themſelves about the King, & detained him ſome days at the houſe of *Ruthven.* The principals in this attempt were *John* Earl of *Marre*, *William* Earl of *Gowry*, *Patrick* Lord *Lindeſay*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, the Maſters of *Glamis* and *Oliphant*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Paiſlay*, *Driburgh*, and *Cambuſhkeneth*, the Lairds of *Lochlevin*, *Eaſter Weemes*, *Cleiſh*, and the Conſtable of *Dundy.* The King at their firſt coming ſuſpected there was ſome practice in hand, yet diſſembled the matter, thinking to free himſelf the next day when he went abroad to his ſport; but as he was about to go, the Maſter of *Glamis* ſtept to the door of the Parlour, and told him he muſt ſtay. The King asked the reaſon: he anſwered, he ſhould know it ſhortly. When he ſaw it to be ſo, and found his liberty reſtrained, he grew into a paſſion, and after ſome threatning ſpeeches burſt forth in tears. The Maſter ſeeing him weep, ſaid, *It is no matter of his Tears, better that Bairns ſhould weep than bearded men*: which words entered ſo deeply into the Kings heart, as he did never forget them. The news went quickly of the Noblemens being at Court in ſuch numbers, which made the Earl of *Arran* haſte thither, for he held himſelf aſſured of the Earl of *Gowries* friendſhip, as being of his alliance, and having kept one courſe in the purſuit of the Earl of *Morton*; his only fear was, that he ſhould be ſtayed by the way, therefore having croſſed the Ferry, he ſingled himſelf from his company, and taking one only ſervant with himſelf, directed his Brother, *William Stewart*, to keep the High-way with the reſt. By this mean he did eſcape thoſe that lay in wait for him, and came in the evening to *Ruthven*: where when he had entred the Gate, he asked what the King was doing, as meaning to go directly to him; but was conveyed to another room, and told that he muſt have patience, and think his fortune good that he was come to that place with his life ſaved; as he himſelf judged, when a little after he heard that the horſemen which lay in wait of him, and encountred his Brother near unto *Dublin*, after divers wounds given him, had taken him Priſoner.

The King ſtayed from his ſport by the Maſter of *Glamis.*

Arran withholden from the King.

The Duke of *Lennox* ſendeth to enquire of the Kings eſtate.

A day or two after, ſome Noblemen imployed by the Duke of *Lennox*, who remained then in *Dalkeith*, came to Court, but were not permitted to ſpeak with the King, nor ſee him, except in Council. Being examined what their buſineſs was, they told, that the Duke of *Lennox* had ſent them to learn of the King in what condition he was, and if he was detained againſt his will, as the rumor went, he might, with the aſſiſtance of other good ſubjects, ſee him made free. The King preſently

ſently cried out that he was Captive, which he deſired all his ſubjects know, and that the Duke ſhould do what he might to procure his Liberty. The Lords prayed his Majeſty not to ſay ſo, 'for that he ſhould not be denied to go whither he plea-'ſed, only they would not permit the Duke of *Lennox* and Earl of *Arran* to miſlead 'him any longer, and oppreſs both Church and Kingdom, as they have done. 'Wherefore he ſhould do well to cauſe the Duke retire himſelf quietly to *France*, 'otherwiſe they would be forced to bring him to an account of his doings, and 'proceed againſt him with rigour of Law. This they willed the ſame Noblemen whom he had ſent to ſignifie unto the Duke, and that they were reſolved to maintain what they had undertaken at the utmoſt hazard of their lives and eſtates. *An.* 1582.

The Duke of *Lennox* willed to retire to *France*.

After they were gone, the Kings anger being ſomewhat aſſwaged, and fearing the Dukes caſe more than his own, he was moved to ſend forth a Proclamation to this effect: 'That for pacifying the preſent Commotions, and removing ſome Dif-'ferences fallen out amongſt the Nobility, his Majeſty had thought it expedient 'to interpoſe himſelf a Mediator; and for the better working of an Union amongſt 'them, had reſolved to make his Reſidence in *Perth* for a time, till he ſaw what good 'effects his travels might produce. And leſt his ſtay in theſe parts ſhould be inter-'preted to be a Detention of his Perſon, becauſe of the Noblemen and others that 'had lately repaired to Court, his Majeſty declared, that it was his own free and 'voluntary choice to abide there; and that the Noblemen and others who did pre-'ſently attend had done nothing but what their duties obliged them unto, and 'which he took for a good ſervice performed both to himſelf and to the Common-'wealth. Therefore inhibited all the ſubjects to attempt any thing that might 'tend to the diſturbance of the Realm, commanding them alſo that had le ied 'any forces upon pretext of his Majeſties reſtraint, to diſſolve the ſame within 'ſix hours under the pain of death. This Proclamation was dated at *Perth* the 28 of *Auguſt*, ſome ſix days after the ſurpriſe of his Perſon at *Ruthven*.

A Proclamation declaring the Kings contentment with his ſtay at *Perth*.

The Duke in the mean time was gathering forces, and grown to be ſtrong by his friends and others that repaired unto him; when a Letter came from the King, ſignifying that it was his pleaſure he ſhould leave the Realm, and depart forth thereof before the 20 of *Sept.* The Letter he communicated to his friends, who did all adviſe him to retire unto *Dumbritton*, where he might with more ſafety ſtay for a while, and if he found not an opportunity to right himſelf, ſhould have good occaſion of ſhipping for *France*. When he was come thither, the reſort of Noblemen and Barons, and others were ſo great unto him, that the Nobility offending therewith, directed Letters, charging him to live more private with his ordinary retinue, and all others that were in his company to return to their houſes within 12 hours after the charge, and not to come nigh the part where he remained, or ſhould happen to reſide during the time of his abode in the Country.

The Duke is adviſed to go unto *Dumbritton*.

The bruit of this Change being carried to *England*, the Queen ſent Sir *Henry Cary* and Sir *Robert Bowes* unto the King, to adviſe him, in regard of the danger he was fallen into by the perverſe counſels of the Duke and Earl of *Arran*, to take in good part the Lords enterpriſe, and reſtore the Earl of *Angus*, who had lived exiled in *England* ſince the time of *Mortons* Execution. This laſt they obtained with no great difficulty, ſo as the Nobleman was ſoon after reconciled and accepted in favor: but to the firſt point, the King having a ſuſpicion that the attempt was not made without the Queen of *Englands* knowledge, he gave good general anſwers, whereby it was hoped that upon the Noblemans good behaviour in a ſhort time his offence would be mitigated. The King alſo conceiving that a gentle uſage would bring them to reconcile with the Duke of *Lennox*, began to give them a more gracious countenance than before. But he found them untractable, and not without great inſtance did purchaſe their conſents to a few days prorogation of his departing, upon promiſe that he ſhould be purſued as a Rebel if he went not away at the time appointed, wind and weather ſerving: yet was his going put off upon divers occaſions till the midſt of *December*, at which time he was forced to depart, as we ſhall hear.

An Ambaſſador from *England Sept.* 12.

The Earl of *Angus* received in favour, *October* 12.

The Lords in the mean while, careful to ſtrengthen themſelves, brought the King to *Halirudhouſe* in the beginning of *October*, knowing that the people of *Edinburgh* did

The Lords bring the King to *Halirudhouſe October.* 8.

An. 1582. An Assembly of the Church at *Edinburgh.*

did effect their enterprise, as appeared by the reducing of *John Dury* their Minister immediately upon the news of the Kings Restraint, and the triumph they made, singing as they went up the street the 124 Psalm, *Now Israel may say*, &c. They understood also that the Assembly of the Church was to convene in the same Town the ninth of that month, and doubted not to find them favourable enough. To this Assembly, Mr. *William Areskin* (styled the *Commendatory of Paisley*) was sent by the Noblemen, to declare that the causes moving them to that enterprise were the evident peril they perceived the Religion was brought unto, with the disorders and confusions introduced into the State: whereof having discoursed a while, he came in end to desire the Assemblies approbation of their proceedings, as that which would incourage them much, and dishearten the common adversary. This Proposition made, first it was voiced, whether the dangers of the Church and disorders of State were such as in their hearing were related: which being affirmatively answered by the whole Assembly, Mr. *James Lawson*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, and Mr. *John Craig* were appointed to signifie unto the King what the Assembly had found, and to require his own judgment therein. The King, esteeming it most sure for himself to temporize, said, *That he believed Religion was in hazard, and indirect courses taken to overturn the same, wherewith he acknowledged his own danger to be conjoyned: and for abuses crept into the Commonwealth, as they were too many, so he expected that all good Subjects, and they for their own parts, would help to remove the same.* This answer returned to the Assembly, they concluded an Act in this form.

The Lords end to obtain the Assemblies approbation.

The Assemblies Ratification of the attempt at *Ruthven.*

Forasmuch as the Noblemen and others joyned with them in the late Action of Reformation, out of a desire to have the Church and whole Professors of the true Religion understand the grounds and occasions moving them to repair towards the Kings Majesty, to seek redress of the disorders fallen out in the Commonwealth, have made publick attestation to the whole Assembly, that the motions and grounds of their enterprise were, and are, to deliver the Church of God within this Realm, and the true Religion therein professed, from the evident peril and danger wherein all men perceived the same to stand; as likewise to guard and preserve the innocent Person of the King his Majesty and Estate, being in no less hazard than the other, and to remove the corruptions and confusion entred into the body of the Commonwealth: wherein as they are well perswaded themselves to have done good service to God, and to have performed their duty to their Sovereign and Country; so they wished all that feared God should judge and esteem well of their action, especially that the brethren of this Assembly should declare their good liking and approbation thereof, and ordain all the Pastors and Ministers within the Realm to publish in their particular Churches the causes and grounds moving them to the said enterprise; exhorting all Noblemen, Barons, and other faithful Subjects to give their best concurrence and assistance thereto: The Assembly, having weighed the said desire with the whole circumstances thereof, have in the fear of God after mature deliberation resolved, found and voted, no man gainsaying, That not only the Church of God within this Realm, and true Religion professed in the same, but also the King his most noble Person and Royal estate, were, and stood in extreme danger and hazard, besides the manifold gross abuses that had invaded the Commonwealth, before the late enterprise, which his Majesty had acknowledged and professed to the Commissioners of the present Assembly: And that therefore the said brethren could not but think their Honours, imploying themselves hereafter for averting the like dangers, to have done good and acceptable service to God, their Sovereign, and Native Country; and the prosecution thereof, all partiality set aside, will be acceptable to all that fear God, and tender the preservation of the Kings Person, and prosperous estate of the Realm. And to the effect the same may be made the more manifest and notorious, it is thought expedient that all the Ministers within the Realm, upon the first occasion, shall publickly declare unto their particular Flocks the peril wherein the Church of God and true Religion, the King his most noble Person and Estate stood, with the grounds that moved the said Noblemen unto the late action, recommending the same to the consideration of all good Subjects, exhorting

horting them, as they tender the glory of God, and love the preſervation of the King and Country, faithfully to concur and joyn with the ſaid Noblemen in proſecuting the ſaid grounds, to the full deliverance of the Church, and perfect Reformation of the Commonwealth. And if any ſhould be found either by word maliciouſly, or violently by way of deed, to oppoſe to that good cauſe, they ſhall be called before the particular Elderſhips, and order put unto them by the Cenſures of the Church; and in caſe of their wilful and obſtinate continuing therein, be delated to the King and Council, to be puniſhed for their offence civilly. An. 1582.

This Act of the date the thirteenth of *October*, 1582. was publiſhed in all the Churches of the Realm, to the offence of many good men, who were grieved to ſee a bad cauſe thus coloured and defended. But the Lords, knowing that this Approbation could not ſecure them, had laboured the King to convocate the Eſtates for the ſame purpoſe. The eighteenth of the ſame month being appointed for their meeting, there came to the convention for the Church eſtate, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Orkney*, the Abbots of *Dunfermlin*, *Newbottle*, *Paiſlay*, *Driburgh*, *Cambuskenneth*, *Culroſſe*, *Inchaffray*, *Coldingham*, and *Pittineweyme*; of the Nobility there were preſent the Earls of *March*, *Arrol*, *Marſhal*, *Bothwell* (who ſome few months before returned from beyond Sea) *Marre*, *Rothes*, *Glencarn*, *Eglinton*, *Gowrie*, and *Morton*; the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Home*, *Ogilvy*, *Hereis*, *Boyd*, ------ and *Sinclare*. But from the Burghs there came not any Commiſſioners, nor could they be moved to countenance this action in any ſort; conceiving, as it fell out, that how ſoon the King obtained his Liberty, he would cenſure and condemn the fact as treaſonable. A Convention of the Eſtates at *Edinburgh*.

To theſe always that convened the King had a Speech, much to this effect: *That of all the Vexations he had tried ſince his acceptation of the Government in his own perſon, the diſtraction of the Nobility was the greateſt, and at the preſent did grieve him moſt; for the removing whereof he had called them together, and expected their beſt counſel and help. In other things*, he ſaid, *that needed Reformation, he would be willing to follow their advice.* One of the Lords, I find him not named, made anſwer, 'That the diſſentions of the Nobility were cauſed chiefly by ſome, that, 'having his Majeſties ear, did abuſe his favours, ruling all things at their pleaſure, 'and diſdaining the advice of other fellow-counſellors. Then falling into particulars, he ſaid, 'That the Duke of *Lennox* and Earl of *Arran* had miſgoverned all 'affairs, and brought divers abuſes into the State, which unleſs ſome Noblemen 'had taken a courſe to remedy by their repairing to his Majeſty, both Religion 'and State in a ſhort time had been ſubverted. After this, the Earl of *Marre*, *Gowry*, and *Glencarn*, who had been the chief actors in that attempt, roſe up, and having declared the cauſe which moved them to take that action in hand, did humbly offer to ſubmit themſelves to the cenſure of his Majeſty and the Eſtates; and thereupon removing themſelves forth of the Convention, it was found and declared, *That in their repairing to the King upon the* 22 *of* Auguſt *laſt, and abiding with him ſince that time, they had done good, thankful, and neceſſary ſervice to the King and Country. Alſo that their taking of Arms, making of Conventions, entring in Conflicts, taking and detaining of Priſoners, contracting of Leagues and Bonds, and all other deeds done by them, which might appear to be againſt his Majeſties Authority, in ſo far as the ſame was done without his Highneſs Warrant, ſhould be reputed & eſteemed good ſervice done to the King and State; and that they and their partakers ſhould be exonered of all Action, civil or criminal, that might be intended againſt them, or any of them, in that reſpect: Inhibiting therefore all the ſubjects to ſpeak or utter any thing to the contrary, under the pain to be eſteemed calumniators and diſperſers of falſe rumors, and to be puniſhed for the ſame accordingly.* The King's ſpeech to the Eſtates. The attempt of *Ruthven* declared to be good ſervice.

This Declaration paſſed, it was ordained that the Earl of *Arran* ſhould be detained in the Caſtle of *Ruthven* till the Duke was gone out of the Realm, after which he ſhould be confined on the North of the water of *Jern*; and that four companies ſhould be levied upon the publick charges, two of horſemen, and as many foot, to guard the King and Noblemen who did attend him, till the preſent troubles were quieted. Then were ſome Grievances proponed in name of the Church; but theſe laid by till another time, the Lords not willing to irritate the King for ſuch matters, having once ſecured themſelves. The Earl of *Arran* ordained to be detained till the Duke was gone.

An. 1582. The Duke, to keep the word which the King had given for his departing, took shiping in the West parts about the midst of *October*, & being hindred by contrary winds fell sick at Sea. The King advertised of his ill disposition, advised him to travel through *England*, in regard of the winter season, and to remain at *Blackness* till a safe conduct was procured from the Queen. He had not stayed many days there, when a rumor was raised, as was thought, by his enemies, that he was to be brought again to Court, and the Lords turned out, or used with more violence. This made a new stir; whereupon the Lord *Hereis* was sent to command him to begin his journey, and to be in *Berwick* the 22 day of *December*. He craved to see the King, and be permitted only to salute him; but this being denied, he departed in great heavines.

The Duke falling sick at Sea, taketh journey by Land.

The Duke desiring to see the King before he went away, is denied.

In the beginning of *January* two Ambassadors arrived, sent by the *French* King, the one named *Monsieur la Motte*, the other *Monsieur Menevil*: *La Motte* came by *England* (with whom came alongst Mr. *Davidson*, Ambassador from Queen *Eliz.*) the other by Sea; both having the same Instructions, which were, to work the Kings Liberty in the best sort they could, to confirm his mind in the love he bare to the *French*, and to renew the purpose of Association. This last business was set on foot the year before, and almost concluded in this sort; *That the Queen of* Scots *should communicate the Crown with her Son, & both be joyned in the Administration of affairs; that so he might be acknowledged for a lawful King by all Christian Princes, and all domestick Factions suppressed.* But upon the Dukes sequestring from Court it was left off, and not mentioned again till now. The Assembly of the Church in the last meeting had made this one of their special Grievances, and complained of it as a most wicked practice. And now the Ministers of *Edinburgh* hearing that purpose to be moved of new by the *French* Ambassadors, declaimed bitterly against them in their Sermons; especially against *La Motte*, who, being a Knight of the Order of S. *Esprit*, did wear the badge of a white Cross upon his shoulder. This they called *The badge of Antichrist*, and him *The Ambassador of the bloody murtherer*, meaning the Duke of *Guise*, who, they said, procured him to be sent hither.

Two Ambassadors from *France*, *La Motte* and *Menevil*.

The purpose of Association renewed.

The Ministers declaimed in their Sermons against the Ambassadors.

It grieved the Ambassadors much to hear these outcries which daily were brought unto them; but perceiving the Kings Authority not able to restrain the liberty which the Preachers had taken, they did not complain, but urged earnestly their dimission. The King, desirous to entertain the ancient Amity betwixt the two Nations, and dimit them with some contentment, desired the Magistrates of *Edinburgh* to give them a Feast before their parting. To impede this Feast, the Ministers did on the Sunday preceding proclaim a Fast to be kept the same day on which the Feast was appointed: & to detain the people at Church, the three ordinary Preachers did one after another make a Sermon in S. *Giles* Church, without any intermission of time, thundring curses against the Magistrates and other Noblemen that waited on the Ambassadors by the Kings direction; nor stayed their folly here, but, the Ambassadors being gone, they pursued the Magistrates with the Censures of the Church, and were with difficulty enough stayed from proceeding with Excommunication against them, for not observing the Fast they proclaimed.

The Magistrates of *Edinburgh* desired to feast the Ambassadors.

The Ministers proclaim a Fast, *Febr.* 16.

Of all this the King seemed to take no notice, for he saw not a way to repress these Disorders; and much perplexed he was with the reports of the Duke of *Lennox* his death, who partly of grief, partly through the long and troublesome journy he made in that cold and rainy season, contracted a Fever at his coming to *Paris*, whereof after a few days he died. Some hours before his expiring there came to him a Priest or two, to do their accustomed service; whom he could not admit, professing *to die in the Faith of the Church of Scotland*, and to keep the oath he had given to the King inviolate. This the King made to be proclaimed at *Edinburgh*, that the people might see what wrong the Duke had sustained during his abode in the Realm, by the uncharitable suspicions both of Ministers and others. But this belongs to the year following.

The Duke of *Lennox* dieth at *Paris*.

26 *May*, 1583.

Meanwhile the King ceaseth not to think of his own Liberty, using all means to put the Lords that attended him out of an opinion that he had any meaning to free himself. And the Duke being gone, whom they feared most, they esteemed the danger the less: for *Arran* was not well loved, because of his violent courses; and *Morton*,

The King directeth Ambassadors to *England*.

ton, who had the greateſt following, was put from his charge in the Borders, and the ſame given to the Laird of *Johnſton*: the King had likewiſe by their advice ſent Colonel *Stewart* and Mr. *John Colvil* in a joynt Commiſſion to the Queen of *England*, to move her for reſtoring the lands in that Kingdom which appertained to his Grandfather the Earl of *Lennox*, and the Lady *Margaret* his Grandmother, together with the by-run profits intrometted by the Theſaurer or Maſter of Wards; as likewiſe to communicate unto her the courſe he had taken for quieting the Realm, and to deſire her aid and aſſiſtence therein. Some Inſtructions beſides were given them to propone; as touching the Kings Marriage, the matters of the Border, and the contracting of a defenſive League; by all which they held themſelves ſecured of his Majeſties favor. But for the Negotiation it ſorted to no effect, by the contrary courſes the two Commiſſioners took after their coming to the Court of *England*. The King foreſeeing the ſame when they were firſt imployed, had moved Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Preacher at *Leith* (a man wiſe and moderate) to accompany them, and pacifie the contentions which poſſibly might ariſe amongſt them; but their emulations were ſo great, as all he could do ſcarce ſerved to keep them from open diſcord. *An.* 1583. The Negotiation took no effect.

Before I enter upon the accidents of the next year, the death of Mr. *George Buchanan*, which happened in the end of *September*, muſt not be paſſed; a man ſo well deſerving of his Country, as none more: he was of an excellent wit, and learning incomparable, born nigh to the High-lands, within the Pariſh of *Killern*, and of the houſe of *Drunmakill*. His Uncle by the mother, called *Herriot*, took care to have him trained up in Letters, perceiving his inclination to be ſet that way: wherein he profited ſo much, as he went beyond all his inſtructors; Nature, it ſeems, having formed him thereunto. In the year 1539, being called in queſtion by the *Franciſcan* Friers upon the malice they bare him for ſome bitter verſes written againſt them and their profeſſion, which he did to pleaſe King *James* the Fifth, whom they had in ſome things offended, he was committed as ſuſpected of *Lutheraniſm*; but made an eſcape to *France*, where he lived a long time, and became acquainted with many learned men, with which that Country did then abound. His Paraphraſe of the Pſalms, a rare Work, and other Poems, he wrote for moſt part whileſt he ſtayed abroad; and for his learning and quick ingeny was admired of all men. Returning into *Scotland* about the year 1560, after he had profeſſed Philoſophy ſome years in S. *Leonards* College within the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, he was choſen to attend the King, and bring him up in Letters. In his age he applied himſelf to write the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, which he penned with ſuch judgment and eloquence as no Country can ſhew a better. Only in this is he juſtly blamed, that with the Factions of the time, and to juſtifie the proceedings of the Noblemen againſt the Queen, he went too far in depreſſing the Royal Authority of Princes, and allowing their controlment by ſubjects: his bitterneſs alſo in writing of the Queen and Troubles of the time all wiſe men have diſliked. But otherwiſe no man did merit better of his nation for Learning, nor thereby did bring to it more glory. He died in a great age at *Edinburgh*, and was buried in the common place, though worthy to have been laid in marble, and have had ſome Statue erected for his memory. But ſuch pompous monuments in his life he was wont to ſcorn and deſpiſe, eſteeming it a greater credit, as it was ſaid of the *Roman Cato*, to have it asked *why he dothlack a Statue, than to have had one, though never ſo glorious, erected.* The life and death of Mr. *George Buchanan*.

The Summer following the King found the occaſion to free himſelf of his Attenders. For being at *Falkland*, and pretending to viſit his Uncle the Earl of *March*, who did then reſide in the Abbey of S. *Andrews*; after he had taken ſome little refreſhment, he went to take a view of the Caſtle, accompanied with *Colonel Stewart* Captain of the Guard, to whom he had communicated his purpoſe; and having entered into the Caſtle, commanded the gates to be ſhut, and theſe that followed to be excluded. The Earls of *Argile*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſs* and *Rothes*, came thither the next morning, and were all welcomed by the King. Of the Noblemen that had waited on him ſince his reſtraint at *Ruthven*, only the Earl of *Gowry* was admitted into the Caſtle by the Colonels means; for he had ſometimes followed him as *An.* 1583. The King freeth himſelf of his Attenders *Jan.* 28.

An. 1583. a ſervant. The Earl how ſoon he came in preſence fell on his knees, and craving pardon for the fact of *Ruthven*, did humbly ſubmit himſelf to the Kings mercy, who, after he had checked him in ſome few, but grave ſpeeches for his ingratitude to the Duke of *Lennox*, accepted him in favor, upon condition of a more loyal behavior in time coming.

The Earl of *Gowry* confeſſeth his fault, & is pardoned.

Some few days the King abode in the Caſtle, and in a Council kept there the ſecond of *July*, made choice of the Earls of *March*, *Argile*, *Gowry*, *Marſhal*, *Montroſs* and *Rothes*, to remain with him, as Noblemen that he held of beſt judgment, moſt indifferent and freeſt of faction; the reſt he commanded to retire to their houſes, till he ſhould take farther order. In the ſame meeting was Colonel *Stewarts* ſervice approved, and a Proclamation ordained to be made, charging all the ſubjects to contain themſelves in quietneſs, and prohibiting any to come towards Court accompanied with a greater number than was appointed; to wit, 15 with an Earl, as many with a Biſhop, ten with a Lord, and as many with an Abbot or Prior, with a Baron ſix; and all theſe commanded to come in a peaceable manner, under great penalties.

An Act following the ſervice of Colonel *Stewart*.

Then the King, to ſhew himſelf at Liberty, went to *Edinburgh*, and from thence he went to *Falkland*, then to *Perth*, where he remained ſome weeks. Being there, the Earl of *Arran* by *Gowries* procurement was brought again to Court, after whoſe coming a Declaration was publiſhed by the King to this effect.

The Earl of *Arran* called again to Court.

His Majeſties Declaration touching the attempt of *Ruthven*.

'We, with the advice of the Lords of our Privy Council, having thought expedient to notifie unto the world, but eſpecially to all our good and loyal ſubjects, our true mind touching the things that fell out in the year paſt, declare the ſame to be as followeth. That is, howſoever, for preſerving of publick quietneſs, We did patiently endure the Reſtraint of Our Perſon at *Ruthven*, with the ſecluding of Our Counſellors from us, and all that enſued thereupon; yet did We take it deeply to heart, and did account no otherwiſe of it than a fact moſt treaſonable, attending till it ſhould pleaſe God to reſtore Us to Our former eſtate and Liberty: which having now by his goodneſs obtained, to make known Our indifferent diſpoſition towards all Our good ſubjects, and that We do not ſeek the harm and ruine of any one whomſoever, We have reſolved to forgive and forget all offences by-gone, eſpecially that which was committed in *Auguſt* laſt, and hath been ſince that time ſtrongly maintained, providing the Actors and aſſiſters do ſhew themſelves penitent for the ſame, ask pardon in due time, and do not provoke Us by their unlawful actions hereafter to remember that attempt. Willing all Our ſubjects, by the example of this Our clemency (whereof ſome already have made proof) to diſcharge all quarrels amongſt themſelves, and not to malice one another for whatſoever cauſe by-gone, all which We will have buried in oblivion; and to this have ordained publication to be made hereof in all the principal Burghs, *&c.*

The diſcontented Lords confined.

The diſcontented Lords, notwithſtanding of this Declaration, were ſtill convening, and making the beſt proviſion they could for their own ſurety. For at *Arrans* hand, who had now the diſpoſing of all things, they expected no good. The King hereupon took purpoſe to confine ſome of the principals in ſeveral Countries, and to commit others who were reckoned moſt turbulent. The Earl of *Angus* was confined beyond *Spey*; *John Levingſton* of *Dunypace* and *Patrick Drummond* of *Carnock* in the Country of *Galloway*; *Lochlevin* and *Buchan* in *Innerneſs*; the Maſter of *Glamis*, Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and Lord of *Cleiſh*, were charged to enter themſelves in the Caſtle of *Dumbritton*; *William* Commendator of *Paiſlay* in *Blackneſs*; and Mr. *John Colvil* commanded to keep Ward in *Edinburgh*. The whole (*Angus* only excepted) diſobeying the charge, were denounced Rebels; and Proclamations made, commanding all the ſubjects to be in readineſs for reſiſting the practices of ſeditious ſubjects. An oath alſo was taken of all the Kings domeſticks, that they ſhould not keep intelligence with any of the Rebels or others known to be in his Majeſties mal-grace. And at this time was Mr. *John Metellan*, who came afterwards to be Chancellor, admitted Counſellor of Eſtate.

All of them (*Angus* except) for their diſobedience were denounced Rebels.

The

The Queen of *England* being advertiſed of this alteration in Court, ſent Sir *Francis Walſingham*, her principal Secretary, to the King, to challenge him for breach of promiſe in re-admitting the Earl of *Arran*, and caſting off the Noblemen who had maintained his Authority, and hazarded their lives and eſtates in defence of his Crown. The King anſwered, *That he was a free Prince, and in ruling his affairs might follow the courſe which he thought to be moſt convenient; that the Queen would not take it well, if he or any other ſhould direct her in matters that concerned her ſubjects:* and for the promiſe alledged, he ſaid, *it was made in time of his Reſtraint, to the performance whereof he was not tied.* As to theſe ſubjects of whom the Queen ſeemed ſo careful, he ſaid, *that he had freely offered to pardon them, upon the acknowledgement of their offence and promiſe of amendment; which he would faithfully obſerve: expecting of the Queen his Siſter that neighborhood which became Princes living in amity and friendſhip, and that ſhe would not countenance his ſubjects in their Rebellion.* *An.* 1583. Ambaſſage from *England* the beginning of *September*. His Majeſties anſwer to the Ambaſſador.

The Ambaſſador replying, 'Sir, the Queen my Miſtris will never meddle with 'your affairs, but to work your good and quietneſs; yet ſhe taketh it unkindly, 'that the promiſes made unto her are ſo lightly regarded. One *Holt* an *Engliſh* Je- 'ſuit, who is thought to have an hand in *Throgmortons* Treaſon that was of late 'detected, being in your priſon, at the requeſt of the *French* Ambaſſador was per- 'mitted to eſcape; whereas the Queen my Sovereign looked daily to have him de- 'livered in *England*, as was promiſed. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *it was not promiſed that he ſhould be delivered, but as the Queen anſwered my Ambaſſadors, when I deſired Mr.* Archibald Douglas *to be rendered, who is known to be guilty of my Fathers Murther. I ſaid that the man was charged with certain ſuſpicious practices in my Kingdom, which I believed firſt to try; and if the Queen had been pleaſed to have delivered my ſubject to me, whom I had more than reaſon to demand, I would have made no delay in the rendring of* Holt. *But for his dimiſſion, or my connivance at his eſcape, there is no ſuch thing; and if you know or can learn that any indirect means have been uſed for letting him go, the trial and puniſhment of the doers ſhall clear my part.* This ſaid, the Ambaſſador (who was a moſt worthy and diſcreet Gentleman) declaring that he was ſatisfied, fell to ſpeak of the preſervation of Peace betwixt the two Kingdoms, and of a new League to be made with the Queen; whereof the King did ſhew a good liking, and in theſe terms they left for that time. The Ambaſſador complains of a Jeſuits eſcape. His Majeſties anſwer.

In *October* next the Church Aſſembly convened at *Edinburgh*, where great re- grates were made and preſented in certain Articles to the King. 'Firſt, they 'complained that the benefit of Pacification was extended to Mr. *David Chal-* '*mers*, a profeſſed enemy to Religion, and ſuſpected of the Murther of his Maje- 'ſties Father. Next, that Papiſts were grown too familiar in Court, and namely 'the Laird of *Fintry*, who had made defection from the true Religion, in which 'he was educated. 3. That *Holt*, a wicked Papiſt, ſent to the Country to traf- 'fique againſt Religion and the State, was ſuffered to eſcape, and no trial taken 'of the workers thereof. 4. That his Majeſty ſeemed to favor too much the ene- 'mies of the Truth both in *France* and at home. 5. That he had received in his 'ſervice men of diſſolute life, and who had never given any teſtimony of their good 'meaning either to Religion or the ſtate of the Country; and put others from his 'ſervice that were known to be zealous of Gods cauſe, and faithful to his Maje- 'ſties ſelf from his very tender age. 6. That ſince his acceptation of the Govern- 'ment, the Church had received many fair promiſes without any performance; 'and that, to the contrary, the Liberties and Privileges thereof were daily infring- 'ed. 7. That the Thirds were ſet in taks or leaſes, in defraud of the Church. 8. That 'Abbacies were diſponed againſt the Acts of Parliament, and no care taken for 'proviſion of the Miniſters that ſerved at the Churches annexed. 9. That Spiri- 'tual livings were conferred to children, and erected in Temporal Lordſhips. '10. That there were no puniſhment for Inceſt, Adultery, Witchcraft, and the 'like abominations. 11. That there was an univerſal murmur, that no man 'could be aſſured of his lands and life, the Laws of the Country being wholly per- 'verted. 12. That his Majeſty did interpone his authority to ſtay the execution An Aſſembly of the Church. Grievances preſented to his Majeſty by the Church.

An. 1583. 'of the Churches Acts in matters properly Eccleſiaſtical. Laſtly, they regrated 'the diviſion of the Nobility, one part ſeeking the ruine and overthrow of ano- 'ther: for which they did intreat his Majeſty to call unto himſelf the moſt wiſe 'and indifferent amongſt them, and by their advice to take ſome moderate courſe 'for uniting the hearts of all good ſubjects, to the maintenance of Gods Truth, 'the preſervation of his Highneſs Perſon and eſtate, and the comfort of all that 'were grieved at the preſent Diviſion.

The King his Anſwer to the Grievances.

The King, deſiring to give the Church ſatisfaction, made Anſwer the next day to all theſe particulars. And firſt, concerning Mr. *David Chalmers*, he ſaid, *that he was only forfeited for the common action for being at* Landſide *field, for which pardon had been given to many; ſo as it ſhould not be thought ſtrange to give him the like benefit, eſpecially at their requeſt who had moved him therein; and that he no ways intended to grant overſight to him or any others that ſhould be found culpable of his Fathers Murther, or yet profeſſed themſelves adverſaries to the Religion* Touching *Fintry* he ſaid, *that he had not impeded the proceedings of the Church againſt him or any other Popiſhly affected, nor had he been countenanced at Court, if the Miniſters of* Edinburgh *had not teſtified that he was willing to conform.* That for *Holts* eſcape *he had ſatisfied the* Engliſh *Ambaſſador, and that it was no uncouth thing to ſee a priſoner deceive his keepers.* Concerning the *intelligence he kept with forein Princes*, for the entertaining of civil Peace; *that he did not think the Aſſembly would diſallow it, ſeeing diverſity of Religion made not Leagues of friendſhip unlawful.* And that they ſhould meddle with the *choice of his ſervants*, he held *it ſtrange; This he hoped they would remit to himſelf, and not to be too curious in examining the occaſions of their placing or diſplacing.* And where they complained, that ſince his accepting of the Government, *the Liberties of the Church had been refringed*; he ſaid, *that ſince that time more good and profitable Laws had been made for the advancement of true Religion, than ever before; and if any thing lacked in the execution, the fault was not his.* For that which concerned *the Church Rents*; he anſwered, *that thoſe things muſt be helped in Parliament, and that he ſhould aſſiſt the reformation thereof at his power.* As for the puniſhment of the abominations mentioned, *that the fault could not be imputed to him, ſith he was willing to give Commiſſion to ſuch as the Miniſters ſhould judge moſt fit for the execution of Laws.* And for *Eccleſiaſtical Acts* which his authority was ſaid to impede, *he knew none of late, only he had ſtayed the remove of Mr.* Alexander Arbuthnet *from the College of* Aberdene *to be Miniſter of S.* Andrews; *which, being rightly conſidered, would not be found prejudicial to the Church, nor impertinent for him to deal in.* Laſtly for the *murmur of people, perverting of Laws and differences amongſt the Nobility*, his Majeſty ſaid, *that he was ready to hearken to any good advice for reformation of that which ſhould be found amiſs.*

The Anſwer did not ſatisfie the Church.

The Anſwers all moſt reaſonable, and procceding from the King, ought to have been well taken; but the diſcontent they had received for the late change in Court made every thing diſtaſteful, and ſtill the diſpleaſure betwixt the King and Church did grow as we ſhall hear.

Lodowick ſon and heir to the late deceaſed Duke of *Lennox* cometh into *Scotland*, *November* 13.

In the beginning of *November*, *Lodowick* (eldeſt ſon to the late Duke of *Lennox*) arrived at *Leith*, and was conveyed by the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Montroſs* to the King, who lay then at *Kinneill*. Soon after the advertiſement of the Noblemans death, the King had ſent the Maſter of *Gray* into *France*, to bring home all his children: But *Lodowick* excepted (who then was 13 years of age) the reſt were young, and not able to endure ſo long a journey. The King receiving him with great expreſſions of love, did preſently inveſt him in his Fathers lands and honors, committing the truſt of his affairs to the Earl of *Montroſs*, till he ſhould grow up to maturity. For his education in Letters, Mr. *Gilbert Moncreef*, the King his principal Phyſitian, was appointed to attend him, a man wiſe and of good learning. Some years after two of his Siſters were brought into the Country. *Henrietta* the eldeſt was married to *George* Earl of *Huntley*, *Mary* the younger of the two to *John* Earl of *Marre*. To the third the King had provided an honorable match, but ſhe having vowed her ſelf to God, would not be won from the Cloy-

The King his kindneſs to the Duke his children.

ſter

ſter by any perſuaſion. A younger Son came to the King, after he went into *England*, and was by him advanced to great honors. Thus the untimely loſs of their Father did turn to the childrens benefit, by the conſtant and unmatchable kindneſs of a loving King. *An.* 1583.

In the Country matters grew daily more and more troubled. Thoſe that diſobeyed the charges given them for entring in Ward, pretended the time aſſigned for their entry to have been ſo ſhort, and the diſtance of the place ſo great, as there was no poſſibility in them to obey; yet under-hand they were ſtill ſeeking to ſtrengthen themſelves, and aſſociate others to be of their Faction. To take from them this pretext, the firſt of *December* was allowed them for their entring in Ward, and ſo many as ſhould find ſurety to obey, had favor promiſed them. The Laird of *Braid*, *Colluthy*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, and Mr. *Andrew Hay*, were licenſed alſo to confer with them, and with all that had any part in the attempt of *Ruthven*, for informing them of his Majeſties gracious inclination towards all of that number who ſhould acknowledge their offence, and live obedient and peaceably from thence forth. But little or nothing was wrought this way; whereupon the King took purpoſe to convene the Eſtates the 17 of *December*: and having exponed his whole proceeding in that buſineſs, an Act was paſſed by an univerſal conſent, of this tenor. A Convention of Eſtates.

'Albeit the late Surpriſe and Reſtraint of Our Perſon, perpetrated in *Auguſt* by-'gone a year, was a crime of *læſæ Majeſtatis*, hainous in it ſelf, of dangerous ſequel, 'and moſt pernicious example, meriting the more ſevere puniſhment, becauſe the 'committers thereof for the moſt part, beſides the allegiance and common duty of 'ſubjects, were ſpecially bound to Us by particular favors and benefits beſtowed 'on them: yet, out of Our natural diſpoſition to clemency, We reſolved to reduce 'them by all gentle means to their duties; and not only forbear to uſe them with 'rigor but made offer of pardon and mercy to ſuch as would acknowledge their of-'fence, and continue thereafter in a dutiful obedience; ſatisfying Our ſelves with 'that moderate declaration which tended not in any ſort to their detriment, and 'prorogating days and months, to ſee what they could perform. Hereof We gave 'our promiſe to the Queen of *England*, which was certified to them by divers, and 'of late by certain Miniſters and well-diſpoſed Gentlemen, whom We licenſed to 'confer with them, for perſuading them of Our ſincere meaning: behaving Our 'ſelves in all this as a kind Father that ſeeketh to recover his children, and not as a 'Prince that reſpected his eſtate. But Our Lenity not having produced the effects 'which were wiſhed, We took counſel to aſſemble Our Eſtates, and make them 'witneſſes of Our Clemency, whatſoever might happen to their perſons hereafter: 'and now by their advice We have determined to proſecute with all rigor ſuch 'of that number as ſhall continue in their diſobedience, and ſhall not embrace the 'offers of Pardon made unto them. In the execution whereof, Our Nobility and 'Eſtates convened have ſolemnly promiſed their aſſiſtence, and for the greater 'authority both We and our ſaid Eſtates have ſubſcribed this Act with our hands. 'Farther, by their advice We have ordained, and ordain the Act of Council paſt in '*October* 1582, touching the attempt at *Ruthven*, to be delete forth of the Books, 'inhibiting all and ſundry of whatſoever eſtate, quality and degree, to allow by 'word, writing, or otherwiſe, the foreſaid fact, which We (being now at Liber-'ty) and our Eſtates have ſo publickly condemned.

Prorogation granted to thoſe that were charged to enter in Ward.

An offer of pardon to thoſe who will acknowledge their offence at *Ruthven*.

This Act made, the Earl of *Rothes* proteſted, that his Subſcription to the Act in *October* 1582, approving the Attempt of *Ruthven* for good ſervice, ſhould not be laid to his charge, ſeeing he did the ſame unwillingly, and by his Majeſties ſpecial command and direction, like as ſoon after the committing of the fact he had teſtified his diſlike thereof. The King, acknowledging the ſame to be of truth, made his Proteſtation to be admitted. Then began all the Faction to fall aſunder, every man ſuing his pardon; which was granted, upon condition they ſhould depart forth of the Realm, and not return without his Majeſties licence. The Earl of *Marre* the Maſter of *Glamis*, with the Abbots of *Driburgh* and *Cambuskenneth*, went into *Ireland*; the Lord *Boyd*, *Lochlevin* and *Eaſter Weymis* unto *France*; others of the meaner ſort were confined within certain bounds. The Earl of *Gowry*, notwith-

The Earl of *Rothes* his proteſtation.

An. 1584. ſtanding he was reconciled to *Arran*, fearing to be troubled, obtained licence to go into *France*; but whileſt he delayes to go, and putteth off his journey from day to day, he falleth into new practices, which brought him unto his end.

The reſt of the Witner was quiet, but now and then the Court was kept in exerciſes by the Sermons of ſome preachers, who were therefore called in queſtion. *John Dury*, Miniſter at *Edinburgh*, had in one of his Sermons juſtified publickly the act of *Ruthven*: for which being cited before the Council, he ſtood to the defence of that he had ſpoken; yet, after advice taken with Mr. *James Lawſon* his Collegue, he was moved to ſubmit himſelf to the King, who continued the declaration of his pleaſure, till he had proof of his better behavior. The buſineſs with Mr. *Andrew Melvil* was greater; for he being cited to anſwer for certain ſpeeches uttered by him in a Sermon preached at S. *Andrews*, declined the judgment of the King and Council, affirming, *That what was ſpoken in Pulpit ought firſt to be tried and judged by the Presbytery; and that neither the King nor Council might*, in prima inſtantia, *meddle therewith, though the ſpeeches were treaſonable.* When by no perſuaſion he could be induced to ſubmit himſelf, and that the King and Council, finding themſelves Judges, did proceed to examine the witneſſes; he burſt forth in undutiful ſpeeches againſt the King, ſaying, *He perverted the Laws both of God and man.* Which unreverent words proceeding from a Divine, in whom moderation and humility ſhould chiefly have appeared, did greatly offend the Council. Thereupon was he charged to enter his perſon in *Blackneſs* within the ſpace of ten hours; but in ſtead of obeying, he turned his back, and fled that night to *Berwick*. Then did all the Pulpits ſound, and every day were the Miniſters exclaiming, that *the Light of the Country for Learning, and he that was only moſt fit to reſiſt the adverſaries of Religion, was exiled, and compelled for ſafety of his life to quit the Kingdom.*

John Dury queſtioned for allowing the attempt at *Ruthven.*

Mr. *Andrew Melvil* fleeth into *England.*

Pity it is to think how the King was then uſed: for though he cleared himſelf by Proclamations, ſhewing that the mans flight was voluntary, and that he meant not to have uſed him with any rigor; yet nothing was believed, and every-where people began to ſtir. Hereupon charges were directed, commanding thoſe who had obtained leave to depart out of the Realm, to uſe the benefit of their licences, and inhibiting all intelligence by Letters or otherwiſe with thoſe that are already gone. This wrought not much, only made thoſe that travelled to and fro with advertiſements the more wary and circumſpect. The Earl of *Gowry*, to liberate himſelf of ſuſpicion, came to *Dundy*, and conducing a Ship gave out that he would forthwith depart; yet ſtill he lingered, attending the return of the Earl of *Marre* and the Maſter of *Glamis* from *Ireland*, at which time he and others of that Faction were to joyn and take Arms for reformation of abuſes, the ſecuring of religion, and preſervation of the King his Perſon and Eſtate; for that was made the pretext.

The King his Proclamations miſregarded.

The Earl of *Gowry*, having obtained licence to go into *France*, delayeth to uſe it.

An. 1584. Being at *Dundy*, he is apprehended by Colonel *Stewart*, *April* 16.

The King, having notice given him of theſe practices, ſent Colonel *Stewart*, Captain of the guard, to apprehend the Earl of *Gowry*, who was ſuſpected becauſe of his lingring. The Colonel coming upon him unexpected as he lay in the houſe of *William Drummond*, Burgeſs of *Dundy*, he made to defend the lodging, and ſtood to it ſome ſpace; but the Town concurring with the Captain, he was forced to yield, and the next day conveyed to *Edinburgh*, and committed to the cuſtody of *Arran*. A night or two after the Earls of *Angus* and *Marre*, with ſome of their friends and followers, ſurpriſed the Town and Caſtle of *Striveling*, intending there to fortifie themſelves. But the ſudden expedition which the King made compelled them to fly into *Engand*, and leave the Caſtle victualled for ſome days, and in it a few Gentlemen whom they promiſed to relieve. Such a readineſs the King found in his ſubjects at this time, as upon a ſhort warning a greater Army and better appointed was in no mans memory known to have been aſſembled. The Town of *Edinburgh* ſhewed a great forwardneſs; for both they advanced monys to levy ſouldiers, and put divers of their own inhabitants in Arms to attend the King. It was the 19 of *April* when knowledge was given firſt of the taking of *Striveling*, and before 24 all the Army was in readineſs to march. The ſame day advertiſement came of the Rebels flight; Whereupon the Wardens and Keepers of the Marches

The Caſtle of *Striveling* ſurpriſed *April* 18.

The King prepareth to go towards *Striveling.*

The Rebels flee into *England.*

were

were directed to purſue them. The King himſelf with the Army marching towards *Striveling*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Levingſton* was ſent to incloſe the Caſtle, which yielded upon the hearing of his Majeſties approach, and was delivered in keeping to the Earl of *Arran*. *An.* 1584. The Caſtle rendred *April* 27.

The Earl of *Gowry*, after he had been kept ſome days in *Kinneil*, was brought to *Striveling*. Before his tranſporting from *Edinburgh*, the Earl of *Montroſs*, the Lord *Down* and Mr. *Robert Melvil* were directed to examine him, and hopes given that he ſhould find favor if he would diſcover the Conſpiracy and what the Rebels had intended to do. He, upon promiſe that what he declared ſhould not be made an endictment againſt himſelf, diſcloſed all the Plot, ſetting down the ſame with his own hand, as followeth. *Gowry* examined touching the Conſpiracy.

'Perceiving his Majeſties favor altered towards me, by miſreport of my un-
'friends, and my life and my living aimed at, I was of neceſſity forced to ſeek my re-
'lief by concurring with others of the Nobility who labored to ſecure themſelves
'and their eſtates. And hearing that there was ſome trafficking betwixt the No-
'blemen in *Ireland* and others at home, I uſed all means, though I was ſuſpected
'by them, to know what their courſes and hopes were: after ſome diligence I made
'that way, I met with Mr *James Areskin*, who travelled to and fro betwixt them.
'And he at firſt obſcured himſelf from me, and would not be plain, till I promiſed
'my aſſiſtence: Then he ſhewed me that he had been with the Earl of *Angus*,
'whom he found cold, and in ſome hope to make addreſs for himſelf, and ſo
'leſs careful of their relief who were abſent. Yet he believed, if the Nobleman ſaw
'any good concurrence of others, he would give his aſſiſtence: but refuſed to deal
'in theſe matters, till they ſhould return, and things be determined with a com-
'mon conſent. This I thought likewiſe fitteſt; but in the mean time I prepared
'to depart, and would have been gone, if contrary winds had not ſtayed me. The
'ſame Gentleman came afterwards unto me, and ſhewed that they were re-
'turned, and would ſhortly be ſeen at *Striveling*. This moved me to remain,
'albeit doubting of a ſufficient concurrence of Noblemen, I was not reſolved what
'courſe to take, and lay in a careleſs ſecurity at *Dundy*, more inclined to go than
'to ſtay. I proteſt always before God, that I never heard nor was in counſel of
'any plot againſt his Majeſties Perſon, Crown or Eſtate, but only ſtudied to keep
'my ſelf from ruine by the aſſiſtence of others. At our meeting together, unto
'which time all was deferred, it was thought that a courſe ſhould be taken by com-
'mon advice for ſecuring our ſelves in his Majeſties favor. And whereas I am
'asked what Noblemen were privy to the enterpriſe, and what was looked for
'from *England*, I will truly declare all, upon the firm aſſurance of his Majeſties
'clemency. At home it was expected, that all thoſe who ſubſcribed the Bond in
'that firſt alteration would joyn themſelves with us, and beſides thoſe divers
'others; namely, the Earl of *Marſhal* and *Bothwell*, with the Lord *Lindeſay*, and
'ſome of the Weſt parts. So it was affirmed to me, but how truly I cannot ſay.
'From *England* we expected a ſupply, but no certain time was appointed; and it
'was ſaid, that the Queen minded to intercede for reſtitution of the *Hamiltons*,
'if ſhe found the King tractable. This is all I know, and if there be any other par-
'ticular tending to his Majeſties well or hurt which I do not at the preſent re-
'member, I ſhall plainly reveal the ſame, whoſoever be offended therewith. His Confeſſion ſet down by himſelf in writing.

At his coming to *Striveling* he ſent to the King a Letter penned in this form.
'Pleaſe your Majeſty, it is neither diffidence nor deſpair in your Highneſs favor
'and clemency towards me, nor any deſire I have to live in this world, that moves
'me to require ſome ſhort audience of your Majeſty. But there is a purpoſe of ſo
'weighty importance, which I deſire to impart unto your Highneſs, which might
'have endangered the life and eſtate of your Mother and your ſelf, if I had not
'ſtayed and impeded the ſame, the revealing whereof may avail your Majeſty
'more than the lives and livings of 500 ſuch as my ſelf. Moſt humbly therefore I
'beſeech your Highneſs that my Petition may be granted. I aſſure my ſelf of your
'Majeſties gracious anſwer. *Striveling* the laſt of *April*, 1584. In a Poſtſcript this
was added. 'The matter I have to ſpeak is not the concealing of Treaſon, but the
'revealing of a Benefit. A Letter from *Gowry* to his Majeſty.

This

An. 1584. This Petition was denied and the ſame made a part of his Indictment: for being brought to his Trial the 4. of *May*, Mr. *John Grahame* ſitting as Juſtice, and aſſiſted by Sir *John Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Levingſton*, *Alexander Bruce* of *Airth*, and *James Edminſton* of *Duntraith*, he was indicted of four points. Firſt, that in the beginning of *February* Mr. *David Home*, ſervant to the Earl of *Marre*, came to him privately in the town of *Perth*, under ſilence of night, and communicated to him the treaſonable device of ſurpriſing the Burghs of *Perth* and *Striveling*, at leaſt of one or other of them; and that he agreed to the taking and fortifying of the ſaid Towns; whereby he had incurred the crime of Treaſon, as well in concealing, as conſenting to that wicked purpoſe. 2. That underſtanding Mr. *James Areskin* to be a trafficker betwixt *Marre*, *Angus* and others, he did belay the ways, to the end he might ſpeak with him, and after meeting kept conference with him touching the ſurpriſe of the Caſtle of *Striveling*, and the furniſhing thereof with men and ammunition. 3. That being charged in *Dundy* by his Majeſties Letters to render himſelf to the Lord *Pettenweyme*, his Majeſties Chancellor, and Captain of his Highneſs Guard, he did enter into the houſe of *William Drummond* Burgeſs of *Dundy*, and with his Complices defended the ſame by the ſpace of 6 hours, making exclamations to the people, that he was purſued for Religion, and deſiring them to aid and aſſiſt him. 4. That he being obliged to maintain his Majeſties Perſon, Life, Honor and Crown, and having intelligence of a moſt weighty purpoſe that concerned the life and eſtate of the King and the Queen his Mother, he had treaſonably concealed the ſame, and did as yet keep up the ſpecialties thereof; albeit he profeſſed he knew it ſo perfectly, that in his letter written to the King he ſaith, that it had not failed to have taken effect, if he had not ſtayed and impeded the ſame.

He is denied audience, and put to the trial of a Jury.

The points of his Indictment.

His exceptions repelled. The Indictment read, he firſt excepted againſt *Lochinvar*, that he could not be Aſſeſſor to the Juſtice in his Trial in regard of the deadly enmity betwixt *Gartland* (who had married his Ladies ſiſter) and him. This Exception was repelled, becauſe the propinquity alledged was only *affinitas affinitatis*. Then he complained that the Noblemen who were ſent to examine him had not kept their word, having promiſed, that whatſoever he had confeſſed ſhould not be laid to his charge. It was anſwered that the Noblemens word could not warrant him. Thirdly, he ſaid, that being indicted for Treaſon, he ought to have been cited upon 40 days, and a delation made by ſome accuſer, which was not obſerved. The Advocate replied, that in matters of Treaſon the King might arreſt any perſon upon the ſpace it pleaſed him. Fourthly, he alleged the licence granted him to depart the Country. This was found nought, except he did therewith produce a reſpite or remiſſion. To the laſt point of the Indictment he ſaid, that what he offered to reveal tended to his benefit if he had vouchſafed him hearing, and was no matter of Treaſon. It was anſwered, that the concealing of that might tend to the hurt of the Kings Life and Mothers, was Treaſon.

The names of the Aſſiſers. So the Indictment was found relevant, and the perſons of the Jury called. Theſe were, *Colin* Earl of *Argile*, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *John* Earl of *Montroſs*, *James* Earl of *Glencar*, *Hugh* Earl of *Eglington*, *James* Earl of *Arran*, *George* Earl of *Marſhal*, *Alexander* Lord *Seaton*, *Hugh* Lord *Sommervil*, *James* Lord *Down*, *William* Lord *Levingſton*, *Patrick* Lord *Drummond*, *James* Lord *Ogilvy*, *Alexander* Maſter of *Oliphant*, and *John Murray* of *Tullibardin*. They retiring themſelves, as the cuſtom is, and returning within a ſhort ſpace, pronounced him guilty: whereupon Sentence was given, that he ſhould be taken to the Market-Croſs, have his Head cut off, and he diſmembred as a Traitor. The laſt part thereof was diſpenſed, and he in the evening beheaded. His ſervants were permitted to take the head with the body, and bury it. This was the end of that Nobleman, who in his life was much honored, and imployed in the chief Offices of Court: a man wiſe, but ſaid to have been too curious, and to have conſulted with Wizards touching the ſtate of things in future times; yet was he not charged with this; nor ſeemed he to be touched therewith in his death, which to the judgment of the beholders was very peaceable and quiet. He was heard to make that common regret which many great men have

Gowry found guilty, and ſentence pronounced.

His Execution and manner of death.

have done in ſuch misfortunes, *That if he had ſerved God as faithfully as he had done the King, he had not come to that end*, but otherwiſe died patiently, with a contempt of the world, and aſſurance of mercy at the hands of God. *An.* 1584.

Archibald Douglas and another executed.

The ſame day *Archibald Douglas* (called *the Conſtable*,) and Mr. *John Forbes* ſervant to the Earl of *Marre*, were executed. The reſt who were taken in the Caſtle had their lives ſpared, and were baniſhed the Country; and *David Home* of *Argaty*, and one *John Shaw*, were pardoned.

The houſes of the Rebels charged.

The King after this returned to *Edinburgh*, where he gave order for charging the houſes of the fugitive Lords and their friends; and upon information made that certain of the Miniſtery had dealing with the Rebels, ſummons were directed to charge Mr. *Andrew Hay* Parſon of *Ranfrew*, Mr. *Andrew Palwart* Subdean of *Glaſgow*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway* and Mr. *James Carmichael* Miniſters, to compeir before the Council. Mr. *Andrew Hay* compeired, and nothing being qualified againſt him, was upon ſuſpicion confined in the North. The other three not compeiring were denounced Rebels, and fled into *England*.

Miniſters called in queſtion for the Conſpiracy.

The Parliament declared current at the time, for the more ſpeedy diſpatch of buſineſs, convened the 22 of *May*. In it His Majeſties Declaration concerning the attempt of *Ruthven* was ratified; The King his Authority over all perſons in all cauſes confirmed; The declining of his Majeſties judgment and the Councils in whatſoever matter declared to be treaſon; The impugning of the Authority of the three Eſtates, or procuring the innovation or diminution of the power of any of them, inhibited under the ſame pain; All Juriſdictions and Judicatures, ſpiritual or temporal, not approved of by his Highneſs and the three Eſtates, diſcharged; and an Ordinance made, *That none, of what ſoever function, quality or degree, ſhould preſume privately or publickly, in Sermons, Declamations or familiar conferences, to utter any falſe, untrue or ſlanderous ſpeeches, to the reproach of his Majeſty, his Council and proceedings, or to the diſhonor, hurt or prejudice of his Highneſs, his Parents and Progenitors, or to meddle with the affairs of his Highneſs and Eſtates, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliaments made againſt the makers and reporters of Lies.*

Mr. David Lindeſay Miniſter at Leith committed.

Whileſt theſe Statutes were in framing, the Miniſters who were informed thereof, to work at leaſt a delay, ſent Mr. *David Lindeſay* to intreat the King that nothing ſhould paſs in Act concerning the Church, till they were firſt heard. *Arran* getting intelligence of this, cauſed arreſt him, as one that kept intelligence with *England*; ſo as he was not permitted to come towards the King. The firſt night he was kept in *Halirudhouſe*, and the next morning ſent priſoner to *Blackneſs*, where he was detained 47 weeks. Mr. *James Lawſon* and Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, hearing that he was committed, forſook their Charge, and fled into *England*, leaving a ſhort writing behind them, to ſhow the reaſons of their departing.

The Miniſters at Edinburgh flee to England

John Dury ſome weeks before was removed and confined in the Town of *Montroſs*, ſo as *Edinburgh* was left without any Preacher. Mr. *Robert Pont*, Miniſter of S. *Cuthberts*, and one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, becauſe of the miſregard of the Church, as he pretended, in concluding theſe Acts (as the Heraulds were proclaiming them according to the Cuſtom) took inſtruments in the hands of a Notary of the Churches diſaſſenting, and that they were not obliged to give their obedience thereto; which done, he likewiſe fleeing was denounced Rebel, put from the place in Seſſion.

Mr. Robert Pont proteſteth againſt the Acts.

Rumors hereupon being diſperſed that the King was declined to Popery, had made divers Acts to hinder the free paſſage of the Goſpel, and aboliſh all order and policy in the Church, command was given to form a brief Declaration of his Majeſties intention in thoſe Acts that concerned the Church, and to publiſh the ſame for detecting the falſhood of thoſe rumors. In this Declaration the occaſions that enforced the King to the making of theſe Statutes were particularly ſet down, and the equity thereof maintained by divers reaſons. 'Amongſt the occaſions 'were reckoned the allowance of the fact of *Ruthven* by the aſſembly of the 'Church; Mr. *Andrew Melvil* his declining of the King and Council; the Faſt kept 'at the Feaſting of the *French* Ambaſſadors; general Faſts indicted through the

'Realm

An. 1584. 'Realm without the King his knowledge; the uſurping of the Eccleſiaſtical juriſ-
'diction by a number of Miniſters and Gentlemen; the alteration of the Laws
'at their pleaſure, and a number of like abuſes. And for ſatisfying good people,
ſtrangers as well as ſubjects, touching his Majeſties good affection towards the
maintenance of Religion; certain Articles were drawn up and ſubjoyned to the
ſaid Declaration, to make it appear that his Majeſty had intended nothing but to
have a ſetled form of Policy eſtabliſhed in the Church.

Libels and Pamphlets againſt the Rulers of the Court.

But theſe things gave not much ſatisfaction (ſo great was the diſcontent) and were replied unto in Pamphlets, defamatory Libels and ſcurril Poems, which daily came forth againſt the Court, and the Rulers of it. To furniſh the vacant places of *Edinburgh*, till ſome were moved to undertake the charge, the King did appoint his own Miniſters, Mr. *John Craig* and Mr. *John Duncanſon*, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſupplying the ordinary preaching at Court. Soon after there came a Letter from the Miniſters, directed to the Seſſion of the Church at *Edinburgh*, and to the Council of the Town, of this tenor.

A Letter from the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to the Seſſion of the Church and Council of the Town.

'That ſeeing they were aſſured many calumnies would be forged againſt them
'for abſenting themſelves from their Flock, they thought good to write unto them
'the true cauſes thereof; which were as they ſaid, The great indignation conceived
'againſt them by the Rulers of the Court, for reſiſting the dangerous courſes then
'in hand; the Acts made in the late Parliament repugnant to the Word of God
'and Doctrine oftentimes by them preached; the iniquity committed in the paſ-
'ſing the ſaid Acts, and violence wherein they were defended; the Articles penned
'and preſented to ſome Miniſters for ſubmitting themſelves to the tyrannical Re-
'giment of Biſhops, whom they called *groſs Libertines, Belly-gods, and infamous*; the
'charge given to the Provoſt and Bayliffs of *Edinburgh*, to take and apprehend all
'Miniſters that ſhould convene to the Elderſhip, and thoſe that in Sermon ſhould
'utter any thing againſt the Acts and preſent unhappy courſe; with the inſolent
'words caſt forth againſt them, That if they followed the ſame courſe they were in,
'though their heads were as hayſtacks they ſhould be laid at their heels. Theſe
'things they ſaid did caſt them in a grievous temptation: for to go from their good
'courſe they could not, unleſs they ſhould be Traitors to God; to continue in it
'and ſtay would be counted Treaſon againſt the King, and be hazardous of their
'Flock that was charged to apprehend them, in caſe of condemning theſe Acts;
'which they could not do: and that after a long wreſtling they had reſolved to de-
'part, and reſerve themſelves to better times; which they were aſſured was the
'pleaſure of God, and that he would make the world underſtand that he had his
'own work in it. In end beſeeching them to ſtand to theſe things which they had
'heard from them, and imbraced as the Truth of God, they forewarned them of
'wolves that ſhould intrude themſelves, Teachers that ſought themſelves and not
'Chriſt *Jeſus*; which often they had foretold the contempt of the Truth would
'work: And concluded with an hope that they ſhould ſuſtain the preſent Croſs
'patiently, and be united to them again in God his good time.

By the Kings direction an anſwer is returned in this form.

The King hearing of this Letter ſent for the ſame, and offending greatly thereat, would have the Seſſion and Council to anſwer them in this form.

We have received and read your Letter, for the which offence we have humbly craved his Majeſties pardon, and not only obtained the ſame, but have likewiſe purchaſed liberty to write unto you this preſent, wherein we uſe you more charitably than you have uſed us, remitting to learned men and your own Conſciences to ſhew you, ſeeing you are not blinded with ignorance nor lack learning (at the leaſt ſome of you) how far ye have ſtrayed from the right way in your Letter lately ſent to us, unreverently affirming his Highneſs Acts of Parliament to be repugnant to the Word of God: we tell you that the ſame do fully content and ſatisfie us, ſeeing we can find no part of Scripture that is contrary thereto. And ſith we ſee by the firſt Act, the liberty of Preaching the Word, as the ſame is preſently profeſſed, and miniſtration of the Sacraments ratified and allowed, and that we know there are wiſe men and fearing God amongſt the Eſtates who concluded theſe Acts; we are reſolved to follow the Apoſtles counſel in Rom. 13. *whereunto you did ſeldom exhort us. And now in reſpect you have ſo*

contemptuouſly

contemptuouſly ſlandered theſe good and neceſſary Laws eſtabliſhed by his Majeſty and the Eſtates, and laboured ſo far as you can to draw men unto diſlike thereof, fled out of the Realm unchallenged and unpurſued, and thereby have not only declared your ſelves guilty, but alſo misbehaved your ſelves to us your late Flock, firſt in leaving us without our knowledge, againſt your duty, and the conditions made unto us, next in drawing upon us his Majeſties ſuſpicion, that we foreknew your departure, which of new ye have confirmed by ſending a Letter to us, you being his Majeſties Rebels and fugitives: In reſpect, we ſay, of all the foreſaid cauſes, we by theſe preſents diſcharge our ſelves unto you, eſteeming our ſelves no longer your Flock, nor you any more our Paſtors; and thanking God, the revealer of ſecrets, that he hath made you manifeſt to your ſhame, and relieved us of Wolves in ſtead of Paſtors. Thus hoping his Majeſty will provide us of good and quieter-ſpirited Miniſters, we commit you to Gods mercy, who may give you to repent of your foreſaid offences. An. 1584.

This Letter ſent to the Council and Seſſion of the Church to be ſubſcribed made a great buſineſs: the Town fearing to diſpleaſe the King; and to diſcharge with their Miniſters in ſuch a form, laying upon them the reproaches of *Fugitives*, *Rebels*, *Wolves*, and the reſt, they thought would be ill taken of all good men: yet after much ado, ſixteen of the principals put their hands unto it, and ſo was it diſpatch'd. The Miniſters having received and read the Letter were mightily grieved, eſpecially Mr. *James Lawſon*, who had taken greatly to heart the Troubles of the Church, and the advertiſements which were given him of the ſucceſs of matters at home; and now perceiving by this Letter that ſome, who profeſſed themſelves very forward in the cauſe, had turned their backs upon it, he fell in a great ſorrow, and thereby contracted a ſickneſs, wherof he died at *London* in *October* following. A man he was of good learning and judgment, of a pious and peaceable diſpoſition, but carried too much with the idle rumors of the people. After his courſe of ſtudies paſſed in the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*, he was imployed by the Counteſs of *Crawford*, a Noble Lady, to attend her three Sons, whom ſhe ſent to *France*; and upon their return, to ſhew his gratitude unto the School wherein he was educated, gave himſelf to read the *Hebrew* tongue to ſome youths in the ſame Univerſity. From thence he was called to be Principal in the old College of *Aberdene*; and after three years profitably ſpent in that place, was brought, as we ſhewed before, to *Edinburgh*, where he continued Preacher the ſpace of 12 years, in great eſteem and reputation, until theſe unhappy times, which bereft his Church and Country of him and his labours. He died in the 46 year of his age, and was buried in the new Church-yard of *London*, at the ſide of Mr. *Dearing*, famous Preacher in that Church.

The Letter grieveth the Miniſters exceedingly.

Mr. *James Lawſon* died at *London*.

His death bringeth to mind other two learned men in this Church, Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet*, and Mr. *Thomas Smeton*, the one Principal of *Aberdene*, and the other of *Glaſgow* College, who in the end of the laſt year nigh about the ſame time departed this life, to the great loſs both of the Country and Church. The firſt a Gentleman born, of the Houſe of *Arbuthnet* in *Mernis*, being trained up in the ſtudy of Letters, and having the courſe of Philoſophy in the ſame College with Mr. *Lawſon*, went to *France* at the age of twenty three years; there applying himſelf to the Laws he lived five years an Auditor of that great Doctor *Cujacius*, and being made Licentiate, returned to *Scotland* in the year one thouſand five hundred threeſcore and ſix, of purpoſe to follow that calling; but God otherwiſe diſpoſing, in the year 1569 he was made Principal of the College of *Aberdene*, where, by his diligent teaching and dextrous government, he not only revived the ſtudy of good Letters, but gained many from the Superſtitions whereunto they were given. He was greatly loved of all men, hated of none, and in ſuch account for his moderation with the chief men of theſe parts, that without his advice they could almoſt do nothing: which put him in a great faſherce, whereof he did often complain. Pleaſant and jocund in converſation, and in all Sciences expert; a good Poet, Mathematician, Philoſopher, Theologue, Lawyer, and in Medicine skilful; ſo as in every ſubject he could promptly diſcourſe, and to good purpoſe. He died in the 45 year of his age much lamented, and was buried in the College-Church at *Aberdene* the 20 of *October*, 1583.

Mr. *Alexander Arbuthnet* his death.

Within

An. 1584. Within ſome few days he was followed by Mr. *Thomas Smeton.* This man born in *Gaske*, a little Village not far from *Perth*, ſtudied Philoſophy in S. *Salvators* College at S. *Andrews*, under Mr. *William Cranſton* at that time Provoſt of the Houſe, by whoſe perſuaſion he went beyond Sea; and after he had remained a while at *Paris*, took journy to *Rome*, where entring the Society of the *Jeſuits* he abode three years. Thereafter coming home for ſome private buſineſs, when he had ſetled the ſame, he returned to *Paris*, and kept ſtill in that Society. In the year 1571, *Thomas Metellan*, travelling through *France* into *Italy*, did requeſt his company in that journy; whereunto he yielded, and went with him to *Italy*: but the Gentleman contracting ſickneſs by the way and dying, he returned by *Geneva*, and was there confirmed in the Religion to which a little before he was inclining when he went to *Paris*. After he had revealed himſelf to ſome Principals of the Society, he forſook their Profeſſion, and was in danger to have been killed at the Maſſacre which fell out at the ſame time; but by the favor of Sir *Thomas Walſingham*, the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, he was ſaved, and came in his company to *England*. Five years he remained at *Colcheſter* in *Eſſex*, teaching ſome youths of the Country, and in the year 1578 returned into *Scotland*. In the year 1580, upon the remove of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* to the new College of S. *Andrews*, he was choſen Principal of the College of *Glaſgow*, and taught the Controverſies there ſome three years with great profit. He was a man learned in the Languages, and well ſeen in ancient Fathers, the reading of whoſe works he did ever ſeriouſly recommend to the youth. The anſwer he penned in defence of this Church againſt Mr. *Archibald Hamilton*, and other Dictates which are yet in the hands of his diſciples, do ſhew his worth, and the loſs this Church received by his death. He deceaſed at *Glaſgow* the 6 of *December*, 1583, in the 47 year of his age, and was buried in the Cathedral Church.

Mr. *Thomas Smeton* his death.

The Miniſters charged with the Subſcription of certain Articles.

These deaths falling ſo quick one after another were taken to be a preſage of great Troubles in the Church, nor was it long before theſe ſtirs happened of which we have ſpoken. All this Summer the ſame continued, the Miniſters being daily called before the Council, and a great buſineſs made of their Subſcription to certain Articles which concerned their obedience to the Biſhops: they who refuſed had their Stipends ſequeſtrated, which cauſed a great outcrying amongſt the people, and made the Rebels to be more favored. The King, to rid himſelf of theſe vexations, did call the principal Miniſters, and having ſhewed that all his deſire was to have the Church peaceably governed, and a decent Policy eſtabliſhed, he willed them to ſet down in writing the Reaſons which moved them to refuſe ſubſcription, that he might conſider the ſame, and ſatisfie their doubts. They chuſing rather to propound the ſame by word of mouth, were after ſome Conference induced to ſet their hands to the Articles; this clauſe being added (*agreeing with the Word of God.*)

Mr. *Nicol Dalgleiſh* condemned.

Yet new occaſions of trouble were ſtill breaking forth. Upon information that Mr. *Nicol Dalgleiſh*, Miniſter at S. *Cuthberts*, did in his publick prayers remember the exiled brethren, he was called before the Council, and accuſed for praying for the Kings Rebels, as alſo for keeping intelligence with them by Letters. The Miniſter confeſſed his praying for the brethren, maintaining the ſame to be lawful, but the intelligence he denied; only granted that he had ſeen a letter written by Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* to his wife, wherein he was kindly remembred. The King offended with his anſwers, commanded the Advocate to purſue him criminally; which was done the next day. At his appearing before the Juſtice, when he heard the Indictment, he ſaid, *That he ought not to be queſtioned for one and the ſame fact before two Judicatories; and that having anſwered theſe points before the Council, he ſhould not be put again to it.* The Advocate replying that the Councils proceeding could not ſtay the criminal Judge; he was commanded to anſwer, and to do it adviſedly, ſeeing it concerned his life. *If I muſt anſwer*, ſaid he, *I do not think that I have offended in praying for my brethren, who are in trouble; and for the Letter I ſaw, if the concealing thereof be a fault, I ſubmit my ſelf to his Majeſties will.* The Jury proceeding declared him guilty of Treaſon: yet the ſentence was continued, and he ſent to the *Tolbuith*, where he remained ſome months, and in end upon his Supplication was pardoned and put to liberty.

In

In the ſame Court *David Home* of *Argathy*, with *Patrick Home* his brother, were condemned to die for keeping intelligence with the Commendatory of *Driburgh*, and in the afternoon executed. Yet was it no matter of State, but ſome private Accounts that reſted undiſcharged at his parting forth of the Country, wherein they had interchanged one or two Letters. This ſeverity was univerſally diſliked, but that which ſhortly after enſued was much more hateful. To breed a terror in people, and cauſe them abſtain from communicating in any ſort with the exiled Lords, a Proclamation was made, *That whoſoever ſhould diſcover any perſon offending in that kind, ſhould beſides his own pardon receive a ſpecial reward.* Hereupon did one *Robert Hamilton* of *Egliſmachan* delate *Malcolm Douglas* of *Mains* and *John Cunningham* of *Drumwhaſill* for having conſpired to intercept the King at hunting, and detain him in ſome ſtrong Hold, till the Lords might come and receive him. A meer Forgery, yet gladly hearkened unto by thoſe that deſired to be rid of them; for they were both Gentlemen of good reſpect, and miſtruſted of the Court, *Mains* eſpecially, becauſe of his valor and manhood. To make out the Accuſation, it was deviſed, that Sir *James Edmonſton* of *Duntraith*, who had lived in great familiarity with them, ſhould be charged with the ſaid crime, and upon his confeſſion to be pardoned; which by the policy of the Accuſer, to his own perpetual diſcredit, he was menaced to yield unto.

An. 1584. *David Home* and his brother executed.

Robert Hamilton of *Egliſmachan* delateth the Lairds of *Drumwhaſill* and *Mains*.

Matters thus dreſſed, Colonel *William Stewart* was ſent to apprehend them, who finding them in their own houſes, did without any reſiſtence bring them priſoners to *Edinburgh*. The ninth of *February* they were preſented before the Juſtice, Mr. *John Grahame* ſitting as Deputy, and Mr. *Edward Bruce* as aſſeſſor. Beginning made with *Duntraith*, he was indicted for conſpiring with *Mains* and *Drumwhaſill*, (the accuſer *Hamilton*) and others, for taking and detaining the King in the manner aforeſaid, which was ſaid to be plotted by the Earl of *Angus*, and imparted to him and the reſt on pannel by *John Home*, commonly called *Black John*. He, without making any defence, confeſſed all, betaking him to the Kings mercy. *Drumwhaſill* accuſed of the ſame conſpiracy, and of conſulting with *Duntraith* thereupon at the Churches of *Strablen* and *Killern*, was farther charged with the treaſonable attempt of *Ruthven*, whereof he had been partaker. What he anſwered, I find not in the proceſs: but when *Mains* his Indictment was read, he denied all, and ſo cleared himſelf by the unlikelihood, and their impoſſibility to compaſs a buſineſs of that importance, to all that were preſent, as in their hearts they did pronounce him innocent. Notwithſtanding they all three were convicted, and declared guilty of Treaſon. Doom was only pronounced againſt *Drumwhaſill* and *Mains*, and they the ſame day hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh*. The Gentlemens caſe was much pitied, *Mains* his caſe eſpecially. *Hamilton*, who made the delation, lived after this in a continual fear, and abhorred of all men: he kept ſtill in the company of *Arran*, unto the alteration of Court at *Striveling*; at which time *James Johnſton* of *Weſtraw*, pretending a vow that he had made to revenge *Mains* his death, did kill him as he was flying through the Park on the South ſide of the Town.

Drumwhaſill and *Mains* put to a Trial.

They are found guilty and executed.

The unhappy end of *Hamilton* the delator.

Theſe cruel and rigorous proceedings cauſed ſuch a general fear, as all familiar ſociety and entercourſe of humanity was in a manner left, no man knowing to whom he might ſafely ſpeak or open his mind. *Arran* in the mean time went on, drawing into his own hands the whole managing of affairs, for he would be ſole and ſupreme over all. The Earl of *Argile* having departed this life the year preceding, he was created Chancellor. The office of Secretary he gave to Mr. *John Metellan*, *Lethingtons* ſon, having baniſhed the Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, who formerly poſſeſſed the ſame. The Caſtles of *Edinburgh* and *Striveling* he had himſelf in cuſtody, then made himſelf be choſen Provoſt of the Town; and as if all this had not been enough, he was declared General Lieutenant over the whole Kingdom. In a word, whatſoever he pleaſed was done, and without him nothing could be done. This ſtirred up great emulation againſt him in Coutt. The Maſter of *Gray*, a great favorite at that time, did take it diſdainfully that every thing ſhould be governed by him; Sir *Lewis Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk, a man of brave ſpirit, did alſo hardly endure it; and Mr. *John Metellan*, though he had followed him ſtill from *Morton's*

Arran his power and credit at Court.

An. 1585. Execution to that time, began to fall away and work his own credit: thoſe things were cunningly diſſembled as among Courtiers, and all outward reſpect given him by thoſe that were plotting his ruine.

Arran laboreth to gain the Queen of *England*.

To his felicity nothing, as he thought, was wanting but the friendſhip of *England*; this he was adviſed by the Maſter of *Gray* to ſeek by the Lord *Hunſdons* means, who lay then Governor of *Berwick*: a meeting whereupon wrought betwixt them, and at *Fulden* ſome three miles from *Berwick* (whither *Arran* went)

12 *Auguſti.*

matters ſo dreſſed, as upon the aſſurance of his ſervice to the Queen of *England*, it was promiſed that the exiled Lords, who lay near the Borders waiting to raiſe ſome ſtirs, ſhould be called to *London*, and upon verification of the Conſpiracy wherewith *Mains* and the reſt were charged, put forth of *England*. In this hope

The Maſter of *Gray* ſent into *England* the beginning of *October*.

the Maſter of *Gray* is ſent into *England*, and Commiſſion given him for remanding the fugitive Rebels; or, if that could not be obtained, for removing them farther off from the Borders of *Scotland*: more privately he was deſired to uſe all means for winning the Queens favor to the Earl of *Arran*. And for preparing the way

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* ſent into *England*.

to his Legation, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* was ſent ſome weeks before to inform the Queen of the King his ſincerity in Religion, becauſe of the rumor which the Miniſters who fled thither had diſperſed to the contrary. The Queen, profeſſing to have received great content by his information, recommended to the King above all things conſtancy in his Profeſſion, aſſuring him in that caſe of her unchangeable friendſhip.

The Queens anſwer to the Maſter of *Gray*.

The Maſter of *Gray* at his coming had favourable acceptance, though he was known to be a Catholick *Roman*; and for the point of remanding was anſwered, that ſhe did not think thoſe Gentlemen whom the King called Rebels intended any harm to his Perſon, but if the contrary was made to appear, they ſhould not be ſuffered to remain in her Kingdoms: And for that the King required touching their farther remove from the Borders, the ſame was promiſed, and the Lords accordingly called from thence, and commanded to ſtay at *Norwich*. This anſwer

The Juſtice Clerk directed into *England*, *April* 1585.

reported to the King by the Maſter of *Gray* at his return, drew another Legation, wherein Sir *Lewis Ballenden* Juſtice Clerk was imployed. The thing committed to him was the Accuſation of the baniſhed Lords, and verifying againſt them the Conſpiracy for which *Mains* and *Drumwhaſill* had ſuffered.

The baniſhed Lords challenged by the Juſtice Clerk.

The Lords upon this were brought from *Norwich* to *London*, and there challenged by the Ambaſſador, who, as appeared, inſiſted with great fervor againſt them. But the Maſter of *Glamis*, anſwering for the reſt, made their innocency in that particular to be clearly ſeen, which was heard no leſs willingly by the Judges than delivered by the Speaker. Neither was the Accuſer any worſe minded towards them, for all the ſhew he made; and at the ſame time were grounds laid both for their reſtitution, and *Arran* his ſubverſion; the Queen and Council of *England* being privy to all, and ſecretly advancing their enterpriſe. *Arran* in the mean time had aſſurance given him of the Queens friendſhip, and ſuppoſing all things to be right, went on in his accuſtomed manner, not caring what enmity he drew upon

Arran draweth much envy upon himſelf.

himſelf. The Earl of *Athol*, the Lord *Home* and Maſter of *Caſſils* were committed to priſon. The firſt, becauſe he refuſed to divorce from his Wife (a Daughter of the Earl of *Gowry*) and intail his lands to him; the next, for that he denyed him his part of the lands of *Dirleton*; and the third, for denying him a loan of ſome monys, which it was thought he might ſpare.

His falling out with the Lord *Maxwel*.

His laſt falling out in that kind was with the Lord *Maxwel*, for an excambion of the Barony of *Mernis* and the lands of *Maxwel-heugh* with the Barony of *Kinneil*, which he poſſeſſed by the forfeiture of the *Hamiltons*. *Maxwel*, not liking to change his old inheritance with ſuch a new and uncertain purchaſe, excuſed himſelf, and would not hearken to the change: but he thinking to force him thereto by ſome indirect means, travelleth with the Lady *Johnſton*, who gave attendance at Court, to cauſe her Husband to accept of the Provoſtry of *Dunfreis*, and moveth the King to write unto the Town to elect *Johnſton* their Provoſt, for that he, being Warden of the Weſt Marches, would thereby be made more able to keep good order in theſe parts. *Maxwel* interpreting this to be done, as it was,

to

to his disgrace, at the time of Election convocated his friends, and debarring *Johnston* from entring the Town, procured himself to be continued in the Office. Hereupon informations were made to the King, that there could no quietness be expected in these parts unless *Maxwel* his power was curbed. Charges were also directed to cause him present certain of the name of *Armestrong*, for whom he was obliged; which he not performing was denounced Rebel, and Commission given to the Laird *Johnston* to pursue him; for whose better enabling he had two companies of hired souldiers allowed him, under the charge of two Captains, *Lamby* and *Cranston*. *Maxwel* hearing of these preparations gathered his forces, and with a part thereof sent his natural brother *Robert Maxwel* to intercept the two Captains ere they should joyn with *Johnston*. They encountering in the Moor of *Crawford*, after a sharp Conflict the Captains were defeated, *Lamby* and most of his company killed, and *Cranston* with divers others taken prisoners. *An.* 1585.

Troubles betwixt the *Maxwels* and *Johnstons*.

Johnston, lest he should be thought to do nothing, did then make Incursions upon *Maxwel*'s lands, raising fire, and carrying away great spoil: which *Maxwel* repayed with the burning of the house of *Lockwood*, and the slaughter of some of the *Johnstons* in *Annandale*. And thus did they make war one against another, till it happened that *Johnston* in a certain Conflict was take by *Maxwel*, and made prisoner. The griet of this overthrow gave *Johnston* shortly after he was liberated his death: but the wrath of the Court still continuing, a Convention of the Estates was called to suppress *Maxwel*, and a Subsidy granted of 20000 pounds for levying of soldiers to pursue him. Thereafter all that could bear Arms, dwelling on the South of *Forth*, were commanded to be in readiness for attending the King in an Expedition that he intended towards these parts. But the Plague breaking out in *Edinburgh* did rage so vehemently all that Summer as nothing could be done; so the Expedition was put off certain months.

Johnston taken prisoner and shortly after dyeth.

Meanwhile there fell out an accident which did quite alienate the Queen of *Englands* favor from *Arran*. Sir *John Forrester* and *Thomas Kar* of *Farnherst*, Wardens of the middle Marches, being met for restoring some goods taken from the *English*, a Tumult fell out, wherein Sir *Francis Russel* Son to the Earl of *Bedford* was killed: this was laid upon *Farnherst*, and he said to have done it by *Arrans* instigation; for they two were at that time in great friendship. And when the Queen did require *Farnherst* to be delivered, *Arran* did strongly oppose it: yet the King for her satisfaction did confine them both, the one in S. *Andrews*, and the other in *Aberdene*. *Arran* after a little time was relieved to his house at *Kinneil*; the other contracting sickness kept bed a long space, and as was thought died of displeasure at *Aberdene*. A man he was of an haughty spirit, and had endured much trouble in the service of the Kings Mother, which he esteemed should have made him better respected than as he conceived he was.

Sir *Francis Russel*, Son to the Earl of *Bedford*, killed at a meeting in the Borders.

Arran and *Farnherst* confined.

Farnherst dieth at *Aberdene*.

Shortly after this accident Sir *Edward Wotton* was imployed in an Ambassage from *England*, for contracting a League offensive and defensive with the King in the cause of Religion. For then came that *Holy League*, as they called it, to be discovered; which the Pope, the *Spanish* King, the *Guises* & others had made to extirpate the Reformed Religion. The Queen of *England* understanding her self to be principally aimed at, found nothing better than to make a counter-League with the Princes Reformed: and to that effect sent Sir *Thomas Bodley* to treat with the King of *Denmark* and the Protestant Princes in *Germany*, and at the same time imployed Sir *Edward Wotton* towards the King. The motion did so please him, as presently he called the Estates at S. *Andrews*, and having in a long and pithy speech expressed the dangers threatned to Religion, with the necessity that the Reformed Princes had to unite themselves strongly together, procured the Act following to be concluded.

Sir *Edward Wotton* Ambassador to *Scotland* about the beginning of *June*, 1585.

A Convention of the Estates at S. *Andrews*.

We the Nobility and Estates presently convened, understanding that divers Princes and Potentates, who term themselves Catholicks, have joyned under the Popes authority in a most unchristian Confederacy against the true Religion and Professors thereof, with full intent to prosecute their wicked resolution not only within their own Estates and Dominions, but likewise in other Kingdoms, where they can pretend no lawful Power nor Authority; a purpose long since projected, and hitherto cunningly carried,

A League continued with the Queen of *England*.

An. 1585. *but now openly manifeſted, and in divers parts begun to be executed with hard and cruel effects: and conſidering withal how it hath pleaſed God to bleſs this Realm with the ſincerity of the Goſpel (the defence whereof is the moſt juſt and lawful cauſe that Chriſtians can maintain:) We have thought it requiſite not only to unite our ſelves, and joyn the whole forces which God hath granted us under our moſt Religious and Chriſtian Sovereign, for the better aſſurance of our own eſtates, and the more peaceable enjoying of ſo great a benefit; but alſo, for withſtanding the dangerous courſe intended againſt all the Profeſſors of the Truth, we have judged it needful that a general League and Chriſtian Confederacy of Princes and States, profeſſing the true Religion, ſhould be oppoſed to the ungodly Confederacy of the enemies thereof; eſpecially that the two Crowns of* Scotland *and* England, *which nature, blood, habitation, and the profeſſion of one Religion hath joyned, may be unſeparably united by a more firm and ſtrict League than hath been betwixt any Princes their Progenitors in times paſt. For which effect we under ſubſcribing, for our ſelves, and in name and behalf of the whole Eſtates of this Realm, whoſe body in this Convention we repreſent, have given and granted, like as we by the tenor hereof do give and grant, to our Sovereign Lord King* James *the Sixth, his Council or ſuch of them as his Majeſty ſhall pleaſe to nominate, our full power, privilege, aſſent and authority whatſoever, competent to us and to the three Eſtates of this Realm, to treat or cauſe to treat, confer, tranſact and conclude a Chriſtian League betwixt his Majeſty and his Highneſs deareſt Siſter and Couſen, the Queen of* England, *and to nominate and appoint Commiſſioners for that purpoſe, who ſhall meet at ſuch time and place as his Highneſs ſhall agree upon with the Commiſſioners to be directed from his ſaid deareſt Siſter, the nomination and election of whom we have remitted and do humbly remit to our dread Sovereign Lord, faithfully promiſing for us, and in behalf foreſaid, to ratifie, approve and confirm, in the firſt Parliament, whatſoever thing his Majeſty ſhall agree unto, or his Highneſs Commiſſioners in his name ſhall contract, indent, ſubſcribe or ſeal concerning the ſaid League, with all Heads, Clauſes and Articles thereof: which we do and have the more willingly done, becauſe of the truſt we repoſe in his Majeſties wiſdom, circumſpection, and earneſt zeal to maintain the Truth of God againſt all that ſhall happen to attempt any thing to the contrary. Providing always that the League do not infringe or prejudge in any ſort any former Alliances and Leagues betwixt this Realm and any other ancient Friends and Confederates thereof, except only in matter of Religion, concerning which we do fully conſent that the ſaid League be made offenſive and defenſive, avowing, and by our ſolemn oaths, ſwearing, neither to ſpare life, lands, houſes, goods, nor whatſoever it hath pleaſed God to grant unto us, in defence and maintenance thereof.*

This Act was paſt on the laſt of *July* with a great conſent, and was ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, the Commendators of *Culroſs*, *Balmerinock*, *Driburgh*, *Kinroſs*, *Lindors*, *Blantire* and *Pettinweyme*, repreſenting the Spiritual Eſtate; by the Earls of *Arran*, *March*, *Athol*, *Montroſs*, *Marſhal* and *Rothes*, the Lords *Oliphant*, *Thirlſtane*, *Gray*, *Sinclare*, *Down* and *Fleming* for the Nobility; and by the Commiſſioners of Burghs, and all the Officers of Eſtate, amongſt the reſt by the Maſter of *Gray*, who, though he did profeſs himſelf a *Roman* Catholick, would in nothing that the King affected be thought refractary.

It was thought that the Ambaſſador did reſt well ſatisfied with the Kings forwardneſs towards the League, and that he ſhould have preſently returned; but he had ſome other buſineſs in truſt, which was carried more cloſely. This was to make friends to the exiled Lords, and labor their reſtitution, as had been concluded in *England*. To this effect he kept divers private meetings with the Maſter of *Gray*, the Secretary and Juſtice Clerk; giving the Lords intelligence from time to time of his proceedings. Among other means he thought expedient that they ſhould reconcile their private quarrels with the Lord *Hamilton* and his brother *Claud*, who were likewiſe exiled and living then in *England*. He wrought ſo as they were brought, as it ſeemed, to a perfect Accord, promiſing to take one courſe, and joyn all in the ſame cauſe. But *Claud* fearing either the event of the enterpriſe, or not having

having buried his former grudges, did afterwards ſeparate, and by diſcovering their purpoſe procured to himſelf liberty to return; yet did he not find that acceptance which he expected, being ſhortly after his coming confined in *Aberdene*, and within a little while commanded to leave the Country, and go into *France*. *An.* 1585. Lord *Claud* after his Agreement with the baniſhed Lords taketh a courſe by himſelf.

There came this Summer from *Denmark* certain Ambaſſadors to redeem as they pretended, the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Shetland*, alienated of old from that Crown; yet the true Errand was to propone that Marriage unto the King which was ſome four years after happily perfected. The King receiving them kindly, and excuſing himſelf for the matter of *Orkney*, becauſe of the Peſtilence which raged as then in *Edinburgh* (where the Regiſters of the Kingdom were kept) promiſed, how ſoon commodity ſerved, to give all reaſonable ſatisfaction, and to ſend ſome in Commiſſion to treat of thoſe matters. Ambaſſadors from *Denmark*, *July* 12.

How ſoon they were dimitted, the King went into *Striveling*, and from thence to *Hamilton*, to recreate himſelf as he was accuſtomed, where he received advertiſement that the baniſhed Lords were come down to the Borders, and that *Maxwel* was to joyn his forces with them. Hereupon he returned to *Striveling*, and ſending for *Arran*, made Proclamations to go through the Country, commanding all the ſubjects to meet him at the Caſtle of *Crawford* the 22 of *October*, for reſiſting the attempts of the Rebels. But things were ſo prepared at Court by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador, as the Lords did prevent the King in his Expedition. They had appointed their Rendezvous at *Linton* in *Tweddale*, and meeting there did ſolemnly ſwear, not to ſeparate nor give over the proſecution of their enterpriſe till the King ſhould be moved to accept them in favour, and put *Arran* forth of his company. *Maxwel* brought with him 300 ſoldiers that had ſerved againſt *Johnſton*, and about 700 horſemen; all the others did ſcarce equal that number, though *Bothwell*, *Home*, *Teſter*, *Ceſford* and *Drumlanrig* had joyned with them. To juſtifie their proceedings, they gave forth a Proclamation in all the places they came unto, declaring the cauſes of their enterpriſe to be, *The defence of the Truth, the deliverance of the King from corrupt Counſellors, and the preſerving of Amity with* England. In this Proclamation nothing was left unſaid that might make *Arran* odious and hateful; amongſt other things he was charged to have bragged of his deſcent from *Duck Mordock* (who was beheaded in the time of King *James* the firſt) and to lay claim to the Crown by that Title, calling himſelf *King James the Seventh*. It is true, that in the Parliament held the year preceding he took proteſtation in open Court, that he renounced any title that he might pretend to the Crown that way; which I ſuppoſe he did to purge himſelf of that aſperſion: but the Proteſtation was laughed at in the time by the wiſer ſort, and gave them to think that ſuch a folly had once poſſeſſed his mind. The King advertiſed of the Enterpriſe of the baniſhed Lords. A Proclamation to meet the King at the Caſtle of *Crawford*. A Proclamation given out by the baniſhed Lords.

The Proclamation did often mention him and Col. *Stewart* as abuſers of the King. Of the reſt of the Counſellors there was no ſpeech, which increaſed *Arrans* jealouſie of them. Now how ſoon the Ambaſſador heard that the Lords were entered in the Country, fearing that ſome notice ſhould be taken of his dealing, he left *Striveling*, and went in haſte to *Berwick*, without ſaluting any man. They ſent a Poſt after him with a letter, deſiring to know the cauſe of his ſudden departure, and whether he was directed by the Queen his Sovereign to go away in ſuch ſort. Being overtaken at *Alnwick*, he anſwered, that he had no ſuch direction from the Queen when he was firſt imployed, but that of late he had received a command to retire, becauſe ſhe ſaw no hope of the delivery of that wretched *Farnherſt*. This he made the pretext of his departure; yet in reaſon he could not alledge it, *Farnherſt* lying bedfaſt at the time in *Aberdene*, where he was committed, which was notified to him, and he knew to be a truth. In the concluſion of his Letter he ſaid, *That he could not grant that he had departed* inſalutato hoſpite, *ſeeing he performed that Office both with his heart and hand, and that he ſhould by all poſſible means endeavor that his departure ſhould rather help to maintain than diſſolve the Amity betwixt his ſovereign and him.* That which he ſpeaketh of his hand was a Letter that he left to be given to the King the day after he was gone, in which he laid the cauſe upon *Arrans* credit, without whom he ſaw nothing could be obtained. *Arran* ſeeing the Letter that he left to be given to the King, began to think that all was not The Ambaſſador went, not ſaluting the King. A Poſt is ſent after him, and his excuſe.

An. 1585. found, and accuſed the Maſter of *Gray* as being privy to the Ambaſſadors departure, which he denied; yet all that time nothing was done that was fitting either for the Kings ſafety or reputation; and not ſo much as the Caſtle furniſhed with victuals, which might have eaſily been provided.

The Lords make haſte to *Striveling.* Neither were the Lords ignorant of this, which made them uſe the greater ſpeed, marching directly to *Falkirk*, and the next day, which was the laſt of *October*, to *Striveling*, at the Church called St. *Ninians*, (a half mile or leſs from the Town) they put themſelves in order of battel, and ſtood ſo till night fell; at which time, upon warning given them by their friends within the Town, they advanced, and knowing all the paſſages, entred by a certain back way without any reſiſtence.

The Town of *Striveling* taken. *Arran* had taken upon him to watch that night, and was keeping the Town-gate, when a cry was raiſed that the Town was taken. The Earl of *Crawford*, who watched with him, fled to the Caſtle; but he eſcaped by the Bridge of which he kept the keys. Some weak reſiſtence was made by Colonel *Stewart* at the head of the Market-ſtreet, but he was ſoon put back with the ſlaughter of one or two of his company. The Borderers, according to their cuſtom, fell upon the ſtables, and made prey of all the Gentlemens horſes, whereof they found good ſtore. The ſpoil otherwiſe was not great, as of a Town not very rich in Merchandiſe.

Two of the Council directed to the Lords. In the morning betimes the Caſtle was incloſed, which they knew could not long hold out, for it was unfurniſhed, and ſcarce provided with victuals of one day. In this extremity the King was adviſed to employ two of his Council towards the Lords, to ask what they intended. Choice was made of the Secretary and Juſtice Clerk, as men whom they would willingly hear. At the firſt meeting the Secretary was rough enough with them, ſaying, *That ſuch violent forms were not to be approved, and to deal in that manner with their King they would find it unſure; for what was extorted from him by force or fear he would ſoon find means to undo, and never want men to ſerve him in that whereunto his will was bent: That humble Petitions became ſubjects, and had been more fitting than to come in the manner they did.*

The Lords Anſwer. The Lords anſwered, 'That it grieved them ſore to be reduced to that neceſſity, 'nothing being more dear to them than the Kings honor and ſafety. But what 'could they have done? they were baniſhed from their Country, put from their 'livings, their friends uſed with cruelty, the King not permitted to hear them in 'their juſt defence, and always ſhut up from preſenting their Petitions. That 'their coming in that manner was not to diſhonor nor force the King, to whom 'they would be moſt humble Supplicants, and upon their knees, if they ſhould 'find acceſs, beg mercy at his hands. All they did was to ſave themſelves from 'ruine, and to be ſecured from their adverſaries, who had wronged them and the 'whole States of the Kingdom. Wherefore they beſought them, as their Coun-'trymen and friends, to intercede with his Majeſty, that they might be accepted 'in favour, and all things compoſed in the moſt quiet and honorable manner for 'the King and State that could be deviſed.

This reported to the King did mitigate his mind a little. *For my ſelf*, ſaid he, *I did never like that mans violence* (*meaning* Arran) *and howbeit I cannot but offend with their doings, yet for the Countrys ſake, and preſervation of publick Quietneſs,*

The Kings care of thoſe that attended him. *I can pardon and overpaſs all: but one thing I deſire you that have been in conference with them to look to, that none in my company receive any harm. I know there are quarrels betwixt the Earl of* Crawford *and the Maſter of* Glammis; *that the Earl of* Angus *doth not like* Montroſs; *and I believe that Colonel* Stewart *is not well beloved for things done in my ſervice. Theſe I cannot ſee with mine honor hurt; provide for that, and that they may be in ſafety, and I ſhall willingly admit them.*

The King is pleaſed to admit the Lords in his preſence. When this was ſhewed the Lords, they ſaid. 'That they had not taken up Arms 'for any private quarrel, nor would they mixe their particulars with the publick; 'but it ſhould be good, for eſchewing ſuch inconveniencies as might happen, that 'the Noblemen (whom the King had named) were put in cuſtody with ſome ſpe-'cial perſons, and that the Colonel ſhould be diſcharged from his Office of the 'Guard, and the ſame confered to another. This being declared to the King, he 'gave his conſent to receive them.

Being

Being brought unto his preſence, they fell all upon their knees, and the Lord *Hamilton* (who had the precedency in regard of blood) taking the ſpeech, ſaid, 'That they were come in moſt humble manner to beg mercy, and his Majeſties love 'and favor. The King anſwered, *My Lord, I did never ſee you before, and muſt confeſs that of all this company you have been moſt wronged: you were a faithful ſervant to the Queen my mother in my Minority, and when I underſtood not, as I do, the eſtate of things, hardly uſed. The reſt of you that have ſince that time been exiled, and put from your livings, cannot ſay but it was your own fault, and that your misbehavior procured the ſame. But* (turning himſelf to *Bothwell*) *what ſhould have moved thee,* Francis, ſaid he, *to take this courſe, and come in Arms againſt me? Did I ever do thee any wrong? or what cauſe hadſt thou to offend? I wiſh thee a more quiet ſpirit, and that thou mayeſt learn to live as a ſubject, otherwiſe thou wilt fall in trouble. To you all who, as I truly think, have not meant any harm to any Perſon, I am pleaſed to give both my hand and my heart, and will remember nothing that is paſt, providing you carry your ſelves from henceforth as becomes men of your places, and behave your ſelves as dutiful Subjects.* So they aroſe one by one, and kiſſed his Majeſties hands. It was obſerved that he received the Lord *Hamilton* with greateſt kindneſs, and gave him more reſpect than any others. This was the day after their entering into *Striveling*.

An. 1585. The Lord *Hamilton* in name of the reſt ſupplicates mercy. The Kings Anſwer. The Kings ſpeech to *Bothwell*.

Two days after in Council the King, renewing his promiſe, did by publick Act confirm the Pardon granted to them and their Aſſiſters, which was by ſound of trumpet proclaimed. The Earls of *Crawford* and *Montroſs* were commended to the Lord *Hamilton*, who uſed them honorably, and Colonel *Stewart* ſuffered quietly to depart. *Arran* after his flight went unto *Coile*, and lived private amongſt his friends, deprived of all his Honors. The charge of the Guard was given to the Maſter of *Glammis*, the Caſtle of *Dumbritton* put in the Lord *Hamiltons* cuſtody, *Striveling* reſtored to the Earl of *Marre*, and the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* delivered to Sir *James Home* of *Coldinknows*. In this manner did the baniſhed Lords recover his Majeſties favor, and returned to their places; albeit *Thuan*, deceived by ſome information, hath otherwiſe related the ſame.

The King his Pardon proclaimed. The Maſter of *Glammis* made Captain of the Guard. *Thuan. hiſt. l.* 43.

How ſoon the Noblemens peace was proclaimed, *Duntraith*, who had touched them in his depoſition againſt *Mains*, (ſaying that he was told by one *John Home*, the Lords had hired every one of them two men to kill the King) compeired before the Council undeſired (ſo the Act of Council beareth) and confeſſed that he was ſuborned by Captain *James* (who is henceforth to be ſo named, the title of *Arran* being returned to the right owner) to make that Depoſition, which in it ſelf was falſe and untrue, out of fear and to ſave his life. For verifying whereof, and to ſhew that he did not confeſs this to pleaſe the Noblemen whom he had wronged by ſuch a Confeſſion, he declared that for the ſpace of eight weeks before their return he had revealed the ſame to the Maſter of *Gray*, and to the Provoſt of *Linclouden*; both which upon oath teſtified no leſs to the King. The Council, for clearing the Noblemen, ordained his Confeſſion to be publiſhed; which was not very needful, (for no man did believe the delation) only it ſerved to diſcover the falſhood of the ſuborner.

Duntraith confeſſeth the Depoſition he made againſt the Lords to be falſe.

In *December* following a Parliament was held at *Linlithgow* for ratifying the Peace, and aboliſhing the memory of things paſt. In this meeting the Miniſters who returned in company of the Lords did earneſtly urge the repealing of the Acts concluded in the year preceding againſt their Diſcipline: which the King did utterly refuſe, ordaining *that none ſhould either publickly declare, or privately ſpeak or write, in reproach of his Majeſties Perſon, Eſtate or Government*, as is to be ſeen in the firſt Act of the Parliament. The Miniſters offending greatly therewith, eſpecially with the Lords, who had promiſed to ſee theſe Statutes repealed, ſtirred up one Mr. *William Watſon*, in his preaching before the King, to complain of the neglect that was made of the Church, and condemn the Acts above mentioned.

A Parliament at *Linlithgow*. The Miniſters offend with the reconciled Lords.

This young man the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* had placed in *Edinburgh*, after the departing of the Miniſters to *England*, and he to this time had carried himſelf very orderly: but now either fearing that his admiſſion by the Biſhop ſhould be queſtioned,

Mr. *William Watſon* Miniſter committed.

An. 1585. oned, or to insinuate himself this way in the favours of the Ministers, who he thought would rule all matters of Church as they pleased, he took the boldness to reprove the King to his face. This his unseasonable and insolent doing was by all wise men condemned, and he therefore committed to the Castle of *Blackness*. Not the less another of the same humor, called *James Gibson*, Minister at that time at *Pencaitland*, usurping the Pulpit at *Edinburgh*, where the sickness was somewhat relented, fell out in the like impertinent Railing, saying, *That Captain* James, *with his Lady* Jesabel, *and* William Stewart (meaning the Colonel) *were taken to be the persecutors of the Church; but that now it was seen to be the King himself, against whom he denounced the Curse that fell on* Jeroboam, *That he should die childless, and be the last of his Race.* This man called before the Council confessed the speeches, and proudly maintained the same; for which he was likewise committed. *Watson*, upon promise to amend and behave himself more dutiful, was suffered to return to his Charge; but the business with the other lasted to a longer time, as we will afterwards hear.

James Gibson committed for the like insolence.

The Superintendent of *Lothian* his death, with a short description of his life.

A few days before this Parliament deceased Mr. *John Spottiswood*, Superintendent of *Lothian*, a son of the House of *Spottiswood* in the *Mers*, within the Barony of *Gordon*, of which Surname it seems his first progenitors were by the Arms they have common with the *Gordons*. His Father was killed at *Floudon*, in the unfortunate Battel wherein King *James* the Fourth died, and he left an Orphan of four years old. When he was come to some years, his friends put him to School in *Glasgow*, where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and having a purpose to study Divinity, which he most affected, was wholly diverted from following the same by the Persecutious he saw used against those they called Hereticks. So leaving the Country he went into *England*, and there falling in familiarity with Archbishop *Cranmar*, was by his means brought to the knowledge of the Truth. Soon after the death of King *James* the Fifth he returned to *Scotland*, and stayed a long time with *Alexander* Earl of *Glencarn*, who was known to be affected that way. In his company he came to be acquainted with *Matthew* Earl of *Lennox*, and was by him imployed towards *Henry* the Eighth, at the time that *France* did cast him off by the Cardinals dealing, as we touched before. Matters succeeding to the Earl of *Lennox* his mind, and he setled in *England*, he remained with him some months; after which, longing to visit his friends, he returned; and being known to Sir *James Sandilands* of *Calder*, a man of great authority in those times, he was by him allowed to accept the parsonage of *Calder*, which fell then void. And living sometimes with him, sometimes with the Prior of S. *Andrews*, in whose company he went to *France* at the time of the Queens Marriage, he made no great stay in any one place, till the work of Reformation began; at which time he took himself to reside in *Calder*, and was how soon those Troubles ended chosen Superintendent of the Churches of *Lothian*, *Mers* and *Teviotdale*, which by the space of 20 years he governed most wisely. His care in Teaching, planting of Churches, reducing people and persons of all sorts into the right way, was great, and so successful, as within the bounds of his Charge none was found refractary from the Religion professed. In his last days, when he saw the Ministers take such liberty as they did, and heard of the disorders raised in the Church through that confused Parity which men labored to introduce, as likewise the irritations the King received by a sort of fooliish Preachers; he lamented extremely the case of the Church to those that came to visit him (who were not a few, and of the better sort.) He continually foretold, *That the Ministers by their follies would bring Religion in hazard, and, as he feared, provoke the King to forsake the Truth; therefore wished some to be placed in authority over them to keep them in awe*: for, *the Doctrine*, said he, *we profess is good, but the old Policy was undoubtedly the better; God is my witness, I lie not.* And that these were his ordinary speeches some two years before his death, many then alive could witness. He was a man well esteemed for his piety and wisdom, loving, and beloved of all persons, charitable to the poor, and careful above all things to give no man offence. His happy life was crowned with a blessed death, which happened the 5 of *December*, 1585, in the 76 year of his age.

But

But to turn to the Hiſtory. The King having ſetled with the Noblemen, was very deſirous to be at reſt with the Church, and for that effect called ſome of the principal Miniſters to a Conference, wherein certain Articles were agreed for the better ordering of the Eccleſiaſtical affairs; the full determination thereof being remitted to the general Aſſembly of the Church, which was appointed to meet at *Edinburgh* the tenth of *May* following. In the mean time *Maxwel*, puffed up with the Victory at *Striveling*, the praiſe whereof he aſcrived wholly to himſelf, grew ſo inſolent, as that the next *Chriſtmas*, taking with him a company of lewd and diſſolute perſons, he went in proceſſion from *Drumfreis* to the College-Church of *Lincluden*, and cauſed a Maſs to be ſaid. Complaint being made to the King, he was brought before the Council, and committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained ſome months. This gave occaſion to the Proclamations which followed againſt Prieſts, Jeſuits, and trafficking Papiſts, who were all commanded to leave the Country before a certain day, under pain of death.

An. 1585.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

The Lord *Maxwel* goeth to Maſs, and is committed.

Whileſt theſe things were a doing Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, to be revenged of S. *Andrews*, who had deviſed, as he imagined, the Acts made in the Parliament 1584, and penned the Declaration thereafter publiſhed, did in a Synod holden at S. *Andrews* raiſe a new ſtir, calling a number of Barons, Gentlemen and Miniſters together, as to a Synod. Mr. *James Melvil* his Couſen made the Exhortation, in which, after a bitter Invective againſt the deviſers of the foreſaid Acts, he admoniſhed the Aſſembly to cenſure him that was known to have had a chief hand therein, meaning the Biſhop. The Exhortation ended, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Profeſſor of Philoſophy in S. *Leonards*, was choſen Moderator; and their Doctrine, as their manner was, being approved, it was proponed that, according to the admonition given them, they ſhould proceed in cenſuring the Biſhop. The opinions were divers: ſome holding it dangerous, and doubting what might be the conſequence of it; others inquiring if he was cited to the Diet: a third ſort, more zealous than the reſt, cried out that it was the cauſe of God, in which no man ought to forecaſt or fear any danger, and that a Citation needed not where the iniquity was ſo manifeſt; or if that was thought neceſſary, that he might be warned to the next Seſſion, being then in the City. This courſe was held moſt formal, and ſo was he ordained to be cited.

A Synod at S. *Andrews* called againſt the Biſhop, *April* 1586.

In the afternoon he compeired, and *proteſting that he did not acknowledge that Judicatory*, deſired to underſtand what they could charge him with, that he might juſtifie himſelf. They, miſregarding the Proteſtation, did accuſe him of deviſing the Statutes made in the year 1584, of penning the Declaration publiſhed thereafter by his Majeſty, of traducing the brethren that fled into *England* in the time of his Ambaſſage, and a number the like. To this the Biſhop, repeating his Proteſtation, anſwered, *That the Statutes were not of his deviſing, but when they were proponed, he gave his opinion that they were good and lawful Acts, and therein had ſerved his Conſcience, the very ſecond Act of that Parliament being an expreſs confirmation of Popery, in ſo far as by it the dignity and authority of the three Eſtates was ordained to ſtand unaltered according to the ancient cuſtom of the Realm.* This, ſaid they, is a ratifying of the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, according as it was in time of Popery. The Biſhop replyed, *That the Biſhops were not by themſelves an Eſtate, but they repreſented in a part the Eſtate of the Church, which was ever reputed the firſt Eſtate of the Realm ſince the Kingdom became Chriſtian; and that in the Act alledged no Juriſdiction was eſtabliſhed: howbeit for the Epiſcopal power there was enough to be ſaid, if the time and place were fitting. But if they had no farther to ſay, he would leave them, putting them again in mind that they were not his Judges, and that theſe were matters too high for ſubjects to meddle in.* At laſt, perceiving they would proceed with their Cenſures, he appealed to his Majeſty, the Council and three Eſtates of the Realm, or any other lawful Aſſembly convened by his Majeſty, and ſo departed.

The Biſhop being cited compeired, and proteſteth againſt the Judicatory.

His Accuſation.

He appealeth to the King and Eſtates.

When he was gone, they entered into conſultation what to do: many were of the judgment, that after Appellation there could be no proceeding; others thought that the Appellation was not to be regarded. The matter being put to voices, it was concluded

The Biſhop excommunicated by the Synod.

An. 1586. concluded only by two voices more that he ſhould preſently be excommunicated. The Moderator by his place was to pronounce the Sentence, but he refuſed, albeit he was no friend to the Biſhop at that time; nor would any other of the Aſſembly take on them to do it. In end when all were diſſolving, and a great part gone forth out of the Schools (for the Aſſembly was kept in S. *Leonards*) a young fellow named Mr. *Andrew Hunter* willed them to ſtay, profeſſed that he was warned by the Spirit to pronounce the Sentence, and ſo aſcending the chair he read the ſame out of the Book, a few only remaining as witneſſes.

Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvil* excommunicated by a ſervant and Conſen of the Biſhop.

This ſcornful and diſorderly proceeding was the next day requited in a form nothing better. Two of the Biſhops ſervants going to the Church at the time of Prayer, cauſed one Mr. *Samuel Cunningham*, Couſen to the Biſhop, go unto the Readers ſeat, and pronounce the ſame Sentence againſt Mr. *Andrew* and Mr. *James Melvil*, and ſome others of the Miniſters of *Fife*, who had been moſt eager and forward againſt the Biſhop.

The Appellation with the reaſons ſent to the King.

The Appellation was ſent by the Biſhop to the King, wherein firſt he excepted againſt the Synod as being unlawfully convened; next, againſt their unjuſt proceedings. The firſt he proved, ſaying, 'That Convention was expreſs againſt the 'Statutes of Parliament, and neither convocated by his Majeſties Letters, nor by 'the Biſhop of the Dioceſe; moderated by a Laick perſon, that had no impoſition 'of hands; made up of a company of Barons, Gentlemen, Maſters of Schools and 'Colledges, who bare no Function in the Church, and ought not to have any ſuffrage in Eccleſiaſtick Aſſemblies, and no ſufficient number of Miniſters aſſiſting; who, though they had been preſent, by the Apoſtles rule were ſubject to the 'Biſhops cenſure, and he not to theirs. The Injuſtice of their proceeding he qua'lified, firſt, by their Citation, which neither contained a lawful cauſe, nor did al'low him a reaſonable time for his appearing. 2. That at his compeiring (which 'was under Proteſtation that he did in no ſort acknowledge that Judicatory) they 'accuſed him for defending his Majeſties Authority in matters Eccleſiaſtick, and 'for his conſent given to the Statutes made in Parliament 1584, which were the 'Laws of the King and three Eſtates, which they ought not to take on them to con'demn. 3. That they tranſgreſſed the order ſet down in their own Aſſemblies, which 'appoints Admonitions and Prayers to be uſed for perſons before the Sentence be 'pronounced. 4. That the concluſion they took to Excommunicate paſſed not 'with conſent of thoſe who were preſent, and was carried only by the voices of two 'ignorant Miniſters. 5. That the Moderator of the pretended Synod refuſing to 'pronounce the Sentence, one *Hunter* ſervant to Mr. *Andrew Melvil* had taken on 'him to do the ſame, alledging he was moved thereto by the Spirit of God: which 'was a conceipt of the Anabaptiſts, and ought to be ſeverely puniſhed. And, '6. That Miniſters in their Synods, were they never ſo lawfully convened, may 'not excommunicate any perſon without conſent of the Church whereof he is a 'member. Saint *Paul* (on whoſe example they grounded their Excommunicati'ons) not preſuming by himſelf to caſt forth the inceſtuous man, but writing to 'the Church of *Corinth*, that when they were convened together they ſhould do 'the ſame. In end he intreated his Majeſty, whom it ſpecially concerned, to take 'cognition of their unruly and tumultuous proceeding, and to conſider how dange'rous a thing it was to put the Spiritual ſword in the hands of ſuch men, who might 'poſſibly attempt the like againſt his Majeſties ſelf and others of the Council.

A Tranſaction betwixt the Biſhop and the Aſſembly.

When the King heard of this buſineſs, he was greatly commoved; yet becauſe the Diet of the Aſſembly was approaching, he thought beſt to continue the matter to that time; where, inſtead of examining the Proceſs, or diſcuſſing the Biſhops Appellation, a Tranſaction was made in this ſort. That the Biſhop, by his hand-writing or perſonal appearance in the Aſſembly, ſhould deny, 'that ever he publickly 'profeſſed or meaned to claim any Supremacy, or to be Judge over other Paſtors 'and Miniſters, or yet avowed the ſame to have a ground in Gods Word; and if ſo 'he had done, it had been an error againſt his Conſcience and knowledge. That he 'ſhould alſo deny, that in the laſt Synodal Aſſembly he did claim to be Judge of 'the ſame; and if he had done it, that he erred therein, and in his imperious beha'vior

'vior and contempt of the ſaid Synod. That thirdly, he ſhould promiſe to behave 'himſelf better in time coming, and crave pardon for any overſight by him com- 'mitted, claiming no farther than juſtly he might by Gods Word; and in all other 'things carry himſelf as a moderate Paſtor ought, laboring to be the Biſhop de- 'ſcribed by S. *Paul*, ſubmitting his life and doctrine to the judgment and cenſure 'of the general Aſſembly, without any reclamation, provocation, or appellation 'from the ſame in any time coming. That the Aſſembly on the other part, for his Majeſties ſatisfaction, and to give teſtimony of their willing minds to obey his Highneſs ſo far as they could, and in conſcience they might, and for the good hope they had of his Majeſties favorable concurrence in building up the houſe of God, 'ſhould hold the ſaid Proceſs and Sentence as undeduced, and not pronounced, and 'reſtore the Biſhop, in ſo far as concerned the ſaid Proceſs and Sentence, to the 'eſtate wherein he was before the pronouncing of the ſame; eſpecially becauſe the 'ſaid Proceſs was led and deduced during the time of the Conference, where- 'upon his Majeſty had conceived offence: with this proviſo, Always that the 'Biſhop ſhould obſerve what he promiſed in the premiſſes, and carry himſelf du- 'tifully in his Vocation in all times thereafter. *An.* 1586.

What ſhould have moved the King to hearken to a mediation ſo prejudicial both to his own Authority, and the Epiſcopal Juriſdiction which he labored to eſtabliſh, cannot well be conjectured; except we will think, that by yielding to the Churches advice in this particular, he hoped to win them in end to thoſe things which ſerved for his peace and their own quietneſs; or, which I rather believe, that he did only temporize not ſeeing another way how to come by his ends, and was content to keep them in any tolerable terms, till he ſhould find himſelf of power ſufficient to redreſs theſe Confuſions. Whatſoever the reaſon was, the Biſhop did ſet his hand to the conditions propoſed by the Aſſembly, and received that declarator for an Abſolution. Yet did not this ſatisfie the adverſe party, who peremptorily urged the juſtifying of their Proceſs, with the confirmation of the Sentence they had pronounced; which when they could not obtain, the ſame *Hunter* that pronounced the Sentence proteſted publickly againſt the Aſſemblies proceeding, and that, notwithſtanding the Abſolution granted, the Biſhop ſhould ſtill be eſteemed as one juſtly delivered to Satan, till his Converſion were ſeen to be true and effectual: unto which Proteſtation Mr. *Andrew Melvil* and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* did adhere. The reaſons moving the King to give way to this Tranſaction.

A motion was made in the ſame Aſſembly for cenſuring the Miniſters that had allowed the Acts concluded in the Parliament 1584 by their Subſcriptions; but they were found to be ſo many, as it was feared the urging thereof would breed a Schiſm and diviſion in the Church: wherefore after ſome altercation the matter was left, and all the Miniſters exhorted to judge charitably one of another, notwithſtanding their diverſity of opinions. The Miniſters exhorted to judge charitably one of another.

The Articles agreed upon in the Conference with certain Miniſters, whereof the determination was remitted to this Aſſembly, made more ado: for they having condeſcended to accept Biſhops, and to give them a chief hand in the Government of Church affairs, they always being ſubject to the Cenſure of the general Aſſembly, it was ſtrongly oppoſed, and after a long diſpute concluded; *That in reſpect the Biſhop was a Paſtor, as other ordinary Paſtors are, he ſhould for matters of Life and Doctrine be tried by the Presbytery and Synod, and for his Commiſſion otherwiſe in Church affairs be ſubject to the general Aſſembly.* The Secretary, Juſtice Clerk, with the Lord Privy Seal and other Commiſſioners for the King, diſaſſented, and made Proteſtation, *That ſeeing the Aſſembly had gone from the Articles agreed upon in the Conference, nothing either then or at the preſent concluded ſhould ſtand in force.* And thus were they like to diſſolve, but that Mr. *Robert Pont*, *James Martin* and *Patrick Galloway*, being directed to inform his Majeſty of the difference, things were drawn to this middeſt; *That the Biſhops and others having Commiſſion to viſit Churches ſhould be only ſubject to the trial of the general Aſſembly, and ſuch as had power from them, till farther order was taken. And that where Biſhops and Commiſſioners were reſident, they ſhould preſide in the meet-* Acts concluded in the Aſſembly.

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An. 1586. *ings of Presbyteries and Synods*, Fife *only excepted, where Mr.* Robert Wilkie *was appointed to moderate the Presbytery of* S. Andrews *until the next Synod.* In the mean time was the order of the Presbyteries set down, and their power defined, the King taking no notice of their doings in that kind.

His Majesties Answer to the advice given him by the Chancellor.

The Secretary, who then supplied the place of Chancellor, perceiving the King so vexed with the affairs of the Church, and the Ministers so refractary and unwilling to be ruled, did advise him to leave them to their own courses, saying, 'That 'in a short time they would become so intolerable, as the people would chase them 'forth of the Country. *True*, Answered the King, *if I were proposed to undo the Church and Religion, I should think your counsel not ill; but my mind is to maintain both, therefore can I not suffer them run into these disorders that will make Religion to be despised.* This answer did shew the Kings love to the Church, and his care of the good estate thereof, which in this place I thought was not to be passed.

In the Estate matters went not much better at this time, and amongst others nothing gave more offence than the acquitting of Mr. *Archibald Douglas* by form of Assize. This man was known to be guilty of the Murther of the King his Father, and had fled into *England* six years before. The Earl of *Morton* at his death, and one *Binny*, Mr. *Archibalds* own servant, who was executed about the same time, did both declare that he was present at the doing of that wicked fact, for which the King had often by his Letters and Ambassages intreated the Queen of *England* to have him delivered, yet could not obtain it. At this time a remission being purchased to him for the concealing of that Murther, with a Letter of rehabilitation, whereby he might stand in judgment and plead against his Forfeiture, he was in a Jury held the 26 of *May* declared innocent, and absolved of the Crime.

This was done by the procurement of the Prior of *Blantire*, who had intruded himself in the Parsonage of *Glasgow*, whereof Mr. *Archibald* had been titular, and otherwise than by his restoring could have no right in Law to retain it. Many were grieved to see Justice in that sort abused for maintaining a Sacrilegious possession; but to have sent him back to *England*, with a commission to reside there as Ambassador for the King, which likewise was done, was an error inexcusable: and how he and the Master of *Gray*, who was chief man in that led Assise, carried themselves in the Queen of *Scotlands* business, wherewith they were trusted, we will hear in the end of this year.

In the Isles this Summer there arose great troubles betwixt *Mackoneil* of *Dunowaig* and *Macklain* of *Dowart*, two principal men in those parts. *Macklain*, by his education in the Continent, had learned civility and good manners, and living accordingly was in great respect both with his own people, and all his neighbors about. *Mackoneil* out of an emulation made many quarrels to the other, and in end laid a plot to murther him (though he had married his Sister;) which he went about in this manner. He sent a message to *Macklain*, offering to visit him at his house, and to stay some days, providing he would come back, and make merry with him in his Country, that the world might see all injuries were forgotten, and that they loved one another as brethren and good neigbors ought to do. *Macklain* answered, that he should be welcome, but for his going back with him they should talk at meeting. *Mackoneil* receiving this answer, came the next day, and was received very kindly by *Macklain*. Some four or five days he stayed, using the fairest shews of amity that could be wished, and being to part homewards, intreated *Macklain* to go with him, saying, that he would leave his eldest Son and a Brother-german pledges for his safety. *Macklain* upon his importunity yielded to go, but refused the pledges; lest he should seem to distrust him, and so went, taking with him of the trustiest of his kindred and servants some 45.

A Trouble in the *Isles* betwixt *Mackoneil* and *Macklain*.

They arrived in *Kintire* early in the morning, and all that day were welcomed with liberal feasting, according to that peoples custom. At night when they were gone to rest, *Mackoneil* beset the house wherein *Macklain* and his people lay, with a number of men, and called him to come forth and drink; he answered, that of drink they had too much, and that it was then time to rest. Yet it is my will, said *Mackoneil*, that ye arise and come forth. *Macklain* hearing this began to suspect some

ſome bad dealing, and dreſſing himſelf and his men, did open the door; where perceiving a company in Arms, and *Mackoneil* with his Sword drawn, he asked what the matter was, and if he meant to break his faith. No faith, ſaid he, I gave none, and muſt now have an account of you and your friends for the wrong I have received. *Macklain* had taken that night his Nephew a little child to bed with him, and being put to his defence, kept the Child upon his left ſhoulder in manner of a targe. The Child cried for mercy to his Uncle: wherewith *Mackoneil* moved did promiſe to ſpare his life, providing he would render his weapons, and become his priſoner. *Macklain* ſeeing no better was content, and thereupon was conveighed with ſome keepers to another Houſe: All the reſt (two excepted) upon the like promiſe rendred themſelves. The two whom he refuſed to ſpare defended the door ſo deſperately as neither he nor his men durſt enter: whereupon fire was put to the Houſe, and they burnt within the ſame. The others that rendred, notwithſtanding the promiſe given them, were all beheaded in *Macklains* ſight, ſome of them the next morning, and the reſt the days following. *Macklain* himſelf had gone the ſame way, but that it happened *Mackoneil* by a fall from his horſe to break his leg, by which accident his Execution was prolonged. In the mean time, upon notice given to the King of that barbarous fact, an Herald was ſent with a charge to deliver *Macklain* to the Earl of *Argile*: but this availed not, but ſtill he was detained and compelled to yield unto moſt unreaſonable conditions before he got his liberty; which was no ſooner obtained than *Macklain*, to revenge himſelf, fell upon *Mackoneils* bounds, burning and killing man, wife and child without mercy, and ſo took a cruel revenge of the others treachery. *An.* 1586.

A little before this Trouble in the Iſles, *Hugh Montgomery*, Earl of *Eglinton*, a young Nobleman of good expectation, was likewiſe treacherouſly killed by certain *Cunninghams*, who envying the Noblemans worth (otherwiſe they could pretend no juſt quarrel) did conſpire his death. The chief Actors were, *David Cunningham* of *Robert-land*, *Alexander Cunningham* of *Aiket*, and *John Cunningham* of *Corſell*, who were ſet on work by the Earl of *Glencarn*, upon promiſe that he ſhould maintain them; which afterwards he diſclaimed. This unhappy fact did coſt much blood, and was afterwards honorably revenged by *Robert* Maſter of *Eglinton*, the Noblemans Brother. The Earl of *Eglinton* treacherouſly murthered.

In the month of *June* was the League with *England* concluded, which the year preceding had been carefully labored, and by Commiſſioners ſent from both Princes in a meeting at *Berwick* accorded in this form. A League with *England* concluded.

1. That both their Majeſties, finding by the courſe of the preſent proceedings in foreign parts, that divers Princes, terming themſelves Catholicks, and acknowledging the Popes Authority, were joyned in Confederacy for extirpating true Religion, not only within their own States and Dominions, but alſo in other Kingdoms, leſt they ſhould ſeem to be leſs ſolicitous for the defence thereof, than were their enemies who thought to overthrow the ſame, have thought it neceſſary, as well for the preſervation of their own Perſons, on whoſe ſafety doth the Well of their ſubjects depend, as for the better maintenance of the true ancient Chriſtian Religion which they now profeſs, to joyn and unite themſelves in a more ſtrict League than hath been between any Princes their Progenitors. The Articles of the League.

2. That they ſhould labor and procure by their beſt endeavors to draw the Princes profeſſing the ſame Religion to joyn and concur with them in the like defence thereof.

3. That this League ſhould be offenſive and defenſive againſt all that ſhould attempt to diſturb the exerciſe of true Religion within their Kingdoms, notwithſtanding of any former Leagues of Friendſhip or Amity contracted with the ſaid attemptors.

4. That if any Prince or State whatſoever ſhould invade the Realms and Dominions of either of their Majeſties, or attempt any injury againſt their Perſons or ſubjects, upon notice thereof given or received, neither of them ſhould yield aid, counſel, advice or ſupport, directly of indirectly, to the ſaid invader, notwith-

An. 1586. ſtanding any Conſanguinity, Affinity, League or Treaty made or to be made.

5. That in caſe of Invaſion they ſhould aid and aſſiſt each other in manner and form following. That is to ſay, if the Realm of *England* ſhould be invaded by any forein forces in parts remote from the Realm of *Scotland*, the King, upon ſignification made unto him by the Queen of *England*, ſhould furniſh 2000 horſemen and 5000 footmen, or a leſſer number, as it ſhall pleaſe the ſaid Queen to require, and ſhould cauſe them to be conducted from the Borders of *Scotland* into any part of the Kingdom of *England*, upon the charges of the ſaid Queen. And in caſe the ſaid Realm of *Scotland* be invaded in any part remote from the Borders of *England* by any forein force, the Queen of *England*, upon requiſition made to her by the King, ſhould furniſh 3000 horſemen and 6000 footmen, or a leſſer number at the option of the ſaid King, and ſhall cauſe them to be conducted to any part of the Realm of *Scotland*, upon the Kings charges.

6. That in caſe the Invaſion ſhould be upon the North parts of the Realm of *England*, within 60 miles of the Borders of *Scotland*, the King, being required by the Queen, ſhould gather all the forces he could make, and joyn with the *Engliſh* power for purſuing the ſaid Invaders, and keep them together for the ſpace of thirty days, or ſo much longer (if it be required) as the ſubjects of *Scotland* are uſually accuſtomed to ſtay in the fields for the defence of their own Kingdom.

7. That upon any Invaſion or trouble ariſing in the Realm of *Ireland*, the King upon notice given to him thereof, ſhould not only inhibit the repair thither of any of the inhabitants of *Argile*, Iſles and places adjacent, or any other parts of his Dominions; but alſo, if it ſhall happen them or any of them to go into *Ireland* with a number extraordinary, and in hoſtile manner, the King, upon ſignification of the ſame, ſhould denounce them his Rebels, and purſue them as Traitors.

8. That neither of their Majeſties ſhould hereafter aid, ſupply, aſſiſt or entertain the Rebels or adverſaries of the other, nor permit them to reſide either privately or publickly in any part of their Dominions, but upon the firſt requiſition of the Prince to whom they are Rebels they ſhould undelayedly be delivered according to the old Leagues and Treaties, or then expulſed forth of their Dominions, and redreſs made for any injuries they ſhould happen to commit during their abode in the ſame.

9. That all controverſies about matters of Borders or wrongs committed in the Marches ſince the time of the Kings accepting the Government in his own perſon, and by the ſpace of four years preceding, ſhould be friendly determined and ſatisfied at the ſight of Commiſſioners to be appointed on both ſides, who ſhould meet at the within ſix months after the date of the preſents, and decide thereupon.

10. That neither of their Majeſties ſhould enter into any League or Treaty (without the conſent of the other, by Letters ſigned with their hands under their privy Signet) with any other Prince or State whatſoever, to the prejudice of the preſent Treaty.

11. That all former Treaties betwixt their Majeſties Progenitors and both Realms, notwithſtanding any diſcontinuance thereof, ſhould ſtand in full force, ſo far as they ſhould not be found derogatory to the preſent Treaty: and that this Treaty ſhould not infringe any League made by either of their Majeſties or their Progenitors with other their Friends and Confederates in any time by-gone, the cauſe of Religion only excepted, wherein the preſent League is declared to be offenſive and defenſive.

12. That both their Majeſties ſhould confirm the League by their Oaths and great Seals, which ſhould be interchanged, and mutually delivered to others.

13. Laſtly, that the King, at his coming to the perfect age of 25 years, ſhould cauſe the preſent League to be ratified by the States of the Kingdom; like as the Queen at the ſame time ſhould cauſe it to be confirmed in her Parliament of *England*.

The names of the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms.

Theſe were the Articles of the League concluded at *Berwick*, and ſigned by *Francis* Earl *Bothwell*, *Robert* Lord *Boyd*, and Sir *James Home* of *Coldinknows*, Commiſſioners

missioners for the King; as likewise by *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, *William* Lord *Evers* and Sir *Thomas Randolph*, Commissioners for the Queen of *England*. *An.* 1586.

It was believed that this Amity contracted with such deliberation should have continued firm; for (besides the publick League) the Queen had sent to the King a Letter under her own hand, wherein she did faithfully promise to suffer nothing to be done that might derogate or prejudge his Right and Title to the Crown of *England*; and, for a farther demonstration of her kindness, had presented him with a gift of annuity answerable to the lands possessed by the Lady *Lennox* in her time, which the King by divers Ambassadors had formerly required as due to him. Yet a few months after brake out a business that put them in worse terms than before, and was with no small difficulty pacified; the Story whereof shall next be related. A new Breach between the King & Queen of *England*.

The Queen of *Scots* being touched in the trial of *Babingtons* Conspiracy, as having interchanged divers letters with him, a consultation was kept concerning her, and what was fittest to be done; for they considered that all the Conspiracies made against the Queen of *England*, being chiefly intended in hope of the *Scottish* Queen her Succession, so long as she lived their Sovereign should never be secured, and that therefore the surest course was to put her out of the way: but how this should be done, the opinions were different. The Earl of *Leicester* advising to dispatch her secretly by Poison, Secretary *Walsingham* did mightily oppose it, as that which would draw upon the Queen both danger and dishonour, and besides in it self was a thing injust, and no better than a cruel Murther. Wherefore his opinion was, that the course of Law should be kept, and Commission given for making her Process, and as the Trial should prove for giving sentence and judgment. This opinion prevailing, certain Noblemen Counsellors and Judges were chosen for the business, who meeting at the Castle of *Fotheringhay* (where the Queen of *Scots* was kept) the eleventh of *October*, and calling her before them, did charge her with the said Conspiracy, and entercourse of Letters. She refusing to answer and be tried as a Subject, being her self an absolute Queen; they nottheless went on, and finding her guilty, pronounced the Sentence of Death: which was shortly thereafter confirmed by the Estates of Parliament, and a Supplication therewith delivered to the Queen for putting their Decree in execution. The proceedings against the Queen of *Scots*. Sentence of Death pronounced against her.

How soon the King was advertised thereof, he sent *William Keith* Gentleman of his Chamber to the Queen, with a Letter to this effect, *That howbeit it seemed strange to him that the Nobility and Counsellors of* Scotland *should take upon them to give Sentence upon a Queen of* England, *and one descended of the Royal blood of* England; *yet he would think it much more strange, if she should stain her hands with the blood of his Mother, who was of the same Royal condition with her self, and of the same sex: which as he could not believe would enter into her heart to do; so if it should be, he desired her to consider how much it touched him in honor, that was both a King and a Son, to suffer his Mother an absolute Prince to be put to an infamous death.* *William Keith* sent into *England* about the midst of *November*.

No answer being returned to this, upon new advertisement that the Queen was like to be drawn by the importunity of her Estates to give way to the Execution, he wrote to *William Keith* more sharply, 'requiring him to shew the Queen how 'unjust he held that proceeding against his Mother, and that it did neither agree 'with the will of God, who prohibiteth to touch his Anointed ones, nor with 'the Law of Nations, that an absolute Prince should be sentenced and judged by 'Subjects: and if she would be the first to give that pernicious example of pro'faning her own and other Princes Diadems, to remember her, that both in re'spect of nature and honor it concerned him to be revenged of so great an indig'nity; which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and a'broad: and therefore willed him for to labor for a delay, until he should send an 'Ambassador with overtures that might content and satisfie her Majesty. For by a Letter sent from Mr. *Archibald Douglas*, that stayed as Lieger in *England*, he found him not well disposed in the business, and thereupon resolved to employ a more honorable person, and one of greater trust. A Letter to *William Keith* from the King.

An. 1586. The Queen in paſſion at the ſight of the Letter.

William Keith having intreated the Queen for a delay, when as he could not obtain the ſame, did ſhew her the direction he had received from the King: at which ſhe grew into ſuch a paſſion, that if *Leiceſter* and others of the Council, who ſtood by had not pacified her, (ſaying that the King did only requeſt that his Mother might be well uſed, which was a thing natural, and in him an honourable part; and that ſome ill-affected perſons poſſibly had ſtirred him up to write ſo ſharply) ſhe had ſimply refuſed him any more hearing. But after ſhe had calmed a little ſhe ſaid, *That ſhe would give no anſwer in anger, and would think of it to the next morning.* At which time calling him again, ſhe ſaid, *That no precipitation ſhould be uſed, and if any did come from the King within a few days, ſhe would ſtay all proceeding to that time, and be glad to hear ſuch overtures as might ſave the Queen of* Scots *life, and aſſure her own.*

The King excuſeth the ſharpneſs of his Letter.

The King advertiſed of this, and conceiving ſome hope that matters would draw to an agreement, wrote of new to the Queen, and ſhewed, 'he was ſorry to 'underſtand that his Letter ſent to *William Keith* had been conſtrued as if he did 'threaten her and her Eſtates, whereas his purpoſe was only to inform her of the 'rumors going in the Country, and how much his ſubjects were moved at theſe 'forms of proceeding with their Queen. That for himſelf, he knew well enough 'how hardly ſhe was preſſed, by objecting unto her the peril of her own life; and 'that he never blamed her directly for any thing that was done. Therefore prayed 'her to accompt him her moſt honeſt and ſtedfaſt friend, ſince he never had nor 'ſhould deſerve any other at her hand, and that for his ſake ſhe would continue 'any proceeding againſt his Mother till his Overtures ſhould be heard, which the 'Maſter of *Gray* ſhould bring with him, who was to take journey on the *Satur-'day* following.

The Maſter of *Gray* and Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent into *England.*

This Letter was ſpeedily carried to the Queen, which gave her ſome content; for thereby ſhe perceived the rumors to be vain which were diperſed, that he was minded to break the League, and denounce War. The King in the mean time having convocated the Eſtates, and imparted to them the caſe wherein his Mother ſtood, had very liberal promiſes given him, and a preſent ſupply of money granted for diſpatch of his Ambaſſador. And being adviſed by the Eſtates to joyn Sir *Robert Melvil* in Commiſſion with the Maſter of *Gray*, as one that had ſerved his Mother long and was truly affected unto her, the Commiſſion was given to them both, and they put in equal truſt. So parting from *Halirudhouſe* the 20 of *December*, they came to *London* the penult of the month.

The firſt Audience.

The next day Maſter *Archibald Douglas* being ſent to deſire Audience, the ſame was refuſed, upon information that they had been with Monſieur *Bellieur* the *French* Ambaſſador, who was imployed in the ſame errand, and had parted from the Queen in wrath; yet the contrary being ſhewed, and that they refuſed to make any viſit till they had preſence of her Majeſty, they had acceſs granted the firſt of *January.* (At her firſt meeting ſhe quarrelled the Letter ſent to *William Keith*; asking if they were ſent with the like threats. They anſwering that his Majeſties Letter might receive a good conſtruction, and that he had interpreted himſelf by another directed ſince that time to her Majeſties ſelf, ſhe brake forth into theſe ſpeeches; *I am unmeaſurably ſorry that there can be no means found to ſave the life of your Kings Mother and aſſure mine own: I have laboured to conſerve the life of us both, but now I ſee it cannot be done.* The Ambaſſador replied, that the caſe was nothing ſo deſperate, and that means would be found to put her Majeſty in aſſurance: yet becauſe they perceived her to be ſomewhat commoved, they did not think meet to enter at that time more deeply in the buſineſs.

The ſecond Audience and effect thereof.

At their ſecond Audience, which was on the tenth day, the Queen begun with them in this ſort: *A thing long looked for ſhould be good when it cometh; I would now hear what are your Kings offers.* The Maſter (as having the firſt place) anſwered, No man makes offer, but for ſome cauſe. If it like your Majeſty, we deſire to know if the perſon be extant for whom we offer, (for the rumor went conſtantly that the Execution was paſt.) As yet, ſaid the Queen, I think ſhe be; but will not promiſe an hour. Nay, ſaid the Maſter, we come not to ſhift, but to offer from our Sovereign whatſo-

whatſoever in reaſon can be required; ſpecially that he ſhall interpoſe his credit in behalf of his Mother, and give the chief of his Nobility for pledges, that no Plot nor practice ſhould be contrived againſt your Majeſty with her knowledge or privity: of if that be not ſufficient, and that it ſhall pleaſe your Majeſty to ſet her at liberty, and ſend her into *Scotland*, a courſe ſhall be taken for ſecuring your Majeſty from all ſuch attempts by her occaſion. *An.* 1586.

The Queen calling the Earl of *Leiceſter*, with the Lords Admiral and Chamberlain, who were nigh by, repeated in their hearing theſe offers, ſetting them all at nought: whereupon the Maſter took occaſion to ask, What ſhould move any man to attempt againſt her Majeſty for the Queen of *Scots? Becauſe*, ſaid the Queen, *they think ſhe ſhall ſucceed to me, and that ſhe is a Papiſt.* And if theſe means ſhall be taken away, ſaid the Maſter, apparently the danger will ceaſe. *This*, ſays the Queen, *I would be glad to underſtand.* If her right Succeſſion to *England* ſhall be made over in our Sovereigns perſon, (ſaid he) Papiſts will have no more hope; and this I think the Queen his Mother will dimit and reſign to him. *But ſhe hath no right*, ſaid the Queen, *for ſhe is declared incapable of Succeſſion.* And if ſhe have no right, ſaid the Maſter, the hope of Papiſts ceaſeth, and it is not to be feared that they will enterpriſe for her. *But the Papiſts*, ſaid the Queen, *do not allow our Declaration.* Then let it fall, ſaid he, in the Kings perſon by her Reſignation.

The Earl of *Leiceſter* objecting that ſhe was a Priſoner, and could not dimit; the Maſter anſwered, *That the Dimiſſion being made to her Son, with the advice of all the friends in* Europe, *in caſe (as God forbid) the Queen by any attempt ſhould be cut off, ſhe would have none to partake with her againſt her Son, all the Princes her friends ſtanding obliged for her Reſignation, that it ſhould be valid and effectual to her Son.* The Queen making as though ſhe did not underſtand him, the Earl of *Leiceſter* ſaid, that the Ambaſſadors meaning was, that the King ſhould be in his Mothers place. *Is it ſo?* ſays the Queen, *then I put my ſelf in worſe caſe than before. By Gods Paſſion* (this was her Oath) *that were to cut my own throat: he ſhall never come in that place, and be party to me.* The Maſter anſwered, that *he would be more party, if he ſhould come in his Mothers place through her death. Well*, ſaid the Queen, *tell your King what I have done for him, to keep the Crown on his Head ſince he was born, and that for my part I mind to keep the League that ſtands betwixt us; which if he break, it ſhall be a double fault.* And with theſe words ſhe made away. Sir *Robert Melvil* following her, requeſted for ſome eight days continuance of the Execution; whereunto ſhe anſwered, *Not an hour.*

The King advertiſed of this Conference, and that nothing but extremity was to be expected, wrote with his own hand to the Maſter of *Gray* as followeth. *Reſerve your ſelf no longer in your dealing for my Mother, for you have done it too long, and think not that any thing will do good if her life be loſt, for then adieu with farther dealing with that State. Therefore if you look for the continuance of my favor, ſpare no pains nor plainneſs in this caſe, but read my Letter written to* William Keith, *and conform your ſelf wholly to the contents thereof; and in this let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell.* A Letter from the King to the Maſter of *Gray*.

But before this letter came unto the Maſter, he was drawn upon another courſe, and made more cold in the buſineſs, & (as the fame went) had taken upon him to pacifie the King, though the Execution proceeded. Meanwhile the Earl of *Leiceſter* wrote to the King a letter, wherein not obſcurely ſhewing what was reſolved, he adviſed him to deal more moderately in that matter of his Mother, her cauſe not being worth the loſing of ſuch a friend as the Queen his Sovereign was. *For albeit no man*, ſaid he, *can blame your Majeſty to ſpeak for the ſafety of your Mothers Life; yet under your favor, your Majeſty being a Prince & a King, you ought to weigh without partiality the caſe of other Kings and Princes, as if it might be your own. Juſtice ſhould in the boſome of all Princes have ſuch place, that howſoever Affection may draw them, if the thing which any of them doth for the preſervation of their own life & eſtate be warranted, it ought to be born withal by others.* And proceeding in this manner, he ſaid, *Let the caſe of the Queen my Sovereign be made your Majeſties, & that any King or Prince being* The Maſter of *Gray* drawn upon another courſe.

An. 1586. *ing in your hands, claiming Title to your Crown, would raiſe War within your Realm againſt you, or conſpire with Traitors within your Court or Country to kill you; in that caſe I would fain know what would be thought fit by any faithful or good ſubject of yours, that you ſhould do to ſuch a one. Nay give me leave, I humbly beſeech you, to ask even of your ſelf, what you would think fit in ſuch a caſe. There is no other difference, but that this offence is done to the Queens Majeſty by your Mother.* And after that a little, (for the letter is long) *If my plain ſpeech may be without offence to your Majeſty, I would wiſh you to think well of this caſe: remember how near it is to you, and how much nearer it may be to you: it is ſeen to all the world wherefore the Life of our Miſtris is ſought, whoſe death may be as far out of your way, as your Mothers Liberty hath heretofore been dangerous to your Eſtate. And if it be true which I have heard, your Majeſties ſelf, by her will, had as well been diſpoſſeſſed of the poſſeſſion of that you have, as defeated of any remainder you thought to have intereſt in. And therefore as Kings be and ought to be jealous of their own eſtate, ſo I doubt not but your Majeſty will deeply conſider of this caſe of your Mothers, wherein you may perform both the office of a Son and of a King. And as I have always adviſed you, ſo do I ſtill, except for a juſt cauſe, (which I am perſuaded you ſhall never have) give not her Majeſty any cauſe to conceive a breach of love and friendſhip on your part. She is the perſon and Prince in the world that may do you moſt good or moſt harm; let no perſuaſion or device make you think otherwiſe: the world is full of practice, and the worſt heads moſt buſie,* &c.

Secretary *Walſingham* writeth to the Lord *Thirlſtan*.

At the ſame time Secretary *Walſingham* writing to the Lord *Thirlſtan* the Kings Secretary, with whom he kept intelligence, declared, 'that it was wondred by 'all wiſe and religious men in *England*, that the King ſhould be ſo earneſt in the 'cauſe of his Mother, ſeeing all the Papiſts in *Europe* that affected the change of 'Religion in both Realms did build their hopes altogether upon her; and that ſhe 'had ſhewed her ſelf ſo paſſionate in point of Religion, as ſhe had transferred her 'pretended Right to both the Crowns unto the King of *Spain*, in caſe the King 'her Son ſhould perſiſt in his Profeſſion.

It is true that ſuch Informations were given out amongſt the Papiſts, to divert the King from conſtancy in his Profeſſion; but that any ſuch Tranſlation was made by her it is not probable, and a thing not to be believed; her Declaration at the time of her death being far other, as we ſhall hear: Albeit a Popiſh Abbot, deſcriving the life of *Laurens* the Cardinal, who was at that time Protector of the *Scottiſh* Nation, affirmeth the foreſaid Tranſlation to have been in his hands, and to have been delivered to him by Count *Olivarez* the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador at *Rome*. But that doth merit little credit: ſuch forged Titles would perhaps have ſerved, if the enterpriſe of 88 had ſucceeded; but they are now of little purpoſe.

The King commandeth the Miniſters to remember his Mother in their prayers.

The King perceiving by all theſe Letters that the death of his Mother was determined, called back his Ambaſſadors, and at home gave order to the Miniſters to remember her in their publick prayers: which they denied to do, though the Form preſcrived was moſt Chriſtian and lawful; which was, *that it might pleaſe God to illuminate her with the Light of his Truth, and ſave her from the apparent danger wherein ſhe was caſt.* Upon their denial charges were directed to command all Biſhops, Miniſters and other Office-bearers in the Church, to make mention of her diſtreſs in their publick Prayers, and commend her to God in the Form appointed. But of all the number, Mr. *David Lindeſay* at *Leith* and the Kings own Miniſters gave obedience. At *Edinburgh*, where the diſobedience was moſt publick, the King purpoſing to have their fault amended, did appoint the third of *February* for ſolemn Prayers to be made in her behalf, commanding the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* to prepare himſelf for that day; which when the Miniſters underſtood, they ſtirred up Mr. *John Cowper*, a young man not entered as yet in the Function, to take the Pulpit before the time, and exclude the Biſhop. The King coming at the hour appointed, and ſeeing him in the place, called to him from his ſeat, and ſaid, Mr. *John*, that place was deſtinate for another; yet ſince you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my Mother in your Prayers, you ſhall go on. He replying, *he would do as the ſpirit of God ſhould direct him*, was commanded

The third of *February* appointed for ſolemn prayers in her behalf.

The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* appointed to preach, Mr. *John Cowper* uſurpeth the place.

manded to leave the place: and making as though he would ſtay, the Captain of the Guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burſt forth in theſe ſpeeches, *This day ſhall be a witneſs againſt the King in the great day of the Lord:* and then denouncing a woto the inhabitants of *Edinburgh*, he went down, and the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* entering the Pulpit did perform the duty required. The noiſe was great for a while amongſt the people; but after they were quieted, and had heard the Biſhop (as he was a moſt powerful Preacher) out of that Text to *Timothy* diſcourſe of the duty of Chriſtians in *praying for all men*, they grieved ſore to ſee their Teachers ſo far overtaken, and condemned their obſtinacy in that point. In the afternoon *Cowper* was called before the Council, where Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* and Mr. *William Watſon* Miniſters, accompanying him, for ſome idle ſpeeches that eſcaped them, were both diſcharged from preaching in *Edinburgh* during his Majeſties pleaſure, and *Cowper* ſent priſoner to *Blackneſs*. *An.* 1586.

The Miniſters at *Edinburgh* diſcharged.

The Queen of *Scots* ſome moneths before having notice given her of the Sentence pronounced againſt her, and being willed to prepare her ſelf for death, was nothing thereby dejected, but thanking God for that her ſorrowful life was now to end, intreated the Queen of *England* by her Letters for three things. 'Firſt, that 'her Body might be carried by her ſervants into *France*, to be buried beſides her 'Mother. Next, that ſhe ſhould not be put to death ſecretly, but in the preſence 'of her ſervants and others, who might bear witneſs of her dying in Chriſt, a-'gainſt the falſe rumors which her adverſaries might diſperſe of her. Thirdly, that 'her ſervants might have leave to go whither they would, and enjoy the mean Le-'gacies ſhe had bequeathed unto them in her Teſtament. Which things ſhe requeſted *in the name of* Jeſus *Chriſt, by the Soul and memory of* Henry *the* VII, *Progenitor to them both, and by the Royal Honor and Title which ſhe had carried.* In the ſame Letters ſhe complained of the indignity done unto her in the taking away of her Royal Furniture, and that her keepers did uſe her without that reſpect which was due to her eſtate and birth. But to none of theſe deſires was any anſwer given, the Queen of *England* diſſembling that ſhe had received any ſuch Letter.

The Queen of *Scots* her requeſt to the Queen of *England*.

Yet was ſhe much perplexed and doubtful what to do, whether to take her out of the way or not. If ſhe ſhould be ſpared, ſhe doubted the Noblemen who had given ſentence againſt her would take it ill, and perhaps run other courſes to free themſelves from her malice; and to take her away, ſhe knew it would be interpreted a great cruelty on her part, as likewiſe that the King her Son would be ſore diſpleaſed: for albeit that the Maſter of *Gray* at his parting from her had in private given hopes that the Kings Title being reſerved, and no prejudice made thereto by the Sentence given againſt his Mother, her Death would be forgotten; yet Sir *Robert Melvil*, who was joyned in Commiſſion with him, had aſſured her, if rigor were uſed, that friendſhip would no longer be kept. Debating thus with her ſelf ſome days upon the moſt expedient, ſhe ſigned a Warrant for the Execution, and gave it to *Daviſon* one of her Secretaries to be paſſed the great Seal: which was no ſooner done than, repenting the direction, ſhe told him that ſhe would take another way. But having before communicated the Warrant with the Council, they preſently ſent *Beal* their Clerk with the Mandate and Letters to the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Kent*, *Derby* and *Cumberland*, to ſee the ſame performed.

The Queen of *England* is doubtful which way to take.

The Earls, accompanied with the Sheriff of the Shire and Juſtices of Peace, came to *Fotheringhay* on *Tueſday* the 7 of *February*, and having ſignified the cauſe of their coming, willed the Queen to prepare her ſelf to die, for that ſhe was to ſuffer the next morning. She was no way moved, as it ſeemed, and ſaid, *I did not think that Queen* Elizabeth *my Siſter would have conſented to my Death; but ſince it is ſo, Death is to me moſt welcome. That Soul is not worthy of the Heavens Joys, whoſe Body cannot endure one blow of the Hangman. Only I will requeſt*, ſaid ſhe, *that I may ſpeak with my Confeſſor, and* Melvil *my Steward.* It was anſwered that her Confeſſor would not be permitted to come unto her, but ſhe ſhould have the Biſhop or Dean of *Peterborough*, who were nigh by, to give her comfort. She replied, *They are of another Profeſſion and cannot be fit comforters to me: but ſince you will not allow my Confeſſor to come at me, I will comfort my ſelf in God.*

The Queen of *Scots* willed to prepare her ſelf for Death.

Some

An. 1586. Her behaviour & preparation.

Some other ſpeeches paſſed amongſt them touching *Babington*, and her Secretaries *No* and *Curle*, who had both confeſſed the enterchange of Letters with *Babington*; after which the Earls departed. She, calling for Supper, commanded her ſervants to make haſte, that ſhe might have leiſure to ſet things in order. Having ſupped ſparingly, (as her cuſtom was) ſhe made an Inventory of her goods and moveables, ſetting down the names of thoſe for whom ſhe appointed them; and unto ſome ſhe gave money with her own hand. This done, ſhe wrote unto her Confeſſor, intreating him to pray unto God for her; and a few lines to the *French* King and Duke of *Guiſe* in behalf of her ſervants. At the ordinary hour ſhe went to bed, and ſlept ſome hours quietly; after which having awaked, ſhe ſpent the reſt of the night in Prayer.

The day beginning to break, ſhe apparelled her ſelf as ſhe was wont to do on the Feſtival-days, and calling together her ſervants, ſhewed unto them her Will, deſiring them to take in good part the Legacies ſhe had bequeathed unto them, ſince her means were at the time no better; and then gave her ſelf wholly to Devotion. About eight of the clock the Sheriff of the Shire, named *Thomas Andrews*, entered the Chappel, where ſhe was praying on her knees, and told her that all was ready: And I am likewiſe, ſaid ſhe. Thus ariſing, ſhe came forth to her Chamber of Preſence, where ſhe made a ſhort ſpeech to her ſervants, willing them to fear God and live vertuouſly: and ſo kiſſing her Women, and giving the men-ſervants her hand to kiſs, ſhe bad them farewel.

She biddeth her ſervants farewel.

The Earls and other Gentlemen meeting her, ſhe ſhewed a moſt chearful countenance, nothing dejected, but looking grave and devout, with a Crucifix of ivory in her hands. As ſhe was going towards the Hall, where ſhe was to ſuffer, when *Andrew Melvil* her Steward did bewail his miſhap, in that he ſhould be the carrier of the news of his Ladies Death into *Scotland*, ſhe ſaid, *Do not lament, but rather be glad for thou ſhalt ſtraightway ſee* Mary Stewart *delivered from all her cares: you may tell them that I die conſtant in my Religion, and firm in affection towards* Scotland *and* France. *Hitherto thou haſt ſerved me faithfully; and howbeit I take thee to be in Religion a Proteſtant, and I my ſelf am Catholick, yet ſeeing there is but one* Chriſt, *I charge thee, upon thine accompt to him, that thou carry theſe my laſt words to my Son, and ſhew that I pray him to ſerve God, to defend the Catholick Church, and govern his Kingdom in peace, and never to put himſelf in the power of another, as I have done. Certifie him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the Crown of* Scotland, *and will him to keep Friendſhip with the Queen of* England; *and ſerve thou him faithfully.* With theſe words ſome tears falling from her eyes, ſhe bade him farewel.

Her directions to *Andrew Melvil* her Steward.

She is brought to the place of Execution.

After this ſhe was brought to the Hall, in the midſt whereof, over againſt the Chimney, (where was a great fire) a Scaffold was erected of two foot high and twelve foot broad, having two ſteps to aſcend: the Scaffold was railed about almoſt a yard high, and all covered with black cloth, as were the Chair, Stools, and Block, and Cuſhions to kneel upon. Before ſhe went up, turning to the Earls, ſhe requeſted that her ſervants might ſtand by at her death. They anſwered, that their paſſionate weeping would diſquiet her, and do no good elſe. *Nay*, ſaid ſhe, *I will promiſe for them, they ſhall not do ſo: it is but a ſmall favor, and ſuch as Queen* Elizabeth *would not deny me, to have my Maids preſent.* She named *Melvil* her Steward, *Burgoin* her Phyſician, her Apothecary and Chirurgion, with two Maids.

The Dean of *Peterborough* offereth to comfort her.

Being on the Scaffold, and ſilence made, the Clerk of the Council did read the Commiſſion, which ſhe liſtened to, as it had been ſome other matter. That ended, the Dean of *Peterborough* began to remember her of her preſent condition, and to comfort her in the beſt way he could. She interrupting his ſpeech, willed him to hold his peace, for that ſhe would not hear him. And when, excuſing himſelf that what he did was by command of her Majeſties Council, he began again to ſpeak; *Peace Mr. Dean*, ſaid ſhe, *I have nothing to do with you, nor you with me.* The Noblemen deſiring him not to trouble her farther, ſhe ſaid, *That is beſt, for I am ſetled in the ancient Catholick Religion wherein I was born and bred, and now will die in the ſame.* The Earl of *Kent* ſaying, that as yet they would not ceaſe to pray unto

God

God for her, that he would vouchsafe to open her eyes, and enlighten her mind with the knowledge of his Truth, that she might die therein: she answered, *That you may do at your pleasure, but I will pray by my self.* So the Dean conceiving a Prayer, and all the company following him, she likewise prayed aloud in the *Latin* Tongue: and when the Dean had finished, she in the *English* Language commended unto God the estate of the afflicted Church; prayed for her Son, that he might prosper and live happily, and for Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might live long, and govern her subjects peaceably; adding, that she *hoped only to be saved by the blood of Christ, at the feet of whose Picture presented on the Crucifix she would willingly shed her blood.* Then lifting up the Crucifix and kissing it, she said, *As thy arms, O Christ, were spread abroad on the Cross; so with the outstretched Arms of thy Mercy receive me, and forgive me my sins.* *An.* 1586. She prayeth by her self.

This said she rose up, and was by two of her Women disrobed of her upper Garments. The Executioners offering their help, and putting to their hands, she put them back, saying, *She was not accustomed to be served with such Grooms, nor dressed before such a multitude.* Her upper Robe taken off, she did quickly loose her Doublet, which was laced on the back, and putting on her Arms a pair of silken Sleeves, her body covered with a Smock only, she kissed her Maids again, and bad them farewel. They bursting forth in tears, she said, *I promised for you that you should be quiet; get you hence, and remember me.* After which kneeling down most resolutely, and with the least token of fear that might be, having her eyes covered with a handkerchief, she repeated the Psalm, *In te, Domine, confido; ne confundar in æternum.* Then stretching forth her body with great quietness, and laying her neck over the Block, she cried aloud, *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* One of the Executioners holding down her hands, the other at two blows cut off her Head, which falling out of her attire seemed to be somewhat gray. All things about her were taken from the Executioners, and they not suffered to carry their Aprons, or any thing else with them that her Blood had touched; the Clothes and Block were also burnt, her Body embalmed, and in solemn manner buried in the Cathedral Church at *Peterborough*; and after many years taken up by the King her Son, and interred at *Westminster* amongst the rest of the Kings. The manner of the Execution.

This was the end of Queen *Maries* Life; a Princess of many rare Vertues, but crossed with all the crosses of Fortune, which never any did bear with greater courage and magnanimity to the last. Upon her return from *France*, for the first two or three years, she carried her self most worthily; but then giving ear to some wicked persons, and transported with the passion of revenge, for the indignity done unto her in the Murther of *David Rizio* her Secretary, she fell into a Labyrinth of Troubles, which forced her to flee into *England*, where after 19 years Captivity she was put to death in the manner you have heard. Nigh unto her Sepulchre at *Peterborough* was affixed at the time, by some friend that bewailed her Death, this Inscription. A brief description of her Fortune.

MARIA Scotorum *Regina, Regis filia, Regis* Gallorum *vidua, Reginæ* Angliæ *agnata & hæres proxima, Virtutibus Regiis & animo Regio ornata, Jure Regio frustra sæpius implorato, barbara & tyrannica Crudelitate, Ornamentum nostri seculi, & Lumen vere Regium extinguitur; eodemque nefario judicio, &* MARIA Scotorum *Regina morte naturali, & omnes superstites Reges plebeii facti morte mulctantur.* * *hic extat. Cum sacris enim vivæ* MARIÆ *cineribus, omnium Regum atque Principum violatam atque prostratam Majestatem hic jacere scito. Et quia tacitum Regale satis superque Reges sui officii monet, plura non addo, Viator.* The inscription secretly affixed on her Sepulchre. [* *Videtur aliquid deesse.*]

That is.

MARY Queen of *Scotland*, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of *France*, Kinswoman and next Heir to the Queen of *England*, adorned with Royal Vertues and a Princely spirit, having often, but in vain, implored to have the Right due to a Prince done unto her, the Ornament of our Age, and Mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; and by one and the same infamous judgment, both *MARY* Queen of *Scotland* is punished with death, The same Englished.

An. 1586. 'death, and all Kings living are made liable to the ſame. A ſtrange and uncouth 'kind of Grave this is, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the 'Aſhes of this bleſſed *MARY*, thou ſhalt know that the Majeſty of all Kings 'and Princes lies here depreſſed and violated. But becauſe the Regal ſecret doth 'admoniſh all Kings of their duty, Traveller, I will ſay no more.

The Author was not known, nor could be found out, ſo it was taken away. But as ſoon as it was told the Queen that the Execution was done, ſhe grieved exceedingly, and put on a mourning habit, laying all the fault upon Secretary *Daviſon* to whom ſhe had ſaid that ſhe would take another way. Mean while ſhe ſent Mr. *Robert Cary*, one of the Lord *Hunſdons* Sons, to the King, with this Letter of her own hand-writing.

The Queen of *England* writeth to the King by Mr. *Robert Cary*.

MY dear Brother, I would you knew, though not felt, the extreme dolor that overwhelmeth my mind, for that miſerable accident which far contrary to my meaning hath befaln. I have ſent this Kinſman of mine, whom ere now it hath pleaſed you to favor, to inſtruct you truly of that which is too irkſome for my pen to tell you. I beſeech you that as God and many mo know how innocent I am in this caſe, ſo you will believe me, that if I had done it, I would have abode by it: I am not ſo baſe minded, that the fear of any living creature ſhould make me afraid to do what is juſt, or done to deny the ſame; I am not ſo degenerate, nor carry ſo vile a mind; but as not to diſguiſe fits moſt a King, ſo will I never diſſemble my actions, but cauſe them ſhew as I mean them. This aſſure your ſelf for me, that as I know it was deſerved, if I had meant it, I would never lay it on anothers ſhoulders; and to impute to my ſelf that which I did not ſo much as think of, I will not. The circumſtances you will be pleaſed to hear of this bearer: And for my part, think you have not in the world a more loving Kinſwoman and more dear Friend, nor any that will watch more carefully to preſerve you and your State. And if any would otherwiſe perſuade you, think they bear more good will to others than to you. Thus, in haſte, I leave to trouble you, beſeeching God to ſend you a long Reign.

Your moſt aſſured loving Siſter and Couſen,
ELIZABETH. R.

The King denieth him acceſs.

The King denying him preſence, and refuſing to receive his Letters, he adverſiſed the Queen, who willed him, if he could not find acceſs to his Majeſty, to deliver his Meſſage and Letters to ſome of the Council, if it ſhould be the Kings pleaſure to take information from them. This after the delay of a few days was yielded unto, and with the Letters a Writing delivered to be ſhewed his Majeſty of this Tenor.

Mr. *Caries* Declaration in writing.

WHereas the Queens Majeſty, my Miſtris, deſiring to have your Majeſty certified aright of the Death of the Queen your Mother, and in what ſort the ſame was done, hath commanded me, ſince I am denied your preſence, to declare my Meſſage to certain of your Council; I have thought beſt to put it in Writing, becauſe words may be miſtaken, and my charge this way better performed. Firſt, She commanded me to aſſure your Majeſty, that it never entered in her thought to put the Queen your Mother to death, notwithſtanding the daily perſuaſions of her Council, the ſupplications of the Nobility, Knights and Gentlemen, and the hourly outcries of her poor people and Commonalty, wherewith ſhe was wearied, and out of meaſure grieved to ſee their determination fixed that way. And that upon adverti ſements coming every day unto her, of the preparation of Ships and men both in France *and* Spain *to invade her Realm, and reports of the breaking open of* Fotheringhay *Caſtle, and the Queen your Mothers eſcape; leſt ſhe ſhould in any ſuch extremity be unprovided, ſhe had ſigned a Warrant to her Council for doing what they thought beſt with your Mother; which Warrant ſhe delivered to her Secretary Mr.* Daviſon *to be kept, not intending it ſhould be given out of his hands, except ſome Invaſion from abroad or Inſurre-*

Insurrection of Rebels at home were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secretary, otherwise than she had purposed, having shewed the Warrant to two or three of the Council, they called the whole number together, and presently sent a Mandate for her Execution; which was done. She protests to God, before she knew of it. Hereupon the Secretary is committed, and will not escape her high displeasure. This is the effect of my Message; which if I could express so lively as I did hear her utter it with a heavy heart and sorrowful countenance, I think your Majesty would rather pity the grief which she endureth, than in any sort blame her for the fact whereunto she never gave consent. An. 1586.

The Declaration giveth no content to the King.

This Declaration gave the King no content, for he could not think that her Council would have presumed without her own knowledge to take the life of his Mother; and for the censure of the Secretary, he did esteem it but a mockery, and not a repairing of the wrong he had received. Neither wanted he persons about him to sharpen him to take revenge; some out of a desire to have all things troubled, others out of the hatred they bare to Religion, and some truly resenting the injury as done to the whole Nation. Which when the Queen understood, and that her Messenger was returned without audience, she labored by her Ministers, of whom she was ever well furnished, to pacifie his mind, and divert him from the War he had intended. These working privately with the Kings chief Counsellors, and such of his Chamber as he was known to affect, dealt so as they kept off things from breaking forth unto open Hostility, which was every day expected. Secretary *Walsingham* first by a long Letter directed to the Lord *Thirlstan*, who was then in most credit, and had the chief administration of affairs, proponed divers weighty and important considerations, that should keep the King from taking any such resolution. Because the Letter contained the very true reasons that in end moved his Majesty to forbear violence and take a more calm course, I thought meet to set it down word by word, as it standeth in the Original.

The Queen laboreth to divert the King from War.

A Letter of *Walsingham* to the Lord *Thirlstan*.

'SIR, being absent from Court when the late Execution of the Queen your So-'vereigns Mother happened, I did forthwith upon my return impart to Mr. '*Douglas* some things concerning the course was conceived here, by your said So-'vereigns best friends, fit to be holden in this remedilesse accident for continu-'ance of Peace and Amity between the two Crowns, as a thing for the weal of both 'Nations to be desired. But finding him unwilling to meddle therewith, I have 'thought good to write to the same effect unto your self. The rather for that I 'presently understand, by some advertisements out of that Country, that the death 'of the Queen is likely to breed so strange an alienation of his Majesties mind to-'wards this Realm, tending (as is reported) wholly to violence, and to revenge 'of that which hath been so necessarily done by the whole Body of the same; 'whereof as for my own part I should be right sorry, so it is generally hoped that 'his Majesty, being of that singular judgment himself, by the good help and ad-'vice of such as you are in credit and authority about him, men of wisdom and 'experience, whom he will hear, this mischief will notwithstanding be carefully 'and prudently prevented, considering how every way, all things being rightly 'weighed, this course will be found prejudicial as well to your said Sovereigns 'Estate as to his Reputation, if he resolve to persist therein.

'For, first, the enterprise will undoubtedly be condemned in the sight of all such 'as shall not be transported with some particular passion: for that they shall see 'that he takes Arms for revenge of an Action, besides the necessity wherein it is 'grounded, full of so honorable and just proceedings, as howsoever the effect was 'contrary to their liking, the manner thereof by the late Queens great favorers 'could not but be approved and allowed. And as on the one side, the King your 'Sovereign oppugning the course of Justice; of so unlawful, unjust and desperate 'a Quarrel cannot be expected any other thing than a most unhappy and mise-'rable issue: so we, being assured that in the defence of Justice the assistence of 'his mighty arm will not fail us whose judgment this was, need not to fear what-'soever man shall attempt to the contrary against this Realm.

'But

An. 1586. 'But not to ſtand upon the juſtneſs of the Quarrel, which every man perhaps 'will not ſo much regard; it would be conſidered what means your Sovereign ſhall 'have to go through with ſuch an enterpriſe, if he take it in hand. For the forces 'of his own Realm being ſo far inferior to theſe in *England*, no man is ſo ſimple 'but ſeeth it were no way ſafe for his Majeſty, truſting only thereto, to make head 'againſt the power of this Land; neither is it thought that any man will be found 'ſo unadviſed as to wiſh him ſo to do.

'But as it may be that a great number for lack of underſtanding are carried 'away with ſuch vain diſcourſes, as ſome without ſolid ground imagine of what 'might be done in this caſe by a King of *Scotland* backed and aſſiſted (as they con- 'ceive in the air) with the *French* and *Spaniſh* aid; ſo it is likely enough there ſhall 'not want thoſe that either for ſatisfaction of their private paſſions, or ſupply of 'their neceſſities, or better affectionating ſome other their private deſigns, would 'be content to ſerve themſelves of this preſent publick occaſion and opportunity; 'who will propound, and promiſe alſo, more to his Majeſty of ſuch forein aſſiſt- 'ence, than they know in their conſciences can be performed, if he would declare 'himſelf enemy to this Realm; which that he ſhould (though to his own ruine) 'the enemies of both Realms will do what they can to procure.

'But men of wiſdom and underſtanding, laying before their eyes as well the ac- 'cuſtomed delays, and after long ſolicitation and purſuit the ſimple ſupplies and 'ſupport commonly found at theſe forein Potentates hands; as alſo, how doubt- 'ful and uncertain the ſucceſs of War may prove, *England* (God be thanked) 'being ſo prepared, and in caſe to defend it ſelf, both otherwiſe, and by the con- 'junction of *Holland* and *Zelands* forces by Sea, in reſpect whereof this Realm 'need not fear what all the Potentates of *Europe* being bended againſt us can do 'for to annoy the ſame; Due conſideration, I ſay, being taken hereof, you will eaſi- 'ly judge and find, how vain it were for your Sovereign upon ſo uncertain hopes 'to embark Himſelf and Eſtate in an unneceſſary War. But much more if you 'ſhall conſider what a ſequel and train of dangers and hazards this War draweth 'therewith, the conſequence whereof reacheth to whatſoever your Sovereign 'poſſeſſeth or hopeth for in this life. For eſcaping to be ſlain in field, if he ſhould 'happen to be taken priſoner, or be conſtrained to retire himſelf out of the Realm '(things that have fallen out oft in experience) and then, having incenſed this 'whole Realm againſt him, he ſhould be diſabled from any Right in the Succeſſi- 'on of this Crown, (as authority is given to do it by the ſame Statute whereby 'they proceeded againſt the Mother) for attempting the Invaſion of this Land, 'what extremity ſhould he be reduced unto?

'And truly it could not otherwiſe be, the ancient Enmity between the two Na- 'tions, now forgotten, being by drawing blood one of another again likely to be in 'ſuch ſort revived, as it would be impoſſible to make them like of a Prince of that 'Nation, and ſpecially him who had been upon ſo unjuſt a ground the author of 'that unfortunate Breach.

'Beſides that the greateſt part of the ancient Nobility, by whoſe Judgment 'the late Queen was condemned, and the reſt of the principal Gentlemen of the 'Realm, who confirmed the ſame in Parliament, ſhould have juſt cauſe to adven- 'ture any thing, even to the marching over their bellies, rather than to yield to 'his Government, who, carrying ſuch a vindictive mind, they might doubt would 'one day call their lives and honours in queſtion.

'And as for the remedy and relief which he might attend (ſtanding in theſe 'terms) of forein Princes, there are many examples of the former Ages, and within 'freſh memory. As the King of *Navarrs* Grandfather by the Mothers ſide, and '*Chriſtiern* King of *Denmark*, both were allied to *Francis* the Firſt and *Charles* the 'Fifth, two of the mightieſt Potentates that reigned, in long time. And that this 'preſent *Don Antonio* may ſuffice for enſample, to teach all Princes, if they can 'avoid it, to beware how they fall into that ſtate whereby they ſhall be inforced to 'ſeek their own by other Potentates means. Princes are not ſo ready in theſe days

'to

'to embrace others mens quarrels, but where they are extraordinarily intereſſed *An.* 1586.
'in their own fortunes.

'Wherefore I doubt not but it will be ſeen by men of judgment, nor tranſpor-
'ted with paſſion or led away with private reſpects, that it ſhould be every way
'the only beſt courſe for your Sovereign, by a good and kind uſage of her Majeſty,
'and by ſhewing that Princely moderation, as well in this grievous accident of
'his Mothers Death, as his whole proceeding with this Realm (which the excellen-
'cy of his Highneſs Education ſeemeth to promiſe) to ſeek to win the hearty good
'wills of this Realm, as the chief and principal aſſurance he can in any ſort obtain.

'For to truſt to depend either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain*, as
'if by their aſſiſtence he might attain to the preſent Poſſeſſion of this Crown,
'which be indeed the only two Potentates whom he muſt have recourſe unto, if
'he reject the Amity of *England*; whoſoever ſhall ſo counſel your Sovereign, as
'things preſently ſtand, ſhall, in the judgment of men of beſt underſtanding, be-
'wray great want either of fidelity or judgment, drawing his Majeſty unto ſo un-
'toward and deſperate a courſe.

'For it is no way ſafe for any Prince to repoſe his truſt and ſtrength upon their
'favor and aſſiſtence to whoſe defires and deſigns his Greatneſs may yield any
'impeachment and hinderance: ſo were it clearly againſt common Reaſon to ex-
'pect other ſupport and aſſiſtence from them than might ſtand with their own
'commodities and pretenſions, in reſpect whereof neither of the two foreſaid
'Kings can ſimply and roundly joyn with your Sovereign to his good.

'Firſt, His Religion being odious to them both, and likely to prove moſt pre-
'judicial to the Catholick cauſe, he growing ſo great as he ſhould be made by the
'Union of the two Crowns: the conſideration whereof cauſed his Mothers affairs
'to ſtick a long time, and made now in end leave him quite out of the reckoning,
'ordaining the King of *Spain* her Heir if her Son became not Catholick.

'Next, it is merely repugnant to the Policy of *France*, were it but in reſpect of
'the ancient claim *England* maketh to that Crown, to ſuffer the uniting of this
'Iſland under one Prince.

'They have been content in former times, when *England* had a footing in
'*France*, to ſerve themſelves of your Nation, therewith to annoy this Realm, by
'the means of diverting or dividing the forces thereof; and ſo perhaps the Politicks
'of *France* can be content to wiſh at this day, by your Sovereigns quarrel or any
'other ſuch like, to be eaſed of the burthen and miſeries of the preſent War where-
'with they are plagued, by tranſporting the ſame into this Iſland. But as this
'Realm hath good means to prevent that miſchief if it were intended; ſo were
'your Sovereign to look, when all were done, but to be made an inſtrument, as his
'predeceſſors have been, of the effuſion of much *Scottiſh* blood for *French* quarrels,
'and the deſolation of that Realm.

'And as things ſtand preſently in *France*, it is not thought that you ſhould find
'the King ready to hearken to any enterpriſe againſt this Land, the ſaid King be-
'ing moſt deſirous to live in Peace both with his neighbours abroad and his ſubjects
'at home, but that he hath been forced full ſore againſt his will, by the practice of
'them of the houſe of *Guiſe*, to countenance with his authority the Civil War
'raiſed in that Realm; which maketh him, whatſoever ſhew he maketh of the con-
'trary, to hate them in his heart.

'Neither would it be held ſound counſel to be given him by any that depends up-
'on his fortune, to farther the advancement of a King of *Scots*, ſo nearly allied to
'that Family which he hath diſcovered and greatly feareth to level at his own
'Crown, with any intention to depoſe him, which by the greatneſs of a King of
'*Scots* they ſhould be ſo much the ſooner and better able to effect.

'The King of *Spains* aſſiſtence, being now in War with this Realm, were more
'likely to be obtained, but far more dangerous to be uſed in reſpect of his inſati-
'able ambition, deep practices and power accompanied in this caſe with a colour
'of right; wherein how far he would ſeek to prevail, any opportunity or advan-
'tage being offered, it may juſtly be doubted by the experience that ſundry States

An. 1586. 'have had, which upon ſlender grounds of title have been extorted and wrung 'from the true inheritors, and annexed to his own Kingdom; as *Navarre*, *Por-* '*tugal*, and all he poſſeſſeth in *Italy* hath been.

'It is believed that the King of *Spain*, conſidering his years and unſetled eſtate 'every way, would willingly incline to Peace, if it were offered with reaſonable 'Conditions, and not over-readily at this preſent embark himſelf in any new en- 'terpriſe.

'But otherwiſe it is well known, that as he had fanſied to himſelf an Empire of 'all this part of *Europe*, ſo he had an eye to this Realm ever ſince he was King in 'right of his Wife. The Conqueſt was intended under colour of Religion, as was 'diſcovered by ſome that were of his own Privy Council at that time. His preten- 'tion to be the Heir of the houſe of *Lancaſter*, and, ſince the late Queens death, the 'firſt Catholick Prince of the blood-Royal of *England*, as alſo the Donation of this 'Crown made him by the Queen of *Scots* in her Letters, with a promiſe to confirm 'it by Teſtament, (things blazed abroad by the ſaid Kings Ambaſſador at *Paris*) 'ought to breed jealouſie and ſuſpicion in your Sovereigns head, and give him to 'think how he ſhould be uſed at ſuch an aſſiſtants hand. Auxiliary forces have 'ever been reputed dangerous, if they either in number or policy were ſuperior to 'them that called them in. The aſſiſtance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being of 'this nature, as your Sovereign hath need of neither, ſo he ſhall do well to forbear 'them both, and ſo ſhall it be moſt for his eaſe.

'It may be ſome will pretend, that by change of his Religion your Sovereign 'ſhall better his condition in regard of theſe foreign Princes, beſides a great party 'within this Realm that thereby ſhall be drawn wholly to depend upon his for- 'tune. But the poor diſtreſſed eſtate of *Don Antonio*, being a Catholick Prince 'ſpoiled by a Catholick, and receiving ſo little ſuccour at Catholick Princes hands, 'ſhall be a ſufficient bar to all that can be alledged in that behalf.

'As for the Catholick party in *England*, in his Mothers life it was never ſo uni- 'ted as they drew all in one line, much leſs will they be brought ſuddenly to relie 'upon him if he ſhould alter his Religion (as God defend) which would be his ut- 'ter diſcredit and overthrow both with the one and the other party, neither having 'cauſe to repoſe any confidence in him; the Proteſtants, becauſe he had renoun- 'ced the Religion wherein he was with great care brought up; the Papiſts, be- 'cauſe they could not be aſſured in ſhort ſpace that he was truly turned to their 'Faith. Yea, all men ſhould have reaſon to forſake him who had thus diſſembled 'and forſaken his God.

'And where it was given out, that divers do inſinuate unto your Sovereign, 'that his Honour and Reputation is ſo deeply intereſſed herein, as it muſt neceſ- 'ſarily turn to his perpetual ignominy and reproach, if he give not ſome notable 'teſtimony to the World of the Affection and dutiful Love he bare to his Mother; 'your King, being of that ſingular judgment that he is thought to have, cannot 'be ignorant how far true Honour ought to poſſeſs a Chriſtian Prince; that is, 'not whither Paſſion or Fury uſeth to carry men, but whither Reaſon and Wiſ- 'dom have laid the bounds, that is, within the compaſs of poſſibility, decency, 'and juſtice. If the late Queen had been innocent, Revenge had been neceſſa- 'rily juſt and honourable; but being culpable, contrary in all reaſonable mens 'judgments, he hath ſufficiently diſcharged the duty of a Son in mediating for 'his Mother ſo long as ſhe was alive, and ſo far as he was able to prevail. They 'which require more at his Highneſs hands, may be preſumed not to regard what 'beſeemeth his place and dignity, but to ſeek the ſatisfaction of their own parti- 'cular paſſions and deſires.

'And whoſoever perſuadeth his Highneſs, that the Mediation uſed by him for 'his Mother, contrary to the humble purſuit of the whole Parliament, hath already 'given that offence to the Nobility and people of this Land, as it behoveth him 'of force to have recourſe to foreign ſupports, doth greatly abuſe hoth his Highneſs 'and this Realm: for as they were not ignorant what Nature might and ought to 'move his Highneſs unto, ſo long as there was any hope of her Life; ſo they do

'not

'not doubt but that Reason would induce him to leave sorrowing and thinking of 'her in due time. *An.* 1587.

'Thus have I troubled you with a long discourse, whereunto the desire I have 'of the continuance of Amity between the two Crowns hath carried me unawares 'farther than I purposed; all which I refer to your good consideration, not doubt-'ing but you will afford most readily and willingly all good offices that shall lie in 'your power, to the end that a happy conclusion may ensue hereof, which shall 'tend to the common good of the whole Island. And so I commit you to God. 'From the Court at *Greenwich*, the 4 of *March*, 1586.

Your Lordships assured Friend,
FRA. WALSINGHAM.

THis Letter shewed to the King, served much to allay his anger, as afterwards appeared. In the *May* after, the Estates being assembled at *Halirudhouse*, they shew a great forwardness all of them for assisting the revenge of his Mothers Death, every man offering to spend his goods and life in that quarrel: yet the business was so timed out that Summer by the private dealing of certain Counsellors, as hopes were given to the Queen that matters should compose, and a more peaceable course be taken. *An.* 1587. A Convention of the Estates.

It was at this time that Sir *William Stewart*, brother to Captain *James*, returned again to Court, and gave his attendance upon the Master of *Gray*. The Master then was plotting a change of Court, and had conspired with the Lord *Maxwel* to kill the Lord *Thirlstan*, Sir *James Home* of *Coldingknowes*, and Mr. *Robert Douglas* Collector, whose power with the King he greatly envied. This he reveals to Sir *William*, as one that he believed would take part in the business; and to make him the more forward tells, *that it was* Thirlstan, *the Justice Clerk*, Blantyre, *and himself that brought in the Lords at* Striveling, *and put his Brother from Court; which he repented, and would help so far as he could to recall him.* Sir *William* knowing the mans nature, and that he was not to be trusted, gave him some hopes of joyning with him, but in the mean time related all to the King. This coming to *Thirlstan*'s knowledge, he complaineth thereof in Council, and desireth a trial. The Master denied that any such purpose had passed betwixt them: whereupon Sir *William* was called, and standing to that he had told the King, they two fell a contesting. After some bitter speeches, Sir *William* taking him up roundly, said, *that he deserved no credit, as having abused his Ambassage to* England, *and treacherously consented to the death of the Kings Mother.* The King is informed of certain speeches uttered by the Master of *Gray*, 20. *Apr.*

There had a rumor gone of a Letter written by the *Master* to the Queen of *England* after his parting from that Court, advising her to put the Queen of *Scots* out of the way; and the words he had used, *Mortui non mordent*, Dead folks bite not, were in every mans mouth: and now the challenge being made publick, the Council moved the King to put the *Master* to trial, and commit both the one and the other. So were they both the same night sent to the Castle of *Edinburgh*. The Lord *Thirlstan*, and those others that were touched with the enterprise of *Striveling*, made great instance to be cleared in that point: but the King, not liking to search too deeply in those businesses, said, *That their own Purgation, with the Declaration of the Noblemen that came home at that time, was sufficient.* There were present of that number the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Marre* and *Bothwell*, who upon oath declared, *that they had no assurance from any about the King at the time of their coming, till they were received by his Majesty in favour.* The like Purgation was made by the Lord *Thirlstan*, the Justice Clerk, and the rest, and so that business ceased. The Master of *Gray* and Sir *William Stewart* committed.

After some two or three days the *Master* of *Gray* and his accuser were brought again before the Council, where the same things that before we heard being repeated by Sir *William Stewart*, he added farther, *That he knew the Master to be a traffick against Religion, and that he had written divers letters to the King of* France Sir *William Stewart* insists in the challenge of the Master of *Gray*.

An. 1586 *and Duke of* Guiſe, *declaring that the King was to ſeek their aſſiſtance in revenge of his Mothers Death, but intreated them not to grant him any help, unleſs he did grant Toleration to the Catholicks for exerciſe of their Religion.* The Maſter being deſired to anſwer, and, as he look'd for any favour, to deal ingenuouſly, and confeſs the truth, ſaid, *That he could not deny his dealing for Toleration of Catholicks, and that he diſliked ſome of the Officers of State, and could have wiſhed an alteration; but that he never had ſo much as a thought againſt his Majeſties Perſon; beſeeching to impute theſe things wherein he had offended to his youth and fooliſh ambition.* Being enquired touching the Letter ſent to the Queen of *England*, he confeſſed *That when he perceived her inclining to take the Queen of* Scots *Life, he adviſed her rather to take her away in ſome private way, than to do it in form of Juſtice*; and acknowledged the words *Mortui non mordent*, to be his, but not uſed by him to the ſence they were detorted.

Sir *William Stewart* liberated, and the Maſter of *Gray* impriſoned.

His Confeſſion did liberate his Accuſer, who was preſently ſet at liberty, and he himſelf ſent to the *Tolbuith* of *Edinburgh* to attend his Arraignment, which was made a few days after. There, having repeated the ſame things in effect, he ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy; who thereupon gave order to the Juſtice to baniſh him the Realm, and in caſe he did return without licence to pronounce the ſentence of death. Meanwhile he was prohibited to go either into *England* or *Ireland*, under the like pain. A puniſhment too mild, as many at that time judged, for crimes ſo hateful and odious. But the innated clemency of the King, and his unwillingneſs to uſe rigor towards them whom he had once favoured, did not ſuffer him to inflict the puniſhment which the offence had merited.

Captain *James* information againſt the Lord *Thirlſtan*.

Captain *James*, who ſince the enterpriſe at *Striveling* had lurked amongſt his friends, did now begin to ſhew himſelf, and importune the King with delations of *Thirlſtan* and ſome other Counſellors, as being acceſſary to his Mothers Death, and having a purpoſe to deliver him into *England*. Theſe informations he ſent incloſed in a Letter to the King by *Henry Stewart* of *Craigihall*. The King communicating the ſame to the Council, direction was given to charge him to enter his Perſon within the Palace of *Linlithgow*, and remain there till the truth of theſe delations ſhould be tried: certifying him, that if he failed to obey, proceſs of Forfeiture ſhould be laid againſt him, as a ſower of diſcord betwixt the King and his Nobility. When at the time prefixed he entered not, the Office of Chancellary, whereof as yet he uſed the title, was declared void, and beſtowed upon the Lord *Thirlſtane*.

Toirlſtane created Chancellor.

A Parliament indicted at *Edinburgh*.

The King being now 21 years complete, a Parliament was indicted to be holden at *Edinburgh* the 29 of *July*. For a preparation thereto, and that the King might find the better aſſiſtance, the Nobleſmen were ſent for, they eſpecially betwixt whom there were known to be any quarrels. At their coming the King did preſs them with a ſubmiſſion of all controverſies, and having obtained their conſents, made them all friends. Only *William* Lord *Teſter*, refuſing to reconcile with *Traquaire*, was committed and ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he was detained ſome months, till that variance was alſo compoſed. Such content the King conceived of their agreement, that he did feaſt them all Royally at *Halirudhouſe*, thereafter cauſed them walk in hands two and two in form of proceſſion from the Palace to the Mercat-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, where they ſealed their concord by drinking healths one to another, to the exceeding great joy of all the beholders.

The Noblemen reconciled.

A general Aſſembly of the Church.

A general Aſſembly was then alſo called by his Majeſties Proclamation to the 20 of *June*, where the King did purpoſe to have all matters ſetled betwixt him and the Church: but this meeting had not the like ſucceſs. For the Chancellor and Juſtice Clerk being ſent thither with certain Articles, of which two ſpecials were to deſire ſatisfaction for the offences committed by *James Gibſon* and Mr. *John Cowper* Miniſters, and that Mr. *Robert Montgomery* might be received without any Ceremonies into their fellowſhip; anſwer was made, *That if the Petitions of the Church in the approaching Parliament ſhould be granted, they would labour to bring matters to ſuch a middeſt as might beſt agree with the honour of the Miniſtry, ſatisfie the offence of the godly, and the Conſcience of their Brethren, againſt whom his Majeſty had taken offence.* And for Mr. *Robert Montgomery*, *they ſhould diſpenſe with ſome Ceremonies uſed in admitting Excommunicants, in caſe the King*

The Kings propoſitions to the Aſſembly by his Commiſſioners.

was

was willing to remit ſomewhat of the ſatisfaction craved of the other two brethren. This anſwer did ſo diſpleaſe the King, as refuſing to enter into any ſuch capitulations, he left off all farther treating with them at that time. *An.* 1587.

But *Montgomery* being redacted to great neceſſity, and not knowing what courſe to take, (for the Duke of *Lennox* his agents having poſſeſſed themſelves in the Biſhoprick, he was no more acknowledged) did reſign his title in favor of Mr. *William Areskin* Parſon of *Campſie*, a friend and follower of the Earl of *Marre*. This Gentleman being well beloved of the Miniſtery, and otherwiſe of good parts, obtained the conſent of the Presbytery of *Glaſgow*, and was admitted thereto by them, although he was a Laick, and bare no charge in the Church. They being called to an accompt of this their doing in the next Aſſembly, excuſed themſelves, ſaying, *That ſince Church-men were not permitted to enjoy the Biſhoprick, they eſtemeed it better he ſhould be in title of it than any other; and that he had given his bonds to renounce the ſame, in caſe the general Aſſembly did not allow of his Admiſſion.* The excuſe for the time was accepted, yet their doing was diſallowed, and they ordained to purſue him upon his bonds for diſannulling the Admiſſion: but he found means to retain the ſame, till Biſhop *James Beaton* (who lived in *France*) was reſtored. *Montgomery* his Reſignation being then made publick, he was ſhortly after as informally abſolved as he was excommunicated, and placed at a Church in *Cunningham*, where he lived in a poor eſtate to his death. *Montgomery* reſigneth the Biſhoprick of *Glaſgow* to Mr. *William Areskin.*

The Parliament keeping at the time appointed, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Pont* and ſome others, having Commiſſion from the Church, did preſent themſelves in the Parliament-Houſe at the firſt ſitting, and in name of the Church deſired *the Prelates that were preſented to be removed, as having no authority from the Church, and the moſt of them no Function nor Charge in it at all.* Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Abbot of *Kinroſs*, riſing up and directing his ſpeech to the King, made a long diſcourſe of the right they had to ſit and give voice for the Church in theſe meetings; complaining that the Miniſters had moſt diſorderly ſhut them forth of their places in the Church, and now they thought to exclude them from their places in the Eſtate, which they hoped his Majeſty would not ſuffer, and would puniſh as a preſumptuous arrogancy on the part of the Petitioners. M. *Robert Pont* replying ſomewhat bitterly, the King willed them to be quiet, and preſent their Petitions orderly to the Lords of the Articles, where they ſhould be anſwered according to Reaſon. When it came to the Articles, this being in the front of their Petitions was ſimply rejected: ſome other Petitions were paſſed as they had deſired, for ratifying all Laws made in the Kings Minority in favors of the Church, for trying and cenſuring the adverſaries of true Religion, and for the puniſhment of ſuch as did menace or invade the Miniſters of the Church. The Churches Petition to the Parliament againſt the Prelates.

It was in this Parliament that the Temporality of Benefices was annexed to the Crown, upon a pretext of bettering the Patrimony thereof, and that the King might have means to bear forth the honor of his Eſtate, and not burthen his ſubjects with Taxations for his ſupport. This was the publick pretext, and the King made to believe that the reſervation of the Prelates Houſes and Precincts, with the Tithes of the Churches annexed to their Benefices, would ſuffice to maintain their dignity and eſtate. But privately to ſuch of the Miniſtery as ſought the ſubverſion of Epiſcopal Covernment it was whiſpered, *That this was the only way to undo the Prelacy, for there being no Livings to maintain them,* (as in this caſe there would be little or nothing remaining, moſt of the Biſhopricks being founded on Temporal lands, and having but Churches annexed) *none would be found to accept thoſe places*: which alſo proved true. Hopes beſides were given to thoſe Miniſters, that they ſhould have the Tithes to uſe and diſpone at their pleaſure. Yet was it not long ere the King did find himſelf abuſed, the Temporalities formerly diſponed (which were not a few) being all in the ſame Parliament confirmed, and thoſe that remained in a ſhort time begged from him, and given away to the followers of Court, ſo as nothing was left to benefit or reward any well-deſerving ſervant. When as he ſaw this, and that the Spiritual Eſtate was by this mean utterly decayed, the Priors and Abbots being all turned temporal Lords, he did ſore forthink the paſſing of the Act, calling The Temporality of Benefices annexed to the Crown. The King forthinketh the paſſing of the annexation.

An. 1587. calling it * *a vile & pernicious Act*, and recommending to the Prince his Son the annulling thereof. The Miniſters that look'd for reſtoring the Tithes, perceiving themſelves likewiſe deluded, began alſo to exclaim and condemn the courſe, howbeit ſomewhat too late.

* *Baſilicon Δῶρον lib.* 2. *pag.* 43.

The ſmall Barons admitted to give voice in Parliament.

In the ſame Parliament an Act was made in favor of the ſmall Barons, giving them by their Commiſſioners a voice in Parliament and Conventions with the others Eſtates. The Earl of *Crawford* did ſtrongly oppoſe, and in name of the Nobility proteſted againſt their receiving. That which the King intended by this was, to free the Barons of their dependence upon Noblemen, and have the Eſtates more particularly informed at their meeting of the abuſes in the Country. But ſo far was he from obtaining theſe ends, as to the contrary they did work him great buſineſs in all the enſuing Parliaments.

The Lord *Hunſdon* hath preſence of the King.

Soon after the Eſtates diſſolved, the Lord *Hunſdon* Governor of *Berwick* ſent to intreat preſence of the King; who yielded the more willingly, becauſe he of all the Nobility of *England* had medled leaſt in the proceedings againſt his Mother. The Nobleman propoſing the ſame Reaſons in effect which *Walſingham* had uſed in his Letters to the Chancellor, and laying before the King the danger wherein he might bring the Title and right of ſucceſſion, (which otherwiſe was undoubted) if he ſhould enter into open War with *England*; did earneſtly beſeech him, 'ſeeing that which was done could not be undone, to give place unto neceſſity, pro'miſing (becauſe it was ſtill beaten into the Kings ears that the Execution of his 'mother did bar his Succeſſion) to bring unto him a Declaration under the hands 'of all the Judges of *England*, that the Sentence given againſt his Mother was no 'hurt to his Right, nor could work any prejudice to his Succeſſion.

A Proclamation againſt Incurſions in *England*.

This Conference did break the King very much from his reſolution; yet the outcries of the Country were great, and their deſires ſo vehement for revenge, that he parted with *Hunſdon* in doubtful terms. But when the Declaration of the Judges which he had promiſed, was brought unto him, and therewith the Sentence given againſt *Daviſon* in the Star Chamber, (whereby it appeared that the Execution was done without the Queens knowledge) he became more appeaſed, and ſuffered Proclamations to go out, inhibiting all that dwelt in the Borders to make Incurſions upon *England*, as they were begun to do.

The Ambaſſadors ſent into *Denmark* return.

* 15 *May.*

* Latter end of *Auguſt.*

About the ſame time did *Patrick Vaus* of *Barnbarrough*, and Mr. *Peter Tourg* his Majeſties Elemoſynar, (who had been ſent unto *Denmark* to treat of the Marriage *) return * making report of their agreement: whereupon concluſion was taken, that in the opening of the Spring a Nobleman ſhould be directed to accompliſh the Ceremonies, and bring home the young Queen. But the death of King *Frederick* her Father, who departed this life in the month of *April* next, with other occaſions that intervened, made the buſineſs to be delayed certain months.

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuites and Prieſts.

In the end of the year there came from beyond Sea divers Jeſuites and Prieſts, to deal with the Catholick Noblemen for aſſiſting the *Spaniſh Armada*, which was then preparing to invade *England*, if poſſibly they ſhould take land in *Scotland*: for their hope was to find the King favourable, becauſe of the Queens proceedings againſt his Mother, and that he ſhould joyn his forces with the *Spaniſh* for revenge of that wrong. But he conſidering his own danger, if Strangers ſhould ſet foot in the Iſle, and not truſting that the *Spaniard* would take the pains to conquer for him the Crown of *England*, (for that alſo was profered) refuſed to give ear unto ſuch motions. Mr. *James Gordon* Jeſuite, and Uncle to the Earl of *Huntley*, had been all the Summer before in the Country, and was overſeen becauſe of his Nephew, whom the King intended to match with the Duke of *Lennox* his eldeſt Siſter; neither was he much feared, as being a ſimple man, and not deeply learned. Mr *Edmond Hay*, brother to *Peter Hay* of *Meginch*, a Jeſuite alſo, but of greater account and more politick and wiſe, did thereafter arrive, pretending that he came to take his farewel of his friends; and after him came divers others: which made the King give out a Proclamation againſt the reſetters, and for apprehending their perſons.

In this Proclamation, beſides Mr. *James Gordon* and the ſaid Mr. *Edmond Hay*, I find named Mr. *Gilbert Brown* Abbot of *Newabbey*, Mr. *John Dury* ſon natural to

George

George Dury ſometimes Abbot of *Dunfermling*, Mr. *Alexander Mackwhirry*, Mr. *James Cheyn*, Mr. *Alexander Meldrum*, Mr. *William Creichton*, Mr. *James Seaton* and Mr. *John Morton*. Moſt of theſe upon their ſupplications, and ſureties given to depart in the firſt Ships, obtained a protection unto the laſt of *January*: which did ſo offend the Miniſters, as they did call a number of Noblemen, Barons and Commiſſioners of Burghs, to meet at *Edinburgh* the ſixth of *February*, for adviſing upon ſome remedy againſt the preſent dangers. The meeting was frequent, and Mr. *Robert Bruce* by the ſuffrages of all choſen to preſide. He had preached ordinarily at *Edinburgh* a year or ſomewhat more, and was in great reſpect with all ſorts of people, but had not entered as yet into the Miniſterial function. *An.* 1587. The Jeſuites find caution to depart. A general Aſſembly of the Church.

Certain Aſſeſſors choſen according to the cuſtom, the firſt thing propoſed was touching the dangers threatned to Religion, and the readieſt means for quenching the fire of Papiſtry kindled through the whole Country, which they were all greatly exhorted to take to heart, and to conſider what courſe was beſt to obviate theſe dangers. And to the end things might be done adviſedly, the Noblemen were adviſed to meet apart, the Barons and Commiſſioners of Burghs likewiſe apart, to ſet down their advice in writing, and preſent the ſame to the whole Aſſembly the next Seſſion. A Propoſition made for the dangers threatned to Religion.

The day following all being convened, the advice of the Noblemen and Barons was preſented, containing three Heads. '1. That the Laws of the Country 'ſhould be proſecuted againſt Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, Idolaters, and the main-'tainers thereof. And for the more ſpeedy effectuating of the ſame, that the 'names of all ſuch ſhould be enrolled and delivered to the Theſaurer, with the 'names of their reſetters and entertainers, to the end Citations might be directed 'againſt them. 2. That in regard of the danger ſo imminent, his Majeſty and 'Council ſhould be earneſtly ſolicited to proceed in execution of the Laws againſt 'the principal Jeſuites and their maintainers without delay. 3. That the Noble-'men, Barons, Miniſters, and whole Aſſembly ſhould go together to his Maje-'ſty, and regrate the peril whereunto the Church and Kingdom was brought by 'the practices of Jeſuites, making offer of their lives, lands and friendſhip to be 'imployed at his Majeſties direction for preventing their wicked devices. The advice of the Noblemen and Barons.

This advice being approved, command was given to meet at two of the clock in the afternoon, that all might go together from the place of the Aſſembly to the Palace of *Halirudhouſe*, where the King then remained. When this was told to the King, and that they were to preſent themſelves in ſuch numbers, he grew into choler, and ſaid *They meant to boaſt him with their power, and force the execution of their demands.* Therefore refuſing acceſs to the multitude, ſome few of the Principals only were called, to whom he uttered his diſlike of thoſe irreverent and tumultuary forms. Yet becauſe he did acknowledge their complaint to be juſt, and that there was need of a remedy to the evils complained of, he promiſed to appoint ſix of the Council to meet with ſuch as the Aſſembly ſhould deſign, for adviſing upon the beſt remedies. The King refuſeth acceſs to the multitude.

This reported to the Aſſembly, they did nominate the Lords of *Wedderburn*, *Colluthie*, *Caphinton*, *Ormſton* and *Whittingham*, *John Johnſton* Commiſſioner for *Edinburgh*, *Oliver Peblis* for *Perth*, and *William Menzeis* for *Aberdene*; Mr. *Robert Pont*, *David Lindeſay*, *Andrew Melvil*, and *Peter Blackburn* to attend. Theſe convening the next day, with the Chancellor and ſome others of the Council did urge in name of the Church, *That Mr.* James Gordon *and Mr.* William Creichton *Jeſuites, who were known to be in Town, ſhould be apprehended; and that the reſetters of Jeſuites and Prieſts, none excepted, whether they were Noblemen or others of an inferior degree ſhould be puniſhed according to the Laws.* For the Noblemen, the Chancellor anſwered, that the King did mean to uſe them more calmly, and as he had begun with the Earl of *Huntley*, (of whoſe Converſion there were good hopes) ſo he would proceed with others of that degree. For the two Jeſuites, it was promiſed that order ſhould be taken for their diſpatch forth of the Country. A Conference betwixt certain of the Council and the Aſſembly.

The Aſſembly no ways pleaſed with the report of this Conference, reſolved to preſent their Griefs to his Majeſty in writing, and inſiſt for a more direct anſwer to The Grievances of the Church preſented to the King.

An. 1587. to their deſires, as they did, exhibiting therewith the names of Jeſuites, Prieſts, and their reſetters, ſuch as had been delated to the Aſſembly. Among others they complained of the Lord *Hereis*, and the diſorders committed by him at *Dumfreis*, where he had openly erected Maſs, and forced the Miniſters to leave the Town. The King having conſidered the Griefs, made anſwer, *That albeit they had no warrant from him to aſſemble at that time, yet (as he had ſignified before to the Noblemen that were ſent unto him) he was glad to hear that they were convened in ſo frequent a number, the buſineſs being of ſuch importance, and that he ſhould do what became him as a King to do, neither ſhould any of thoſe that he found unreclamable have credit or countenance of him* For the Lord *Hereis* he ſaid, *that he was more offended with him than any of themſelves, and had reſolved to take journy in the beginning of* March *unto* Dumfreis, *for puniſhing that and all other inſolencies committed by him.*

The Miniſter *James Gibſon* cenſured for his ſpeeches againſt the King.

This anſwer reported by the Chancellor gave ſome content; thereafter as he was directed he ſhewed the Aſſembly that the King did expect a reparation of the offence committed by the Miniſter *James Gibſon*, for he had obtained his liberty upon promiſe that he ſhould give ſatisfaction at the Churches ſight. Hereupon the Miniſter was called, who acknowledged his offence, and was enjoyned the next Sermon-day to preach, and publickly acknowledge the ſpeeches complained of to have been unadviſed and raſhly uttered. This he promiſed to do; yet when he came to the place, he made no mention at all of that buſineſs; and being immediately charged for not doing that he had promiſed, he anſwered, *That out of infirmity and weakneſs he had confeſſed a fault, albeit his Conſcience did tell him he had not ſpoken any thing that might give juſt offence.* The Chancellor perceiving the mans inconſtancy, and that he had been diverted by ſome ill-diſpoſed perſons, required the judgment of the Aſſembly, *Whether or not they did eſteem it an offence to call the King a Perſecutor of the Church, and to affirm in Pulpit that he ſhould be the laſt of that race.* The queſtion was a while declined; yet in end being put to voices, it was found that the ſpeeches were ſlanderous and offenſive, and that he ought therefore to be cenſured.

It being then 12 of the clock, the defining of the Cenſure was continued to the afternoon, and the Miniſter warned to attend. The hour come, and he not appearing, the buſineſs was greater than before: ſome alleging that Citation muſt be uſed ere any Cenſure was inflicted; others excuſed his abſence upon juſt fear, being purſued by ſo great perſonages. Hereto it was replied, *That there was no fear of any indirect or violent courſe to be taken; the King, who by his own Authority might have puniſhed him, having, for the regard he carried to the Church, chuſed to complain to the Aſſembly, and remit the offender to be cenſured by themſelves.* Next for the Citation required, it was anſwered, *That the warning given him in the face of the Aſſembly was ſufficient, and that by his not appearing he had added contumacy to his offence.* Theſe anſwers being held ſufficient, and the voices ask'd touching his Cenſure; by the greater number he was ordained to be ſuſpended from the Miniſtery during the pleaſure of the Aſſembly. Yet this did not end the buſineſs; for in *Auguſt* thereafter another Aſſembly being convened, the Miniſter appearing declared, *That the reaſon why he withdrew himſelf in the former Aſſembly was not any contempt or ſtubbornneſs on his part, but the care he had of the Churches peace, the affairs whereof, as he was informed, had been caſt off if he had compeired, and not been puniſhed.* Upon this Declaration without once acquainting the King, he was purged of Contumacy, and thereby a way made to his reponing. The King, as he had reaſon, being greatly offended with theſe proceedings, and intending to right himſelf otherwiſe, the Miniſter fled to *England*, and remained there a long ſpace, entertained by the Factious brethren in thoſe parts, who were labouring at that time to bring in the *Holy Diſcipline*, as they termed it, into that Church.

Gibſon ſuſpended from his Miniſtery.

The Lord *Hereis* cleared of the accuſation made againſt him.

The Lord *Hereis* in the mean time, being certified of the Kings intended Expedition into the Weſt Marches, prevented him and came to Court, offering himſelf to trial. Nothing being found but certain neglects in the adminiſtration of his office (for the complaint of erecting Maſs at *Dumfreis*, and compelling the Miniſter

to

to leave the Town, was not verified) upon promiſe to amend, and ſurety given that he ſhould reſort to Sermons, and ſuffer nothing to be done within his Wardenry to the prejudice of Religion, he was ſent back to his Charge. *An.* 1588.

Soon after, the Lord *Maxwel*, who had been licenced to go abroad, and had remained ſome months in *Spain*, having ſeen the preparation made for invading of *England*, by the advice of ſome *Scotiſh* Catholicks returned into the Country, (notwithſtanding the aſſurance he had given not to return without licence) taking land at *Kirkubright* (a part of *Galloway*) about the end of *April*. It was then expected that the Navy ſhould take their courſe to the Weſt parts of *Scotland*, where they might land more ſafely, and with the aſſiſtance of *Maxwel* and others that would joyn with them enter into *England* by the Borders: which if they had done, would doubtleſs have been more to their advantage; but they took their counſels as we ſhall hear. *An.* 1588.

The Borders begin to ſtir upon the Lord *Maxwel*'s return.

Upon *Maxwel*'s return numbers of broken men and Country People reſorted unto him, conjecturing there was ſomewhat in hand which would give them work. The Lord *Hereis* not able to command them, and fearing if any diſorder aroſe, the ſame ſhould be imputed to him, came and ſhewed the King what appearance there was of Trouble. Charges were incontinent directed for *Maxwels* appearing before the Council; but he diſobeyed, and fortifying his Houſes and other Strengths that he had in cuſtody, began to levy ſome companies of foot and horſe: which being told to the King, he with ſuch forces as he could have of a ſudden took journey to *Dumfreis*, and came upon him ſo unexpected, as he had almoſt ſurpriſed him in his Houſe at *Dumfreis*. But upon warning given him, an hour before the Kings coming, he eſcaped, and went to *Galloway*. Some little reſiſtance was made at the Port, which gave him leiſure to eſcape, and was excuſed by the Towns ignorance of the King his being there in Perſon.

The Kings Expedition to *Dumfris*.

The next morrow, which was the 28 of *May*, the Houſes of *Lochmaben*, *Langholm*, *Treve* and *Carlaverok*, were ſummoned to render; all which obeyed, the Caſtle of *Lochmaben* excepted. This was kept by one Mr. *David Maxwel*, who truſting fooliſhly to the ſtrength, refuſed to yield, though the King himſelf going thither did call him by name, (for he knew the man) commanding him to render. Upon his diſobedience the Houſe was incloſed; and becauſe there was no munition at hand whereby to batter it, a Poſt was directed to borrow ſome Ordnance from the *Engliſh* Warden, which was quickly conveyed thither, and a company of ſouldiers ſent to guard the ſame. Theſe began no ſooner to play, than the Keepers, terrified with the noiſe, craved a parley. Sir *William Stewart*, Brother to Captain *James*, being imployed to confer with them, they yielded, upon promiſe, as was ſaid, that their lives ſhould be ſpared. But the Captain, becauſe he had refuſed the King himſelf at firſt, was hanged; the reſt were pardoned, and ſuffered to depart.

Lochmaben rendred, and the Keeper executed.

The King returning the ſame night to *Dumfreis*, directed Sir *William Stewart* to try what courſe *Maxwel* had taken, and to do as he found occaſion. Having learned that he had taken Sea in a ſmall Bark, he followed in a ſhip rigged forth by the town of *Aire*, and overtaking him ſome miles off, brought him back and delivered him priſoner to the King, who was then returned to *Edinburgh*. It was no ſmall piece of ſervice, and by all men ſo eſteemed. But the countenance the King gave him made the man ſo ſwell, as falling in a conteſt for I know not what matter with the Earl of *Bothwell*, he uſed ſome uncivil ſpeeches to the Nobleman, who meeting him a few days after in the high ſtreet of *Edinburgh*, did in a ſudden conflict kill him outright.

The Lord *Maxwel* taken Priſoner at ſea by Sir *William Stewart*, and brought Priſoner to *Edinburgh*.

Sir *William Stewart* killed by *Bothwel*, *penult. Julii*.

The news of the *Spaniſh* Navy being then divulged, and the King advertiſed of their ſetting forth, he called the Eſtates to a meeting at *Edinburgh*, and imparting to them the advertiſements he had received, did ask their advice how he ſhould carry himſelf in that buſineſs. *For howbeit*, ſaid he, *I have no great occaſion for my ſelf to fear, being under League & Friendſhip with all Chriſtian Princes & Eſtates; yet the caſe of* England *ere it be long may turn to be our own, & we forced to ſhare with them in their troubles. The intention of* Spain, *I know, is againſt* Engl. *& conſidering the right I have to that Crown after the Queens death that now reigns, I ſee not how it ſhall*

A meeting of the Eſtates upon the rumor of the *Spaniſh* Navy, beginning of *Auguſt*.

His Majeſties Speech to the Eſtates.

An. 1588. *shall be safe for me to let another possess himself of that Kingdom; nor will any man make me to think, that the King of* Spain, *if he shall chance to prevail, will part with it, and give place to my Right, having once made conquest thereof. As now whilst the event is doubtful, they speak fair and make liberal promises; but if matters succeed to their minds, we shall hear other words. They take Religion for a pretext of their Invasion, but it is the Kingdom they seek: and granting that Religion were the true cause, are not we our selves in the same case with* England? *The Prosecution of the Holy League will strike no less upon us than them. But for my self, I have ever thought mine own safety and the safety of Religion to be so conjoyned, as they cannot well be separated; neither desire I to live to reign any longer than I may serve to maintain the same. I am not ignorant what the opinion of many is, and that they think I have now a fair occasion to revenge the wrong and unkindness I received by the Death of my mother. But what soever I think of the excuses which the Queen hath made to me, I will not be so fooliſh as to take the help of one that is mightier than my self; nor will I give such liberty to mine own passions, as therefore to neglect Religion, and cast in hazard both this Kingdom and those others that belong to me after her death. By this you see what my mind is, and the reasons that lead me to it, I have called you that I may have your counsel and assistance at this time, and therefore desire to hear of you what is the best both for you and me to do.*

The Chancellor his Speech seconding the King.

This Speech was seconded by the Chancellor, who did out of his reading adduce divers Histories to make good what the King had said; 'That it was no way ex-'pedient to side with *Spain* in that Invasion, or suffer him to possess himself of '*England*: yet since the Queen had not required any aid from him, his opinion 'was, that he should strive to assure his own Kingdom, and not to permit them to 'take Land in his bounds. That a general muster should be taken in the whole 'Realm, and some Noblemen named, unto whom, upon occasion, the Subjects 'might resort; Watches appointed at all the Sea-ports, and Beacons erected in the 'highest places, for advertising the Country if any Fleet was seen at Sea; and that 'the King and Council should stay at *Edinburgh* to attend the success of things, 'and direct the subjects accordingly. His opinion was applauded of all, *Bothwell* excepted, who was earnest to have the occasion imbraced of invading *England*, and therein was so forward, that upon his own charges he had levied Soldiers to serve under him, if the resolution which he expected should have been taken. But the King willing him to look unto the Sea (for he was Admiral by his office) and to take care that the Ships within the Country were ready for service, he acquiesced.

Bothwell perſuadeth the Invaſion of *England*.

Colonel *Semple* his arrive at *Leith*.

A little after the Convention dissolved, Colonel *Semple*, who had betrayed the town of *Lire* to the *Spaniard* some six years before, and remained for the most part with the Prince of *Parma* in *Flanders*, arrived at *Leith*, pretending a Commission from that Prince to the King. But the matters he proponed were of so small importance, as the King apprehending the Commission to have been given him rather for a colour of his practices with some ill-disposed subjects, than for the business pretended, commanded Sir *John Carmichael*, Captain of the Guard, to have an eye upon him unto his return, (for he was then going to *Falkland*) and if he perceived any letters brought unto him in the mean time, to take and present them to the Council. *Carmichael* getting notice that a Pinnace was arrived in the *Firth*, and a passenger landed, went straight to the Colonels lodging in *Leith*, and finding him unsealing the Letters, shewed what he had in charge, and that it concerned him to present the same to the Lords. The Colonel offering to go himself to the Council, the Earl of *Huntley*, who did then reside in a lodging near the Palace of *Halirudhouse*, with his young Lady whom he had married a few days before,* upon notice of his apprehension, did meet *Carmichael* in the way, and forced him to quit his prisoner, saying, that he would enter him to the Council. Advertisement going of this to the Chancellor, who was then at the Evening-service in S. *Giles*, (for it was a time of publick Humiliation) he came forth, and, being followed by a great number of people, made towards *Huntley*, and had certainly taken back the Colonel, if the King, who was then come from *Falkland*, had not happened to encounter him as he went down the street, with whom he returned to the lodging within the City, where at that time and most of the Winter the King did keep his residence.

The Colonel apprehended, and relieved by the Earl of *Huntley*.

* 21 *July*.

There

There the Chancellor declared what had fallen out, and whither he was going, intreating his Majesty to take some order with the insolency committed. *Huntley* being called, after some frivolous excuse did promise to present the Colonel the next morning; but he escaping the same night was not any more seen. The King did highly offend at his escape, yet was loth to use the Nobleman with rigor, having matched him so lately to his Cousin; only he discharged him to come in his presence, neither was he admitted unto it till the news were brought of the dissipation of the Navy; and then, as in a time of publick joy, that fault was overseen and pardoned. *An.* 1588. *Huntley* offers to present the Colonel to the Council.

The Queen of *England* in the mean time hearing what course the King had taken, how he had committed *Maxwel* to prison, and was preparing to resist the *Spaniard*, sent Sir *Robert Sidney* to give him thanks for his good affection, and to make offer of her assistance if the *Spaniard* should make offer to land in *Scotland*. The King received him graciously, and as he was a discoursing of the ambition of *Spain*, and his purpose to take in *England*, said, that the King needed not to expect any greater kindness at his hand, if he prevailed. The King merrily answered, *That he look'd for no other benefit of the* Spaniard *in that case than that which* Polyphemus *promised to* Ulysses, *namely, to devour him after all his fellows were devoured.* Neither did *Sidney* sooner return than a fresh advertisement was sent from the Queen of their overthrow. Sir *Robert Sidney* sent from *England* to the King, 29 *Aug.*

Of this Navy and the destruction that befell it many have written so particularly as nothing can be added. Yet because the benefit redounded to this Church and Kingdom no less than others, and that the spoils of that wreck fell for some part in our Northern Isles, we shall touch it a little. The Navy consisted of 134 sail, a great part whereof were Galleasses, and rather like Castles pitched in the seas than Ships. The vessels carried 8000 Sailers, 22000 Souldiers and above, besides the Commanders and voluntary adventurers, who were reckoned 124: and for provision, they had abundance of whatsoever was necessary either at sea or at land. Their direction was to joyn with the Prince of *Parma* and his forces, who were appointed to meet them in the narrow Seas, and to invade *England* together. But whether the Prince had not time sufficient to prepare himself, or that he was kept in by the *Holland* Fleet, he came not as was expected. At *Plimmouth* the *English* had the first sight of the Navy, and kept combat with them till they anchored in the road of *Calais*. Before they came thither they lost the Gallion wherein *Don Pedro de Valder* and divers other Noblemen were, which was taken in fight and sent to *Plimmouth*. And the Gallion commanded by *Don Michael de Oquendo* took fire, and therein many were burnt to death; yet the nether part of the ship being saved, was likewise sent thither. The Galleasse of *Naples*, commanded by *Don Hugo de Moncada*, perished in the sands of *Calais*; where whilst they lay at Anchor, Captain *Drake* by a Stratagem put them in great confusion: for chusing out eight small ships that were least useful, he filled them with pitch, brimstone, gunpowder, and the like combustible matter, and charged the Ordnance with bullets, stones, broken iron, and chains. The ships driven with the wind and tide into the midst of the Navy, and the trains taking fire, put the *Spanish* in such fear, (the same falling out in the night season) as having no leisure to weigh their Anchors, they were forced to cut their Cables, and make to the Sea. The History of the *Spanish* Navy. Captain *Drakes* Stratagem.

The next morning, ranging themselves again in order, they approached to *Greveling*; but no supply coming from *Parma*, and the *English* ships hotly pursuing them, they were compelled to pass by. In this conflict perished the Gallion of *Biscay*, and two other great ships. Two Gallions of *Portugal*, the one called S. *Philip*, the other S. *Matthew*, having lost their tackling, and being torn with shot, made towards the coast of *Flanders*, and were taken by the *Zelanders*. Once, as it seemed, the General with the rest of the Navy bent their course towards *Scotland*; but not knowing what favour they should find there, and the wind blowing fair, they resolved to make home by the North Isles. The General himself with the best-provided Vessels took the main Ocean towards *Biscay*, and arrived safely in *Spain*. The rest seeking to take in fresh water, partly in the Isles, and partly in *Ireland*, were so tossed with Tempests and contrary winds, that 40 and above were cast away in those seas. The Navy returneth to *Spain*.

An. 1588. seas. A ship of *Florence* driven upon the West coast of *Scotland*, was spoiled and set on fire by certain High-landers. Shortly, the destruction was so great, as of the 134 ships that set sail from *Lisbone*, 53 only returned to *Spain*; of the soldiers, besides the Mariners, 13500 were lost by one way or other. And, as they write, not a family in *Spain* of any note there was which suffered not in this Expedition, having lost either a Son, or a Brother, or some nigh Kinsman. Such was the success of the *Spanish* Navy, which had been four years in preparing with no small cost, and in a few days was thus overthrown; one *English* ship only being lost, and about 100 men in all. The King caused solemn Thanksgiving for this Deliverance to be given to God in all Churches of the Kingdom, beginning in his own Court for an ensample to others.

The death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus*.

This was *The marvellous Year*, talked of so long before by the Astrologues, which this Defeat and the accidents that fell forth in *France* about the end of the same year did in a part make good. In this Kingdom (which we ought ever to remember with thankfulness to Almighty God) happened no disaster for which we had cause to be grieved, the death of *Archibald* Earl of *Angus* excepted, who deceased in the month of *July*: a Nobleman, as in place and rank, so in worth and vertue, above other subjects; of a comely personage, affable and full of grace, a lover of Justice, peacable, sober, and given to all goodness, and, which crowned all his vertues, truly pious. A long time he lived in exile in *England*, not through his own fault, but the misfortune of his friends, whom he could not forsake. After he was restored to the Kings favour, no man did carry himself in better sort, and in that time which was full of Factions he kept himself free of all partakings. Being imployed in the Lieftenandry of the Borders, he discharged himself to his Majesties great content, and to the liking of all the subjects; and not long after fell into that disease whereof he died, leaving no Heir male, and one only Daughter by his second Marriage, who did not long survive him. Never died any Nobleman with greater regrate; and so much the more was his death lamented, that, as it was then thought, and afterwards confessed, he was taken away by Sorcery and Incantation. In the time of his sickness, when the Physicians found his disease not to proceed of any natural cause, one *Richard Graham*, who was executed some years after for Witchcraft, being brought to give his opinion of it, made offer to cure him, saying, as the manner of these Wizards is, that he had received wrong. But when he heard that the man was suspected to use unlawful Arts, he would by no means admit him, saying, *That his life was not so dear unto him, as for the continuance of it some years he would be beholden to any of the Devils instruments; That he held his life of God, and was willing to render the same at his good pleasure, knowing he should change it for a better.* Thus, after a long and languishing disease, he died in *Smeton* near to *Dalkeith*, and was buried in *Abernethy*, in the Sepulchre of his Progenitors. The Houses of *Angus* and *Morton*, which within his Person were conjoyned, went by provision of Tail to the Lairds of *Glenbervy* and *Lochlevin*.

His disposition in his sickness.

A Message from the Prince of *Parma* to the Catholick Lords.

The hopes that our Catholicks conceived of the *Spanish* Navy being now frustrated, they had lost heart quite, but that the Prince of *Parma* did of new encourage them by his Letters, shewing that the loss was nothing so great as it was given out to be, and giving them hopes of another Army that set out more timely, and to be with them the next Spring. These letters were sent by one Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and delivered to *Huntley*, to be communicated with the rest of that Faction. Shortly after came one *John Chesholme*, bringing with him ten thousand Crowns, which were delivered to *Bruce*, to be used as he thought most fit for advancing the cause. The Earl of *Huntley* made instance to have the third part of the summe; Lord *Claud Hamilton* pleaded for as much; and *Maxwel*, lying then in prison, held no less to be due to him. But *Bruce* excused himself by the charge he had to dispone the mony by the advice of *David Graham* of *Fintrey*, who was warded at the same time in *Dundy*, and payed them all with one answer. The Lord *Claud* more covetous than the rest, because he could not come by any part of the money, grew more cold in the business. *Maxwel* had some sent him, for his consolation in the prison. But *Huntley*, having

Huntley reconciled to the Church.

ving at the Kings desire subscrived the Confession of Faith, and reconciled himself to the Church, was wholly neglected. *An.* 1589.

This he excused afterwards by a Letter to the Prince of *Parma*, professing, *An.* 1589.
'That after the escape of Colonel *Semple* he found himself so busied on all hands,
'and in such sort pressed by the King, as it behoved him either to yield, or depart
'out of the Country, or then to have taken the fields: which well he could not do,
'all hope of help being taken from him by the return of the Navy of *Spain*: but in
'what he had failed he should endeavor to amend by some good service tending to
'the advancement of the cause of God, who had put him (he said) in such credit
'with the King, as he had broken his former Guards, and made him establish others
'about his Person, by whom at all occasions he might assure himself, and be Ma-
'ster of the King, and so, when the support promised should arrive, spoil the He-
'reticks of his Authority, and make sure the Catholicks enterprises. Therefore
'besought him to be persuaded of his unchangeable affection, albeit in outward
'action he was forced to accommodate himself to the necessity of the time. This
Letter was dated at *Edinburgh* the 24 of *January* 1589.

Huntley excuseth his Reconcilement by a Letter.

Another of the same date was sent by the Earl of *Arroll* (whom Mr. *Edmond Hay* the Jesuit had seduced and brought on that course) to *Parma*, bearing, 'That
'since his Conversion to the Catholick Faith he did ever think himself obliged to
'procure the advancement of the Catholick Kings enterprises, tending princi-
'pally to that end, and to another Civil cause which had great affinity and con-
'junction with things at home, in regard whereof he said that ever before his
'Conversion he had been in his affection one of his friends, and servitors; and
'that Religion, which was the greatest and most important cause of the world
'being now joyned to the other, he was become altogether his. This he did in-
'treat his Highness to signifie to his Catholick Majesty, and to assure him that in
'*Scoland* he had not a more affectionate servant than himself. The like he did
profess to the Prince, remitting his intentions to be more fully declared by him
that should deliver the Letters.

A Letter from the Earl of *Arroll* to the Prince of *Parma*.

There went other Letters at the same time from the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* and *Morton* (so did the Lord *Maxwel* style himself) to the King of *Spain*, wherein after they had expressed their great regrate for the disappointment of his Preparations, they said, 'That if his Naval Army had visited them, the same should
'have found no resistence in *Scotland*, and with the support they would have
'made given enough to do to *England*; but that it seemed the *English* Catholicks
'who had their refuge it *Spain*, out of an unchristian enmity, did extenuate the
'means of the *Scotish* aid, to magnifie their own, and to have it thought that
'they were able to do all by themselves. Therefore they prayed his Majesty to
'make such account of the one, as he neglected not the other, and to serve him-
'self with them both, to the ends he did aim at. Then remitting to the declarati-
on of some of his own subjects, who had been in those parts, the commodity and
advantage of landing an Army in *Scotland*; they said, 'That having 6000 men
'of his own Country, with mony to levy as many more, they might within six
'hours of their arrival be well advanced in *England*, to assist the forces that he
'should send thither, and that the expence bestowed upon one Galleas would pro-
'fit more being so imployed, than many of them put to Sea could do. Withal
'they advised him not to make any more Armies by Sea, but to send a part of his
'forces to *Scotland*, and another by the back of *Ireland* toward *England*, and so
'divide the *English* forces, which should be partly attending at Sea, partly em-
'ployed in *Scotland*, where they should believe all their forces to be landed. A
'farther Declaration hereof they remitted to Colonel *Semple*; and so praying
'God to give him a full accomplishment of all his holy enterprises, they took
'their leave.

Letters sent to the King of *Spain* from the Catholick Lords.

Neither were the Jesuites that lurked in the Country in this mean time idle: of these the principals were Mr. *Edmond Hay* and Mr. *Will. Creichton*, who had been prisoners some few months in the Tower of *London*. They advising the Popish Lords to attempt somewhat by themselves, which would make the King of *Spain*

The Jesuites stir up the Lords to enterprise somewhat by themselves.

An. 1589. more earneſt to give ſuccourſe; a Plot was laid to take the King out of the Chancellor and Theſaurers hands, by whoſe counſel they thought he was only ruled, and that the pretence ſhould be the neglect of the Nobility, and the ill managing of publick affairs. This way they hoped to procure the aſſiſtence of other Noblemen that were diſcontented, and that no mention being made of Religion, the Country would be more cold in reſiſting their enterpriſe. The time and place of meeting being condeſcended on, *Fintrie* undertook to bring the Earl of *Montroſs* to the party, and of *Bothwell* they held themſelves aſſured, as well for the malice he profeſſed to the Queen of *England*, as becauſe in a conference with *Bruce* the *Spaniſh* Agent he had promiſed, if he ſhould aſſure him of the two Abbeys of *Coldingham* and *Kelſo*, which he poſſeſſed, he ſhould preſently turn to their ſide.

A Plot for taking the King.

A practice againſt the Chancellor.

To bring about this their purpoſe the device was, that they ſhould meet all at the quarrel-holes betwixt *Leith* and *Edinburgh*, and go from thence to *Halirudhouſe*, and ſettle themſelves about the King, ſecluding thoſe two Counſellors; or if they found them with the King, that they ſhould preſently kill them. But this device was overthrown by the Kings remaining in *Edinburgh*, who, ſuſpecting ſome Plots againſt the Chancellor, did for his ſecurity ſtay in the ſame lodging with him. *Bothwell* abode at that time in his houſe at *Creichton*, and kept about him the ſouldiers that he had conduced, pretending a journy to the Iſles, and the collecting of the Kings duties in thoſe parts. *Crawford* and *Arrol* came with their friendſhip to the North-Ferry. *Montroſs* feigned a viſit of his Couſin Mr. *John Graham* at *Halyeards*, ſome ſix miles from *Edinburgh*; and upon advertiſement that the King did keep lodging within the Town, advanced no farther. But *Huntley*, who reſided then with his Lady at *Dunfermlin*, preſuming much of the Kings affection, held on his way, and in the evening on which they had appointed to meet, came unexpected to the Kings lodging, where he found him in conference with the Chancellor.

Huntley cometh to the King.

The King ſeeing him brake of his purpoſe, asked whence he came, and how he fell to be ſo late; and from that falling into another diſcourſe, the Chancellor ſtept aſide to the window. *Huntley* had brought with him the Laird of *Kinfawns*, brother to the Earl of *Crawford*, and ſome of *Arrols* men, that were eſteemed of beſt courage and action. Theſe filling the preſence, and looking as men that had ſome purpoſe in hand, the Chancellors friends began to ſupect the worſt: whereupon the Laird of *Ormeſton*, *Carmichael*, and the Provoſt of *Linelowden* drew nigh and ſtood by him. After the King had talked a while with the Earl, he retired to his Cabinet, and ſtaying ſomewhat longer than was expected, the Chancellor asking the uſher if it was time of ſupper, and he anſwering that it was more than time; then ſaid he, Let us go: and with thoſe three that kept faſt by him paſſed forth of the Chamber, and through the company that ſtood in the preſence (all of them making way) to his own lodgings, which were juſt above the Kings rooms. How ſoon he came there, he ſent one to ſhew the King how unſeemly it was to fill the preſence with ſuch companies, and men armed as they were, ſaying that he would not have permitted the ſame if he had been alone in the Lodging, nor have caſt himſelf in ſuch danger.

Huntley committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*.

Preſently the rooms were uſhed, and the Earl with his company went forth. The next morning the King ſent for him, and at his coming began to examine wherefore he came to Town, and why in that manner: his anſwers not ſatisfying, he was committed in the Caſtle. By advertiſement given the ſame day of the companies that were with *Crawford* & *Arrol* at the North-Ferry, and there diſſolving, the whole purpoſe was diſcovered; whereupon the Earls of *Arrol* & *Bothwell* were cited to appear before the Council, and for their diſobedience denounced Rebels. *Montroſs* and *Crawford* were not called, having excuſed themſelves, as it was ſaid, and promiſed to meddle no more in that buſineſs. *Huntley*, upon the like promiſe, after a few days obtained his liberty, and went into the North. In his going thither, whether of purpoſe or by accident, it is uncertain, the Earl of *Crawford* did meet him at *Perth*; where at firſt they concluded to fortifie the town as a place moſt convenient for drawing forces together from all quarters: but doubting how they ſhould make good the enterpriſe, they gave it over, and getting intelligence that the

Huntley ſet at liberty.

the Theſaurer was come to *Angus*, and had appointed a meeting of ſome friends at the Chuch of *Megle*, they belayed the ways, and gave him the chaſe unto the houſe of *Kirkhill*, where he was received. Being deſired to render, upon his refuſe fire was caſt to the Houſe, and he forced to yield himſelf, as he did, to his Couſin the Laird of *Achindown*, who kept him ſome weeks priſoner in the North. *An.* 1589.

The Letters written to the King of *Spain* and Prince of *Parma*, whereof we made mention, and ſome others from Mr. *Bruce* directed to the ſame Prince, being about this time intercepted, laid open all the practices of theſe Noblemen; which being reported to the Q. of *England*, ſhe wrote to the King a ſharp Letter, wherein complaining of his remiſneſs in puniſhing theſe treacheries, and of the entertainment he gave to the *Spaniards* that had fled into *Scotland* after their wrack in the *Iriſh* Seas, ſhe beſought him not to overſlip ſuch happy occaſions as it had pleaſed God to offer him by revealing theſe practices; as likewiſe to rid the Realm of thoſe ſtrangers, and ſend them away with ſpeed. Hereupon order was taken for their diſpatch, and Ships conduced to tranſport them unto Weſt-*Flanders*. The *Hollanders* advertiſed of their coming, ſent forth ſome ſhips to intercept them, and meeting them ſome two miles from the coaſt of *Flanders*, took one of the veſſels, and put to the ſword all the *Spaniards* that were therein: the reſt ran their veſſels on ground, where a number, ſeeking to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were pitifully drowned. A Letter from the Queen of *England* to the King.

A Proclamation was likewiſe renewed againſt the Jeſuites, and their reſſetters, & Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Mr. *Will. Creichton*, Mr. *Rob. Bruce*, and *David Graham* of *Fentry*, commanded under pain of death to depart the Realm. But they contemning the charges, did ſtir up the Earls of *Huntley*, *Crawford* & *Arrol*, to make open Inſurrection. Theſe three taking Arms, and aſſembling all the forces they could gather, came to *Aberdene* in the beginning of *April*, where they made Proclamations in the Kings name, declaring 'that he was held Captive, & forced againſt his mind to uſe his No-'bles more rigorouſly than he deſired; requiring all the Lieges to concur and aſſiſt 'them for ſetting his Perſon at Liberty. Their hopes were that *Bothwell* with his friendſhip in the South ſhould make the King ſuch buſineſs, as they needed not to fear any ſudden purſuit: but the King, having cauſed denounce *Bothwell* and the chief of his followers Rebels, reſolved to begin with them, and leave him to his return. So charges being directed to warn all the ſubjects remaining on the South of *Aberdene* to accompany the King, and they gathering ſomewhat ſlowly, he made forward with thoſe he had in his company toward the middle of *April*, and having advanced as far as *Cowy*, (a little Village ſome ten miles off *Aberdene*) was there advertiſed that the Earls were 3000 ſtrong and marching directly towards him. The Lords make open Inſurrection. The Subjects warned to accompany the King.

The King, nothing diſmayed, called the Noblemen that were in the Army together, and ſpake chearfully unto them, ſaying, *That they had a great deal of advantage of their enemies, the better cauſe, and the King on their part. Neither Oaths nor Subſcriptions*, ſaid he, *can aſſure theſe men; and if Benefits or good deeds could have made them loyal and obedient, I have not been ſparing to them all. Now that I am drawn againſt my will by their open Rebellion to uſe force, I do aſſure my ſelf of your fidelity, and that you will not forſake me. I ſhall deſire you ſtand no longer than ye ſee me ſtand: and howbeit I do not think they dare ſet their faces againſt me, yet I ſhall pray you to diſpoſe all things in the beſt order you can.* His Majeſties Speech to the Noblemen in his Army.

This Speech he delivered with ſuch a grace, as thereby the Noblemen and others that ſtood by were greatly incouraged, every one avowing to do their uttermoſt for his Majeſties honor. But a queſtion falling between the Lord *Hamilton* and the Earl of *Angus* for leading the Van-guard, was like to have cauſed ſome trouble: *Angus* claiming the place by the priviledges granted to his predeceſſors; and the Lord *Hamilton* alleging that none ought to contend with him in honor, becauſe of his proximity to the Royal blood. But the King interpoſing his Authority, gave the leading of the Van-guard for that time to the Lord *Hamilton*, reſerving the rights and privileges of the houſe of *Angus*, whereunto nothing was done at that time ſhould work any prejudice. A queſtion for leading the Van-guard.

All that night the King did watch himſelf, and kept his Army on foot. In the morning early he was advertiſed that the Rebels were diſperſed, and gone back: for The Lords diſſolve their forces.

An. 1589. *Huntley* understanding that the King was resolved to put it to a day, declined the fight, because of the danger that might come to the Kings person; *Crawford* for the same reason seemed not very bent: but *Arroll* insisting to have gone forward, when he saw they would not be moved, parted from them at the Bridge of *Dee* in great wrath. The King came the same day to *Aberdene*, and calling the Magistrates, did threaten them sharply for receiving the Rebels into their City. They excused themselves by their weakness, and the want of power to resist the great forces: which was admitted, upon promise that they should look better to their Town in after-times. Whilest the King stayed there, the Noblemen and Barons of the Country came in and made offer of their service, giving surety not to reset nor intercommune with the Rebels, and to concur with his Majesties Lieutenant when they should be required.

The King goeth to *Aberdene.*

He returneth to *Edinburgh* about the beginning of *May.*

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, for he was then about the directing of the Earl of *Marshall* to *Denmark* for the accomplishing of his Marriage, and bringing home the Queen. There went with him *Andrew* Lord *Dingwell*, Sir *James Scrymgeour* of *Dudap*, Mr. *John Sheen* Advocate, and Mr. *George Young* Archdeacon of S. *Andrews*. For defraying the Ambassadors charges a Subsidy of an hundred thousand pounds was granted by the Council, according to a Warrant given them in the Parliament 1587, whereof the subjects made ready payment: so great was their desire to have the King matched, and the Royal Succession established in his Race.

The Earl of *Marshall* goeth to *Denmark* to accomplish the Marriage, 10. *June.*

The Rebels offer to submit themselves.

The enterprise of the Rebels being in this sort defeated, the Thesaurer was put to Liberty, and at his coming to Court did solicit the King in favors of the Earls of *Huntly* and *Crawford*, who forthinking the attempt they had made, did offer to enter their persons in Ward, and submit themselves to the punishment his Majesty should be pleased to impose. The Chancellor made the like intercession for *Bothwell*; but for *Arrol* none did speak. After the King had thought a little of it, he was content they should enter, and present themselves to the Justice; but would give no condition. For this effect the 24 of *May* was assigned. At the day Mr. *Edward Bruce*, Mr. *William Oliphant* and Mr. *James Wardlaw* sitting Judges in the criminal Court by Commission, the three Earls compeired. Of Noblemen and others charged to pass upon their Assise there were present the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Morton*, *Athol*, *Marre* and *Marshal*, the Lords *Seaton*, *Somervil*, *Dingwell*, and *Cathcart*, the Lairds of *Pittarrow*, *Closburn*, *Lagg*, and the Constable of *Dundy*.

Huntley, *Crawford* and *Bothwell* impanelled.

The points of their Indictment.

These taking Oath as the manner is, the Indictment was read, which consisted of seven or eight points. 'First, they were charged with practising with Jesuites, Seminary Priests, and other Strangers, against Religion; receiving of *Spanish* Gold, 'and hiring Soldiers therewith to disturb the quiet of the Realm. 2. That they 'had entered in bond and Confederacy with the Earls of *Arrol*, *Montross* and 'others contrary to the Laws, kept Conventicles, and treasonably surprised the 'Town of *Perth*, of purpose to have fortified the same against his Majesty, '3. That they had conspired to take the King Prisoner at *Halirudhouse*, and kill 'his servants and Counsellors, especially Sir *John Maitland* of *Thirlstane* Chan'cellor. 4. That they had besieged the house of *Kirkhill*, put fire to the same, and 'forced the Master of *Glammis* Thesaurer to render himself captive. 5. That 'they had convocated the subjects by open Proclamation, and given out that the 'King was detained Prisoner against his will. 6. That they came with displayed 'Banners to the Bridge of *Dee*, of mind to invade the King, whom they knew to 'be upon an Expedition to the North-parts. 7. That they had taken the Kings 'Herald at Arms in the City of *Aberdene*, spoiled him of his Coat and Letters, 'when he was about to proclaim them. The 8 and last concerned *Bothwell* particu'larly, who, besides the rest, was charged to have hired Soldiers, as well strangers 'as men within the Country, entertaining them in *Dalkeith*, and threatning to 'invade the Town of *Leith* at his Majesties being in the North.

The Lords found guilty, & committed to several Wards.

Bothwell confessing that he had waged Soldiers, and entered in bonds with other Noblemen, did therefore put himself in his Majesties will: the rest of the points he denied,

denied, remitting himſelf to the trial of his Peers. *Crawford* confeſſed that he was in the fields at the taking of *Kirkhill*, and with the Earl of *Huntley* in *Aberdene*; but denied the other points. *Huntley* come in will for the whole. The Aſſiſe removing by themſelves found *Bothwell* guilty of the enterpriſe at the Quarrel-holes, beſides that which he confeſſed. They filed *Crawford* of ſurpriſing the Town of *Perth*, and coming in Arms to the Bridge of *Dee*. *Huntley* by his own confeſſion was found guilty in all. The Sentence upon the Kings Warrant was ſuſpended, and they committed to divers places; *Bothwell* in *Tantallon*, *Crawford* in *Blackneſs*, and *Huntley* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1589.

In *June* following the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, where the King giving his preſence, after he had ſpoken a little of his good affection towards the Church, ſhewed that he was come to deſire Mr *Patrick Galloway* to be appointed one of his Miniſters. The Aſſembly by the mouth of their Moderator *rendring his Majeſty humble thanks for the beginnings he had made in ſuppreſſing the enemies of Religion, did intreat him to proſecute the buſineſs, and made offer of their humble ſervice and aſſiſtance to the utmoſt of their power. As to that which he deſired, they acknowledged that his Majeſty might command any Miniſter whereſoever he ſerved to attend himſelf and his Court*; and ſo ordained Mr. *Patrick Galloway* to leave his Charge at *Perth*, and wait upon the King. An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

It was a good beginning, and this gave no ſmall content to all well-diſpoſed men. But things continued not long in that caſe, for before that meeting took an end a freſh offence was given. The year preceding the King having contracted his Couſin the Duke of *Lennox* his Siſter to the Earl of *Huntley*, had cauſed the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* celebrate the Marriage, at which the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* taking exception, they complained of the ſame in a preceding Aſſembly, and had obtained a Commiſſion to the Presbytery for calling and cenſuring the Biſhop according to the Acts of the Church. Whether the Biſhop would not acknowledge them for Judges, or that he eſteemed his Majeſties Command a Warrant ſufficient for what he had done; whileſt as he neglected their proceedings they pronounce him deprived from all Office and Function in the Church; and preſenting the Proceſs in this Aſſembly, the ſame was found formal, the Sentence ratified, and ordained to be publiſhed in all the Churches of the Kingdom, only to make the Biſhop hateful and contemptible. He complaineth to the King, who ſhewed himſelf extreamly diſpleaſed with their doings; but what courſe he ſhould take he was doubtful, for every day he was expecting the arrival of his Queen, and loved to have all things quiet and ſettled at her coming, eſpecially in the Church, with whom it grieved him not a little to be ſtill in queſtion: but eſpying no better way, he reſolved in end to diſſemble his anger towards them, and to take the impriſoned Lords in favor, leſt he ſhould make himſelf too much buſineſs. Thereupon he returneth to the North, gives *Arrol* a Pardon, putteth *Crawford* to liberty and fully remits him; *Huntley* and *Bothwell* he freeth from impriſonment, but, to hold them in awe, he defers the Declaration of his will concerning them. The Lord *Maxwell*, upon his bond not to practiſe againſt Religion under the pain of an hundred thouſand pounds, is likewiſe dimitted. The Biſhop of S. *Andrews* deprived for the Marriage of *Huntley*. The courſe taken with the impriſoned Lords.

And in this caſe ſtood things when advertiſement came that the Marriage was accompliſhed, and the Queen ready to take Sea. All diligence was thereupon uſed to prepare for her Reception, and nothing left undone that was required for ſo great a Solemnity. But a ſecond and unlook'd for Meſſage cometh ſhortly after, ſhewing that the Navy appointed for her conduct was driven by a Tempeſt into *Norway*, and that it was thought ſhe ſhould ſtay in thoſe parts unto the Spring: the King taking this impatiently concludeth with himſelf to go thither in perſon: and becauſe he knew many impediments would be made if his purpoſe were known, he giveth out that he would ſend the Chancellor and Juſtice Clerk to tranſport her in *Scotiſh* Veſſels, if the *Danes* would not adventure theirs in that ſeaſon. How ſoon the Ships were prepared for their journy, no man expecting any ſuch matter, he taketh Sea himſelf, *leaving direction to the Council for the Government of affairs during his abſence, with the following Declaration written all with his own hand, but not ſeen to any till he was gone. Advertiſement to the King of the Marriage with the Queen. The King intendeth a journy to *Norway*. * 22 *October*.

An. 1589.

He leaveth a Declaration under his hand.

In reſpect I know that the motion of my Voiage will be at this time diverſly ſcanned, and miſinterpreting may be made as well to My diſhonor as the blame of innocents, I have thought fit to leave this Declaration, for reſolving all good ſubjects, firſt of the cauſes that moved Me to undertake this Voiage, then, in the faſhion in which I reſolved to make the ſame. As to the cauſes, I have been generally blamed by all men for deferring my Marriage ſo long, being alone, without Father, Mother, Brother or Siſter; and yet a King not only of this Realm, but Heir apparent of another. This my nakedneſs made Me weak, and mine enemies ſtrong: for One man is no man, as they ſpeak, and where there is no hope of Succeſſion it breeds contempt and diſdain: yea the delay I have uſed hath begot in many a ſuſpicion of Impotency in Me, as if I were a barren ſtock. Theſe and other reaſons moved Me to haſten my Marriage, from which I could yet have longer abſtained, if the weal of my Country could have permitted. I am not known to be raſh in my weightieſt affairs, neither am I ſo carried with paſſion as not to give place to Reaſon; but the Treaty being perfected and the Queen on her journey, when I was advertiſed of her ſtay by contrary winds, and that it was not like ſhe ſhould perfect her voiage this year, I reſolved to make it on my part poſſible which was unpoſſible on hers.

The place where I firſt took this reſolution was in Craigmillar, *none of my Counſil being preſent: and as I took it by my ſelf, ſo I bethought me of a way to follow the ſame And firſt I adviſed to employ the Earl of* Bothwell *in the voiage, in regard he is Admiral; but his preparations took ſo long a time, that I was forced to call the Counſil, and ſend for the Chancellor and Juſtice Clerk, who were then in* Lowder. *When as they met, they found ſo many difficulties in ſending forth a number of ſhips for the Queens Convoy (for ſo I gave it out) and who ſhould be the Ambaſſadors, that I was compelled to avouch, if none ſhould be found to go, I ſhould go my ſelf alone in a Ship: adding, that if men had been as willing as became them, I would not have needed to have been in theſe ſtreights. This the Chancellor taking to touch him (for he knew he had been ſlandered all that time for impeding my Marriage) partly out of zeal to my ſervice and partly fearing that I ſhould make good my word if no better way could be found, made offer to go himſelf in that ſervice. This I embraced, keeping my intention from all men, becauſe I thought it enough for Me to put my foot in a ſhip when all things were ready, and from the Chancellor himſelf (from whom I never kept any of my weightieſt buſineſſes) for two reaſons. Firſt, becauſe if I had made him of my counſel in that purpoſe, he had been blamed, for putting the ſame in my head (which had not been his duty) for it becomes no ſubject to give his Prince advice in ſuch matters; withal conſidering what hatred and envy he ſuſtained injuſtly for leading Me by the noſe as it were to all his appetites, as though I were an unreaſonable creature, or a Child that could do nothing of my ſelf, I thought pity to heap mo unjuſt ſlanders on his head. The other Reaſon was, that I perceived it was for ſtaying my journey that he made offer to go; ſo was I aſſured, if he had known my purpoſe, he would either have ſtayed himſelf at home, or, thinking it too heavy a burthen for him to undertake my Convoy, he would have lingered ſo long as there ſhould not have been a poſſibility for making the Voiage. This I thought meet to declare (and upon my Honor it is the truth) leſt I ſhould be eſteemed an imprudent Aſs, that can do nothing of my ſelf, and to ſave the innocency of that man from unjuſt reproaches. For my part, beſides that which I have ſaid, the ſhortneſs of the way, the ſurety of the paſſage, being clear of all Sands, Forelands, and ſuch other perils, ſafe Harbours in theſe parts, and no forein Fleets reſorting in theſe Seas; it is my pleaſure that no man grudge at this my proceeding, but that all conform themſelves to the Directions I have given to be followed unto my Return, which ſhall be within 20 days, wind and weather ſerving; and if any ſhall contravene theſe, I will take it as a ſufficient proof that he bears Me no good will in his heart; as, to the contrary, I will reſpect all that reverence my Commandments in the beſt ſort I may. Farewel.*

Directions to the Council.

This Declaration, written and ſigned with his Majeſties own hand, was the next day after he was ſhipped preſented to the Council by *Alexander Hay* Clerk of Regiſter, together with the Directions mentioned in the end thereof, which were thus conceived.

Seeing

Seeing it hath pleaſed Almighty God to bring Us to mans age, and that nothing hath been more earneſtly wiſhed by all Our good ſubjects than to ſee Us honorably matched, ſo that the Crown might deſcend to Our own Succeſſion after ſo many worthy Progenitors; We, to ſatisfie their deſires, having reſolved upon a Perſonage that for blood and other commodities of Alliance could not be thought but moſt worthy, did enter into contract with Frederick *King of* Denmark *lately deceaſed, and by advice of Our Council directed Our Ambaſſador to ſolemnize the Marriage, and conduct her unto this Realm: But having intelligence that by contrarious winds ſhe and her company was driven to* Norway, *and that it being remitted to her choice whether ſhe would return unto* Denmark *or make ſtay there until the opening of the Spring, ſhe had embraced the laſt condition, as the beſt and moſt liking to her deſire; albeit hitherto We have not behaved Our ſelf diſſolutely, but patiently attended the good occaſion that God ſhould offer; yet now taking to heart her pains and danger, with the difficulties that have occurred in her Tranſport, We could find no contentment till that We enterpriſed to make a Voiage towards her, and bring her home, which We are in good hope to do within the ſpace of* 20 *days, wind and weather ſerving.* An. 1589.

Yet fearing the time of My ſtay may be longer at Gods good pleaſure, leſt any looſeneſs during Our abſence ſhould fall into the Government, We have of our Own motion, and not counſelled by any, left a declaration with the Clerk of Regiſter, and willed no man to grudge at Our abſence, ſeeing in former times the Kingdom hath wanted a Governor longer than We truſt in God it ſhall want Us; as namely from the death of Our Grandmother the Queen Regent, unto the arrival of Our deareſt Mother from France, *the ſpace of* 14 *Months, during which time, for the reverence and love carried to her, albeit a Woman and minor in years, no violence was committed by any perſon, and greater peace and quietneſs obſerved than was before or ſince that time known to have been kept. And notwithſtanding Our expectation is nothing leſs of the good behaviour of Our ſubjects in this Our abſence, We have taken order, for the better government of the publick affairs, that Our privy Council ſhould reſide at* Edinburgh, *and ordained the Duke of* Lennox *Our Nephew to be Preſident thereof, and to be aſſiſted by Our Couſin* Francis *Earl of* Bothwell, *whom We appoint to attend him with the other Officers of State, namely the Theſaurer, Comptroller, Maſter of Requeſts, Privy Seal, the Captain of the Caſtle of* Edinburgh, *Advocate and Clerk of Regiſter, who ſhall ever be preſent, five of them at leaſt, with Our ſaid Nephew.*

We have likewiſe given order that ſome Noblemen in their courſes ſhall attend at Edinburgh *the ſpace of* 15 *days; the Earls of* Angus *and* Athol, *with the Lords* Fleming *and* Innermeth *to begin, and the next courſe to be kept by the Earls of* Marre *and* Morton, *with the Lords* Seaton *and* Yeſter. *The Barons of* Lothian, Fife, Striveling-ſhire *and* Strathern *We appoint to attend as they ſhall be warned and directed by the Council. For the South parts We have made the Lord* Hamilton *Our Lieutenant, that is, within the three Wardenries & Sheriffdom of* Lanerick, *and to be aſſiſted, when need is, by the Lords* Boyd, Hereis, Maxwel, Home, Cesford, *and other chief Barons within the Marches; his reſidence to be at* Dumfreis *or* Jedburgh, *and his charges to be furniſhed out of the readieſt of the Taxation by Mr.* John Colvill *Collector thereof. And that peace and quietneſs may be the better obſerved, We diſcharge all Conventions for any cauſe whatſoever unto Our return. Finally, We require the Miniſters and Preachers of the Word to exhort the people to Peace and Obedience, and commend Us and our Journy in their prayers to the protection of Almighty God. As this is Our deſire, ſo We expect that all Our good ſubjects will follow the ſame, eſpecially they who have tried Our favour of late, and that they will perſiſt in the Loyalty promiſed by them: certifying thoſe that do in the contrary, that they ſhall incur Our high diſpleaſure, and be puniſhed with all rigour; as, on the other part, We ſhall remember the peaceable and obedient thankfully, when occaſion preſents.*

By another Miſſive preſented at the ſame time to the Council the Earl *Bothwell* was declared ſecond to the Duke of *Lennox*, Sir *Robert Melvil* Vice-Chancellor, *Alexander Hay* Secretary for the *Scottiſh* language, and Mr. *James Elphinſton* for the *Latin* and *French*.

The

An. 1589. The King having thus provided for the publick affairs took with him in company Sir *John Maitland*, Chancellor, Sir *Lewis Ballenden*, Juſtice Clerk, Mr. *Robert Douglas*, Provoſt of *Linclowden*, the Gentlemen of his Chamber, and other ordinary Officers of the Houſe. He took alſo with him Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith*, leaving Mr. *Patrick Galloway* his ordinary Preacher to attend the Council; and having a proſperous wind, arrived ſafely in a Sound or Haven of *Norway* (not far from *Upſal*, where the Queen remained) the fourth or fifth day after his embarking.

The Marriage ſolemnized at *Upſal*. The ſunday following he ſolemnized the Marriage in his own perſon, Mr. *David Lindeſay* performing the Ceremony in the *French* language. After which, conſultation being taken for his return unto *Scotland*, becauſe it was held dangerous to go to ſea in that ſeaſon, and that the Counſellors of *Denmark* did oppoſe the journy, adviſing him rather to viſit the Queens Mother, and her Son *Chriſtiern* elected King of *Denmark*, he was eaſily induced to follow their advice, and ſend back the *Scottiſh* ſhips with Sir *James Scrimgeour*, and Mr. *John Skein*.

The Earl of *Marſhals* proceedings ratified. Whileſt the King lay at *Upſal*, the Earl *Marſhal* in Council made report of his proceedings in the Ambaſſage, and how according to the Contract paſt, and interchangeably ſealed and ſigned, the Marriage was compleated, and a form of Atteſtation taken touching the Iſles of *Orkney*, bearing *That the King and Regents of* Denmark *ſhould ſuperſeed all claim of right to the ſaid Iſles unto the Kings perfect age, reſerving to each Kingdom their own Right, which by that Treaty ſhould not be prejudged*; as the Copy thereof, ſubſcrived by the four Governors, preſently exhibited did ſhew. Together with the Atteſtation he produced the form of an Oath given by him and his aſſociates, for his Majeſties performing of all things promiſed on his part concerning the Marriage; and was in all and every one of theſe found to have done good ſervice, and have carried himſelf honorably according to his Commiſſion.

The Kings journy from *Norway* to *Denmark*. Soon after this came certain Ambaſſadors from *Denmark* to invite the King thither, who parting from *Upſal* with his Queen the 22 of *December*, came to *Bahuis* (a Caſtle ſtanding in the Borders of *Norway* and *Sweden*) the firſt of *January*. There he remained ſeven days, attending a ſafe-conduct from the King of *Sweden*, which Captain *William Murray* was employed to bring from *Stockholm*, where that King kept his reſidence. The conduct brought, he removed from *Bahuis* the eighth of *January*, and was met by a Captain of *Sweden* upon the River then frozen with 400 horſemen, and by the ſpace of two *Dutch* miles conveyed unto the land of *Denmark*. The next day he went to the Caſtle of *Wertbury*, where he remained five days, and from thence journying by *Falkenburgh*, the Town of *Holmeſtad* and Caſtle of *Cowholm*, he came to *Elſinbourg*, where he was ſtayed ſome three days from croſſing the Ferry by tempeſt of weather; and on the 21 of *January* was received at *Cronenburg* Caſtle by the Queen-Mother, the young King, the Duke of *Holſtat* his brother, and the four Regents of the Realm, with all magnificence poſſible. There he remained to the end of *February* royally entertained; and becauſe he was to ſtay upon the Marriage of his Queens eldeſt Siſter with the Duke of *Brunſwick*, which was appointed in *April* next, he directed home *William Shaw* Maſter of *Worke* to advertiſe the Council of the reaſon of his ſtay, and to cauſe ſome Ships and expert Pilots be ſent with all diligence, for his more ſafe convoy. The Council upon this advertiſement employed Colonel *William Stewart* with ſix well furniſhed Ships together; and with him Mr. *Patrick Galloway* the Kings Miniſter was ſent to further his Majeſties return. They arriving at *Elſenore* about the middeſt of *April*, in the very time that *Brunſwicks* Marriage was ſolemnizing, did ſignifie to the King the longing that the ſubjects had for his return, and the Peace that had been obſerved ſince his going from *Scotland*. For all that while (which conſidering the feuds of the Country was ſtrange) two Riots only did happen, one committed by *Archibald Wachop* of *Nudry*, a wicked and inſolent man; another by the *Clangregore* in *Bachudder*. It rejoyced the King to hear that the ſubjects had been ſo quiet, as he did likewiſe accompt it a great happineſs that in his own company there had no quarrel fallen out, either amongſt themſelves or with

Colonel *Stewart* ſent with Ships to the King. *Penult. Martii.*

the

the ſtrangers; whereas it is hard for men in drink, at which they were continually kept, long to agree. A little ſtrife at his firſt coming to *Upſal* aroſe betwixt the Chancellor and Earl *Marſhal* for priority of place: the Earl thinking it due to him, becauſe of the honor he had in the eſpouſal of the Queen: and the Chancellor excepting, that his Ambaſſage ceaſed in regard of the Kings preſence, and that the ſame precedency belonged to him by virtue of his Office in thoſe parts, being with the King, that he had at home. But this was pacified without any noiſe by the Kings determination, who declared the place to belong to the Chancellor. *An.* 1590.

Brunſwicks Marriage and ſolemnity thereof finiſhed, the King conveyed with many great Ships took journy homewards, and arrived with his Queen at *Leith* the 20 of *May*, where he was received with a wonderful joy and a great concourſe of people. After his landing, he went firſt to Church, and cauſed publick Thanks to be given to God for his ſafe and happy return; then after to the Noblemen and Council he gave many thanks for the care they had taken in adminiſtration of affairs, and the quietneſs they had maintained in the Country. The Earl of *Bothwell*, beſides the reſt, was received with a moſt gracious countenance, for that contrary to all mens expectation he had carried himſelf orderly all that time. And he indeed ſoon after the Kings departing (whether to purchaſe the opinion of a reformed man, or that, as he pretended, remorſe of Conſcience did move him) in a Conference with *James Gibſon* Miniſter, who was then privately returned from *England*, did offer, for removing the many ſcandals he had given by his diſſoluteneſs, to acknowledge publickly his offence, and make any ſatisfaction the Church ſhould enjoyn; which alſo he performed, appearing (as he was appointed) in the Church where Mr. *Robert Bruce* did ordinarily preach, and making confeſſion of his ſins, promiſed to live more regularly, and not to give offence thereafter to good Chriſtians. But it was not long after the Kings return that, falling to his wonted forms, he became more diſordered than ever, and there-through procuring the Kings diſpleaſure, wrought his own undoing, as we ſhall hear. *An.* 1590. The King and Queen return to *Scotland*. *Bothwell* his ſatisfaction to the Church.

The next day after the Kings arrival the Council aſſembled to adviſe upon the Queens Coronation. The King determining to have it done in moſt ſolemn manner, becauſe none of the Biſhops were preſent, nor could conveniently be brought againſt the day, made choice of Mr. *Robert Bruce* to perform the Ceremony. The Miniſters that were in Town being therewith acquainted, ſome of the number more curious than wiſe did except againſt the Ceremony of Unction, ſaying, that *it was* Jewiſh, *and aboliſhed at the coming of Chriſt, introduced into Chriſtian kingdoms by the Pope, and not to be uſed.* The chief of this oppoſition was one Mr. *John Daviſon*, an idle and turbulent man, who as then had no charge in the Church, but had gained ſome credit with certain fooliſh people, that would be thought more holy and zealous than other. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* ſided with him at firſt, reaſoning for the ſame opinion. It was ſhewed them, *That the Ceremony could not be* Jewiſh, *ſeeing it never had the beginning from the* Jewes, *nor was it uſed by that people only. That the Anointing of Kings was mentioned in the book of* Judges, *which, albeit uttered in a Parable, did ſhew that it was a cuſtom received in creating of Kings. And that it was practiſed in other Kingdoms beſides that of* Judea *was a thing manifeſt; for* Hazael *King of* Aram *was anointed by* Elias, *and* Cyrus *King of* Perſia *is called by* Eſay *Gods Anointed: Both theſe were ſtrangers to the Law and people of the* Jews, *yet were they anointed; wherefore the Ceremony could not be* Jewiſh. Then where they ſaid that the Rite was introduced by the Pope of *Rome*; *as that could not be made out, ſo no reaſonable man would think that every Rite uſed amongſt Papiſts was to be rejected; for in that caſe we ſhould be forced to remove many things that are both of good inſtitution and uſe. Seeing therefore the Function and Authority of Princes continueth the ſame, and is alike in all free Monarchies, their Anointing could no more be excepted againſt than their Crowning, and the bearing of the Sword and Scepter before them, which have all the like warrant.* Thus they were reaſoned with, but nothing could remove their Scruples: which the King hearing, he called them before him, and finding them obſtinate in their opinions, told them, '*That he 'would not have the rite of Unction omitted, and if Mr.* Rob. Bruce *would not do it,* A difference amongſt the Clergy for anointing the Queen. The Ceremony of Unction not Jewiſh. The Queens Coronation at *Halirudhouſe*.

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An. 1590. ‘(for they had threatned him with Church Cenſures) *he would prorogue the day of* ‘*Coronation, and ſtay till one of the Biſhops came, who would not refuſe.* Upon this they fell to a ſecond deliberation, and Mr. *Andrew Melvil* altogether miſliking that a Biſhop ſhould be employed in the Action, divided from the others, ſo that by the plurality of voices in end it was concluded that the Ceremony ſhould be uſed. Thus the Sunday following the Queen was ſolemnly Crowned, and all the Rites accuſtomed performed by Mr. *Robert Bruce* in the Abby-Church of *Halirudhouſe*.

The Queens entry into *Edinburgh*.

On Tueſday thereafter ſhe made her triumphant entry into the Town of *Edinburgh*, where nothing was omitted that might ſerve to expreſs the love and affection of the people. The reſt of the month and much of the next was ſpent in Banquets and royal Shews, for the entertaining of the Strangers. Theſe finiſhed, and order taken for adminiſtration of the Rents aſſigned to the Queen, the Strangers were dimitted, and had rich Preſents given them both from the King and Queen.

The Miniſters challenged for permitting *James Gibſon* to preach.

How ſoon they were gone, the King, upon information that the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* and *Dalkeith* had permitted *James Gibſon* to preach in their Churches, notwithſtanding he was ſilenced by the general Aſſembly, cauſed cite them before the Council. They anſwered, *That his ſilencing, as they took it, was only to the time of his appearance before the Aſſembly, and that he was purged of Contumacy.* But the Act being produced, and bearing that he was ſilenced *during the pleaſure of the Aſſembly*, which was not declared, they confeſſed their overſight, and promiſed that he ſhould not have place amongſt them till his Majeſty was ſatisfied. The King, conſtructing their anſwer to the beſt, gave order to ſummon *Gibſon* for his contempt; and he not appearing was denounced Rebel.

The King offended with the alliance of *Morton* with *Arrol*.

At the ſame time there was a Marriage treated betwixt the Earl of *Arrol* and a Daughter of the Earl of *Morton*, at which the King took exception, and did inhibit the ſame, as not liking that he who had ſo lately rebelled, and was not yet reconciled to the Church, ſhould be ſtrengthened by ſuch an Alliance. Nottheleſs the Marriage went on, for which the Earl of *Morton* being called before the Council, anſwered, that he could not reſtrain the affection of his Daughter, and was forced to give way unto it. The Council finding him to have failed in his duty, did remit his Cenſure to the King himſelf, who, as he was a Prince moſt tractable, did paſs it, upon the Earl his ſubmiſſion.

An Aſſembly of the Church.

In the month of *June* the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, which the King did honor with his preſence. Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, elected to preſide in name of the Church, did put up three Petitions to his Majeſty. ‘One for eſta-‘bliſhing the Churches Juriſdiction, and the aboliſhing of all Acts made to the ‘contrary. Another for purging the Country of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and Ex-‘communicate perſons trafficking againſt Religion. The Third was for providing ‘a competent maintenance to Miniſters forth of the Tithes of the Pariſhes where ‘they ſerved, and applying what was above to the ſuſtentation of Schools, main-‘taining of the poor, repairing of the fabrick of Churches, and other the like neceſ-‘ſary uſes. To the Firſt his Majeſty anſwered, *That in all Parliaments the firſt Act that was concluded did concern the Liberty of the Church, which he ſhould have care to ſee obſerved as in times paſſed.* For the ſecond he ſaid, *That it was known what pains he had taken therein before his journey to* Denmark, *and that he would do what lawfully could be done for purging the Country of Papiſts.* And touching the Third, becauſe many were intereſſed therein, he did adviſe them *to make choice of the moſt diſcreet of their number to meet with ſuch of the Council as he ſhould appoint, for conferring upon the readieſt means to effectuate that which they deſired.* Thereafter his Majeſty falling to ſpeak of the barbarous Feuds which were entertained in the Realm, and the many odious Murthers there-through committed, *did ſeriouſly commend to them (as thoſe who ſhould of all others moſt ſtudy to make Peace) the removing of ſuch Barbarities ſo far as in them lay, wiſhing them in their Sermons to ſtrike on that Point, and make people underſtand how ſinful it was, and how ſhameful to the whole Nation; as likewiſe to employ the moſt wiſe amongſt them for reconciling the Variances that abounded in the Country. For my ſelf,* ſaid he, *I will employ all the power I have that way; and if you ſhall apply your ſelves in your places to do*

The King commended to the Aſſembly the removing of the deadly feuds.

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the like, my work ſhall be the more eaſie and have the better ſucceſs. This was greatly applauded of all; and indeed after that time he took ſuch pains, partly calling thoſe that were at variance before the Council, and cauſing them ſubmit their quarrels, partly making ſtrict Laws againſt the Troublers of the common Peace, as he never ceaſed till he got the Feuds wholly aboliſhed. *An.* 1591.

Yet this was not wrought but after ſome time and with much difficulty, new troubles daily ariſing in ſundry parts of the Country. In the North a diſſenſion brake out betwixt the Earls of *Huntley* and *Murray*, that kept thoſe parts a long time in trouble, the occaſion whereof was this. *John Gordon*, ſon to *Thomas Gordon* of *Cluny*, having married the Widow of *Grant* of *Ballendallagh*, it happeneth in a private quarrel one of *Gordons* ſervants to be killed by the Tutor of the Houſe. *Gordon* purſuing him before the Juſtice, for not appearing he was denounced Rebel, and Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Huntley* as Sheriff of the Country to apprehend him. The Earl making ſearch for him cometh to the houſe of *Ballendallagh*, and after ſome reſiſtence taketh it by force, but findeth not the Tutor. This the family of the *Grants* interpreting to be done in their diſgrace, they betook themſelves to the patrociny of the Earl of *Murray*, and with them the *Clan-chatton* and divers of the name of *Dumbar* did joyn. *Huntley* offending that any in thoſe parts ſhould make head againſt him, and having underſtood that the Ears of *Athol* and *Murray* were to meet theſe *Clans* in *Forres*, for making up a Confederacy, did aſſemble his friends, and went thither to diſſolve the meeting; but before his coming they had ſevered, and the Earl of *Murray* was returned to his Houſe of *Tarnway*. *Huntley* taking that way home, and ſome of his company riding about the Houſe in manner of a Bravado, they within diſcharging ſome Muſquets upon them, it happened the ſame *Gordon* that married the Widow to be killed. To be revenged of this affront, *Huntley* gathereth forces to invade the Earl of *Murray*; and he, aſſiſted by the Earl of *Athol* his Couſin, prepareth to defend. The Convocations were great on either ſide; whereof the King receiving advertiſement, charges were directed to command *Athol* home, and inhibit *Huntley* from coming by Weſt the River of *Spey*, and *Murray* not to come on the Eaſt of *Findorne*. This courſe did reſtrain them for a time, but gave not an end to thoſe Troubles. A trouble betwixt the Earl of *Huntley* and the Earl of *Murray*.

A little after this fell out the ſlaughter of *William Ker* of *Ancram*, a Gentleman of great ſufficiency, who was killed in *Edinburgh* under night by Sir *Robert Ker* apparant of *Ceſford*. There had been a long and old emulation betwixt the two Families of *Ceſford* and *Farnherſt* for the Wardenry of the middle Marches, and the Provoſtry of *Jedburgh*. But *Fernherſt* being then deceaſed, and the Heir left young, this Gentleman, as deſcended of the Houſe, did what he could to maintain the reputation of it, which was an eye-ſore to the other. It happened alſo ſome little time before, this Gentleman, in the trial of goods ſtoln from *England*, to find out the committer of the Theft, and when the ſame was denied, (for the matter was brought before the Council) to verifie the ſame by clear teſtimonies; which was taken to be done out of ſpleen, and to rub ſome infamy upon *Ceſford*, who was then Warden; for the man accuſed was one of his followers. This the Lady *Ceſford*, a woman of an haughty ſpirit, did apprehend ſo deeply, as ſhe never ceaſed till ſhe had moved her Son, being then very young, to bereave the Gentleman of his life. A hateful fact it was, both for the manner in which it was done, and for the loſs the Country received by the Gentlemans death; for he was a man generally well given, wiſe, of great courage, and expert beyond others in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Borders. The King was highly offended, and was reſolved to uſe exemplary Juſtice upon the Actor. But he eſchewing, and living a Fugitive ſome months, was pardoned, upon ſatisfaction made to the Gentlemans children, as was thought by the Chancellors interceſſion, who afterwards married him to his Neece, a Daughter of *Lethington*.

Moſt of this Winter was ſpent in the diſcovery and examination of Witches and Sorcerers. Amongſt theſe *Agnes Samſon* (commonly called *The Wiſe wife of* Keith) was moſt remarkable; a woman not of the baſe and ignorant ſort of Witches, but, Matron-like, grave and ſetled in her anſwers, which were all to ſome purpoſe. In her *An.* 1591. A Sorcereſs, *Agnes Samſon*, apprehended.

An. 1591. her Examination she declared, 'That she had a Familiar spirit, who upon her call 'did appear in a visible form, and resolve her of any doubtful matter, especially 'concerning the life or death of persons lying sick. And being ask'd what words she used when she called the spirit, she said her word was, *Holla Master*, and that he had learned her so to do. She farther confessed, 'That the Earl *Bothwell* had 'moved her to enquire what should become of the King, how long he should reign, 'and what should happen after his death; and that the Spirit having undertaken 'to make away the King, after he had failed in performing, and was challenged by 'her, confessed it was not in his power, speaking words she understood not, but as 'she did take them, the words were, *Il est homme de Dieu*. *Richard Graham*, another notorious Sorcerer, being apprehended at the same time, made the like Confession of *Bothwell*, which was the cause of his committing in *April* following; for such Curiosities are not thought to possess the minds of those that wish well to their Princes, and hath proved the cause of many mens ruine.

Bothwell committed for consulting with Witches.

The Laird of *Dun* his death.

In the end of the year died *John Ereskin* of *Dun*, Superintendent of *Angus* and *Mernis*, a man famous for the services performed to his Prince and Country, and worthy to be remembred for his travels in the Church, which out of zeal to the Truth he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. Before the Reformation, his House was to those who in that time were called Hereticks a special place of refuge; afterwards such was the scarcity of Ministers that he took upon him the Charge, and was chosen with the first to have the oversight of the Churches in these North-parts, which he governed to his death most wisely and with great authority, giving no way to the Novations introduced, nor suffering them to take place within the bounds of his Charge, whilest he lived. A Baron he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage, who for divers resemblances may well be said to have been another *Ambrose*. He died the 12 of *March*, in the 82 year of his Age, leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his vertues a memory that shall never be forgotten.

Bothwell breaketh his Ward.

Bothwell had not stayed above a month in Ward, when, seducing his Keeper, he made an escape, and thereby increased the suspicion of his guiltiness: whereupon the King gave order to pronounce the Doom of forfeiture against him, according to the conviction passed in *May* 1589, and causing denounce him Traitor, did inhibit by Proclamation all the subjects to intercommune or keep intelligence with him. And lest the proceeding should have been thought too rigorous, it was declared in the Proclamation. 'That he being tender in blood to his Majesty, and advanced 'by him to sundry Honors and Offices, had out of his ungodly and unnatural hu- 'mor, after divers slaughters committed by him and overseen, taken Arms 'against the King, and practised with Strangers for subversion of Religion, and 'endangering his Majesties Crown, whereof being convicted in a Justice Court 'holden in *Edinburgh* the 24 of *May* 1589, the Doom and Sentence was superseded 'in hope of his amendment. And that notwithstanding all these favors he con- 'tinued in his wicked course; and heaping treason upon treason, had now at last 'consulted with Witches and Necromancers for bereaving his Majesty of his life, '(as was manifest by the Confession of some that had already suffered, and others 'yet alive who were shortly to be executed) and for the same being committed in 'the Castle of *Edinburgh*, he had broken Ward, and thereby taken the crime up- 'on him; whereupon the Doom which at that time was delayed being now pro- 'nounced, his Majesty did will all his subjects to acknowledge him for no other 'but a Rebel and Traitor.

The doom of Forfeiture pronounced against him.

His Majesties Declaration concerning *Bothwell*.

Bothwell layeth the blame of his Rebellion upon the Chancellor.

Bothwell taking the course of all Rebels, which is to turn their malice against some about the King, laid the blame of all upon the Chancellor, and drew together some companies of men, as intending to be revenged of him. With him the Lord *Hume* and divers others did joyn, but to little purpose; for *Hume* upon better advice forsook him, and submitted himself to the King; and others, following his example, used their best means to obtain pardon; so as *Bothwell* was compelled to flee into *England* with some few that went with him.

In the Assembly of the Church that convened this Summer at *Edinburgh* fell out

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a great conteſt betwixt them and the Lords of Seſſion, upon this occaſion. Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Senators, had intended in right of his Wife an Action of removing againſt certain fewars of *Halyeards* within the Pariſh of *Kirkliſton*, and to bear out the plea ſuborned a Notary in *Striveling*, called *Robert Ramſey*, to give him forth an Inſtrument that made for his purpoſe. The Defendents having offered to improve the Inſtrument, did in the mean time, upon a private Warrant obtained from his Majeſty, apprehend the Notary, who confeſſed that the Inſtrument which he ſubſcribed was brought formed to him by *William Graham*, Brother to Mr. *John*, and that he knew nothing of the buſineſs; and being purſued criminally, was upon his Confeſſion condemned of falſhood, and executed to the death. The purſuer, as he was a man bold and impudent, to maintain the truth of the Inſtrument, did intend Action againſt Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*, Miniſter at *Striveling*, (who had dealt with the Notary to bring him to a Confeſſion) alleging that he had ſeduced the man, and made him deny the Inſtrument. The Miniſter complaineth to the Aſſembly, and thereupon Mr. *John Graham* was ſummoned to anſwer for the Scandal raiſed upon one of their members. He compeiring, anſwered, *That he would prove what he had alleged before the Judge competent.* The Aſſembly replied, *That he muſt qualifie it before them, otherwiſe they would cenſure him as a Slanderer.* Hereupon was the Lord *Provant* Preſident, with the Lords of *Culros* and *Barnbarrogh*, two of the Senators, ſent to deſire the Aſſembly not to meddle in cauſes proper to their cognition, eſpecially in the cauſe depending before them, at the inſtance of the Lord *Halyeards* (ſo they ſtyled him) againſt Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*. The Aſſembly anſwered, *That what they did was no way hurtful to the privileges of Seſſion, nor were they minded to meddle in any Civil matter, but in the purging of one of their own members they might proceed without the prejudice of the Civil Judicatory; therefore wiſhed them not to take ill the Churches dealing in the trial of one of their own number.*

An. 1591. A conteſt betwixt the Church and Lords of Seſſion.

The Lords dimitted with this anſwer, Mr. *John Graham* was called, who excepted againſt the Judgment, affirming the cauſe to be Civil, and that the judgement thereof belonged to the Lords of Seſſion *primario*, in regard the ſame was depending before them. The Aſſembly repelling the declinator, *found themſelves Judges in the cauſe; therefore willed him to ſay what he could in his own defence, otherwiſe they would give proceſs and miniſter Juſtice.* But he taking documents of their Interloquutor, and proteſting for remedy of Law, departed. The Lords eſteeming this an encrochment upon their Privileges, and that upon ſuch grounds all Actions that touched any Miniſter might be drawn from their Judicatory reſolved to ſend a Prohibition to the Aſſembly, and diſcharge their proceeding: but by the mediation of ſome well-diſpoſed perſons, that did not like to have queſtions of Juriſdiction moved, the buſineſs was ſetled, and both Actions ordained to ceaſe. Not the leſs the Inſtrument was ſuſtained by the Lords and judged to make faith, which turned in end to the purſuers undoing.

Mr. *John Graham* queſtioned by the Church.

In this Aſſembly certain Articles were preſented ſubſcribed by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, allowing the Presbyterial Diſcipline, and condemning the Government Epiſcopal, which were afterward imprinted under the title of Mr. *Patrick Adamſons* Recantation. The Biſhop lay bedfaſt at the time, and was fallen into great neceſſity by his own miſgovernment; whereof his Adverſaries taking advantage, it was deviſed that he ſhould be viſited by ſome of the brethren, and deſired to leave a teſtimony under his hand of his opinion of matters of Diſcipline. This being moved unto him, he ſaid, *That he did not trouble himſelf with ſuch thoughts at that time, and had never allowed of any other Biſhop in the Church but S.* Pauls *Biſhop, which he would willingly ſet his hand to.* Upon this his anſwer were theſe Articles drawn up and ſubſcribed by him. Whether he knew what was contained in them, or that he was induced thereto by a poor Collection they gave him in the time (for ſo the report went) or otherwiſe, it is uncertain: but when it was told him that ſuch a Recantation was publiſhed in his name, he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and, committing his cauſe to God, ended his days in the end of this year. A man he was of great learning, and a moſt perſuaſive Preacher,

The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* his Recantation.

An. 1591. but an ill Administrator of the Church-Patrimony, which brought him to the misery that is pitiful to think of. Divers works he left, of which some are extant, that shewing his Learning; but his Prelections upon the Epistles to *Timothy*, which were most desired, falling into the hands of his adversaries, were suppressed.

A Revocation made in name of the Church.

In the same Assembly a general Revocation was made in name of the Church by Mr. *Robert Pont* of all things done in prejudice of the Rents and Patrimony thereof, either by Ministers that were beneficed, or by others bearing the title of Churchmen. This in the opinion of wise men was esteemed to be a good way for pleading Restitution, according to the privilege of ancient Laws; but was derided and scoffed at by those that had filled their hands with the spoils of the Church. And folly it was sure to think they could enjoy any benefit by these privileges, having destroyed the estate and dignity of the Church, by which these Privileges should have been preserved.

A Schism in the Presbytery of S. *Andrews.*

Soon after this meeting there hapenhed a great division in the Presbytery of S. *Andrews*, for planting the Church of *Luchars*. The pretenders were Mr. *Patrick Weimes* and Mr. *Robert Wallace*. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* with some few that followed him stood for Mr. *Wallace*, M. *Thomas Buchanan* and the rest for Mr. *Patrick Weimes*. The matter after a hot contention being put to voices, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and some 19 or 20 with him gave their suffrages to Mr. *Weimes*; Mr. *Andrew* and other six that adhered to him gave their voices to Mr. *Robert Wallace*. Mr. *Andrew* taking it impatiently to be thus overswayed, left the place where the Presbytery did meet, and with his six went to the Schools of the new College, and made up another Presbytery. Mr. *Thomas* and the rest abode in the place, and according as they had voiced, appointed Mr. *Patrick Weimes* on the next *Sunday* to be received Minister of *Luchars*: Mr. *Andrew* with his company gave forth the like Ordinance for Mr. *Robert Wallace*: and thus both were instituted and admitted Ministers to the Church upon one day. The Gentlemen of the Parish went likewise in Factions, some holding with the one and some with the other, which caused a great Scandal. There being none to pacifie the strife, Mr. *Andrew Lambe* (the Minister at *Brunt-Island*) was directed from the Synod of *Fife* to entreat some of the Ministers of *Lothian* to take the pains of bringing them to an agreement. For this effect, Mr. *David Lindesay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce* and Mr. *J. Spotswood* were chosen; who coming to S. *Andrews* in the month of *October*, called the parties before them, to understand the reasons of their dissension. Mr. *Andrew* did plead for the one party, and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* for the other. It was laid to Mr. *Andrew* his charge, 'That he had made a secession, forsaken the place of meeting, and the fellowship of 'his brethren, and with some six only that followed him presumed to overturn the 'conclusion of the greater number. His defence was, *That albeit he and his followers had left the place, yet they could not be judged to have made secession, by reason the others had given the cause, and conspired to prefer a person in worth not comparable to him whom they had elected.* As to the number of voices, he said, *quod suffragia essent ponderanda, non numeranda*, that voices ought not to be numbred, but to be weighed and pondered. Two days they continued reasoning, and in end the Mediators finding no other means of their agreement, took course to displace both the young men, and to appoint a third person for the service of the Church: and for eschewing such contentions thereafter, which were feared because of the heat betwixt Mr. *Thomas* and Mr. *Andrew*, they did appoint the Presbytery to be divided in two, a part to sit at *Couper*, and the rest to abide at S. *Andrews*. Thus was that strife pacified, which many held to be ominous, and that the Government which in the beginning did break forth into such Schisms could not long continue; for this every man noted, *That of all men, none could worse endure Parity and loved more to command than they who had introduced it into the Church.*

Bothwels attempt upon *Halirudhouse.*

But to leave the matters of the Church for a while; whenas the King did think that all was quiet, and *Bothwel* so weakened as he could not make any trouble, (for *Bacleugh* his Son-in-law was by licence gone into *France*, and all the Gentlemen of the South parts, who were of any worth, had given surety to have no medling with him) there were found in the Court it self instruments apt enough to serve his turn.

For

For of the Duke of *Lennox* his retinue ſome that envied the Chancellors credit with the King, and others whoſe hopes wholly depended upon the Trouble of the State, did by ſecret meſſages incite *Bothwel* to enterpriſe ſomewhat for himſelf, offering to bring him within the Kings Palace unperceived, where with a few hands he might make himſelf maſter of the King and all the Court. *Bothwel* is eaſily drawn to condeſcend, and the conſpiracy ſo ordered, that he with his followers ſhould under night be let in at a back paſſage that lay through the Lord Duke his Stables; and firſt they ſhould ſeiſe upon the Gates, take the keys from the Porter, and go after that to the Kings Chamber, and make him ſure. Within the Palace were divers privy to the Conſpiracy, eſpecially Colonel *William Stewart*, *John Neſwith* Chirurgeon to the King, and *James Douglas* of *Spot*, who was brought to take part in that enterpriſe by this occaſion. Some days before it happened *George Home* of *Spot* his Father-in-law to be killed by certain *Merſemen* of the ſurname of *Home* and *Craw*. Sir *George Home*, Nephew to *Spot*, and one of the Maſters of the Kings Eſquiry, did charge *James Douglas* as author or acceſſary to the Murther, becauſe of a fear he had conceived that his Father-in-law ſhould by a new right poſſeſs his Nephew Sir *George* in ſome part of the lands to which he had right by his marriage: upon this ſuſpicion three of his ſervants were apprehended and detained priſoners within the Palace, till they ſhould be tried by torture. The Chancellor, on whom *James Douglas* depended, labored all he could to free his ſervants from that extraordinary form of Trial; but the preſumptions being pregnant, the King would have them to be tortured; which when *Spot* underſtood, and ſaw that the ſame would not be eſchewed, he thruſt himſelf deſperately in the action which but a few hours before was communicated to him by one of the Aſſociates. *An.* 1592.

This fell out happily for the King, and was it that marred the whole Conſpiracy; for when *Bothwel* with his company had entred by the way named, and was come to the inner Court of the Palace, *James Douglas*, that minded nothing but the relief of his ſervants, drew a number to break open the doors where they were detained, and by the noiſe thereof all in the Palace were put upon their guard. The King was then at Supper, and being told that armed men were in the nether Court, leaving the rooms wherein he lodged, went up to the Tower as to a place of greater ſurety. *Bothwel* having directed ſome to encloſe the Chancellors lodgings, leſt he ſhould eſcape, made towards the Queens rooms, where he expected to find entry, and perceiving all ſhut upon him, called to bring fire. But ere they could find any, Sir *James Sandilands*, one of his Majeſties Chamber, who had ſupped without the Palace, with a number of the people of *Edinburgh*, entring by the Church of *Halirudhouſe*, did beat him and his company from the doors, and was in poſſibility to have taken them all, if there had been any lights; but thoſe being all extinguiſhed, *Bothwel* with the principals of his company made ſhift in the dark, and eſcaped, returning by the ſame way that he entred. In his out-going he was encountred by a Gentleman of the Eſquiry, named *John Shaw*, whom he killed with a Piſtol, yet loſt ſome nine of his followers, men of ſmall note, who were executed the next morning. The ſucceſs of the attempt.

The enterpriſe thus defeated, *Bothwel* went into the North, looking to be ſupplied by the Earl of *Murray* his Couſen-germane: which the King ſuſpecting, *Andrew* Lord *Ochiltry* was ſent to bring *Murray* unto the South, of purpoſe to work a reconcilement betwixt him and *Huntley*. But a rumor being raiſed in the mean while that the Earl of *Murray* was ſeen in the Palace with *Bothwel* on the night of the enterpriſe, the ſame was entertained by *Huntley*, (who waited then at Court) to make him ſuſpected of the King, and prevailed ſo far as he did purchaſe a Commiſſion to apprehend and bring *Murray* to his Trial. The Nobleman not fearing that any ſuch courſe ſhould be uſed, was come to *Dunyberſill*, a Houſe ſituated on the Northſide of *Forth*, and belonging to his Mother the Lady *Downe*. *Huntley* being advertiſed of his coming, and how he lay there ſecure, accompanied only with the Sheriff of *Murray* and a few of his own retinue, went thither and beſet the Houſe, requiring him to render. The Earl of *Murray* refuſing to put himſelf in the hands of his enemy, after ſome defence made, wherein the Sheriff was killed, fire was ſet The Earl of *Murray* ſlain at *Dunybirſill*, 7. *Feb.* 1592.

An. 1592. to the Houſe, and they within forced by the violence of the ſmoak and flame to come forth. The Earl ſtayed a great ſpace after the reſt, and the night falling down, ventured among his Enemies, and breaking through the midſt of them did ſo far out-run them all, as they ſuppoſed he was eſcaped; yet ſearching him among the rocks, he was diſcovered by the tip of his Head-pice, which had taken fire before he left the houſe, and unmercifully ſlain. The report went that *Huntleys* friends fearing he ſhould diſclaim the fact (for he deſired rather to have taken him alive) made him light from his horſe, and give ſome ſtroaks to the dead corps. This done, *Gordon* of *Buckie* was diſpatched to advertiſe the King what had happened, and *Huntley* himſelf took journy Northwards in ſuch haſt as he left Captain *Gorden* his Couſen, that was lying on the ground wounded, behind him. This Captain was brought the next day to *Edinburgh* and publickly executed.

The Murther univerſally ill taken.

The death of the Nobleman was univerſally lamented, and the clamors of the people ſo great, eſpecially againſt the Chancellor, upon whom all the blame was laid, that the King not eſteeming it ſafe to abide at *Edinburgh*, removed with the Council to *Glaſgow*, where he remained until *Huntley* did enter himſelf in Ward in *Blackneſs*, as he was charged. But he ſtayed not there many days, being dimitted upon Caution to anſwer before the Juſtice whenſoever he ſhould be called. The Corps of the Earl and Sheriff of *Murray* were brought to the Church of *Leith* in two Coffins, and there lay divers months unburied, their friends refuſing to commit their bodies to the earth till the ſlaughter was puniſhed. Nor did any man think himſelf ſo much intereſſed in that fact as the Lord *Ochiltry*, who had perſuaded the Earl of *Murray* to come South, whereupon he fell afterwards away to *Bothwel*, and joyned with him for revenge of the Murther.

The Lord *Ochiltry* maketh defection to *Bothwel.*

An. 1592. Petitions in behalf of the Church.

The Parliament, which had been now twice prorogated, did keep in the month of *June*. In behalf of the Church it was there petitioned, 'I. That the Acts of Par-'liament made in the year 1584 againſt the Diſcipline of the Church and Liberty 'thereof ſhould be abrogated and annulled, and a Ratification granted of the Di-'ſcipline whereof they were then in practice. 2. That the Act of Annexation 'ſhould be repealed, and reſtitution made to the Churches Patrimony. 3. That 'the Abbots, Priors, and other Prelates bearing the titles of Church-men, and gi-'ving voice for the Church, without any power and Commiſſion from the Church, 'ſhould not be admitted in time coming to give voice in Parliament, or convene 'in their name. And 4. That a ſolid order might be taken for purging the 'Realm of Idolatry and Blood wherewith it was miſerably polluted. The ſe-cond and third Petitions rejected, conſultation taken about the other two, and ſatisfying the laſt, it was condeſcended, *That ſaying of Maſs, receiving of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and trafficking Papiſts againſt the Kings Majeſty and Religion preſently profeſſed, ſhould be a juſt cauſe to infer the pain and crime of Treaſon againſt Jeſuites, Maſs-Prieſts, trafficking Papiſts, and their reſſetters:* with a proviſion, *That if the Jeſuites and Seminary Prieſts did ſatisfie the Prince and the Church, the foreſaid Penalty ſhould not ſtrick upon the reſſetters.* Which in effect was no reſtraint, neither was the trafficking againſt Religion declared to be a crime of Treaſon, unleſs the ſame was proved a trafficking likewiſe againſt the King. So in this point the Church received ſmall ſatisfaction. As to the complaint of Blood, the ſame was remitted to the ordinary courſe of Juſtice.

The firſt Petition granted, and in what manner.

But the firſt Petition was longer debated, the King being unwilling either to abrogate the Acts of the 84, or grant the Ratification deſired of the preſent Diſcipline: for he foreſaw the inconvenients that would grow by the liberty that Miniſters ſhould aſſume to themſelves. Yet *Bothwells* buſineſs and the many diſcontentments within the Realm moved him to give way, leſt he ſhould be troubled likewiſe with their outcries. So the Act paſſed, but in the moſt wary terms that could be deviſed. As for the Statute confirming his Majeſties Royal power, the abrogation whereof was chiefly ſought, it was only declared, *That the ſaid Statute ſhould be no ways prejudicial nor derogatory to the privilege that God hath given to the Spiritual Office-bearer in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, matters of Hereſie, Excommunication, Collation or Deprivation of Miniſters,*

or

or any ſuch eſſential Cenſures grounded and having warrant of the Word of God. An. 1592.

Upon the end of the Parliament the King went to *Falkland*, where *Bothwel* made a new attempt, encouraged thereunto by the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, the Maſter of *Gray*, Colonel *Stewart*, and the Lairds of *Johnſton* and *Balwery*, who did all promiſe their concurrence in bringing him unto the Kings preſence. The Maſter of *Gray* and *Balwery* did meet him with a good number of horſe, *Angus* kept the Diet but with a ſmall company, *Arrol* remained with the King within the Palace, and had taken upon him with the aſſiſtence of Colonel *Stewart* to open the Gates; but either out of fear, their hearts failing them, or not having a number ſufficient to make good their undertaking, nothing was done; yet upon ſuſpicions they were apprehended, and *Arrol* ſent to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Colonel to *Blackneſs*. The company that came with *Bothwel* was not great, and did not exceed ſixſcore in all, broken men for the moſt part, whom he had taken up in the *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* Borders: with theſe he had journied 2 days and nights without either meat or ſleep, and came to *Falkland* a little before midnight; where finding his expectation diſappointed, and thoſe in the Palace provided to defend, he ſtayed on the ſide of the Hill till a little after Sun-riſing; ſome of his followers in the mean time breaking open the Queens Stables, took away the Horſes and what elſe they could lay hands upon. The night was then at the ſhorteſt, for it was the 26 of *June*, and the Country gathering from all parts to relieve the King, he was forced to flee. But what way to take he was uncertain; for to paſs the Ferrie with his company he could not ſafely, and to return by the bridge of *Striveling* was a long way, which neither the horſes nor their riders after ſo long watching could indure: yet ſeeing no better than to be gone, with the haſte he could make, about nine of the clock he cauſed ſound the trumpets, and retired.

Bothwels attempt at *Falkland.*

Arrol and Colonel *Stewart* committed.

Bothwel and his company fleeth.

The King after the Country people were come followed by the Queens Ferry, thinking he had gone that way; but finding that he had taken his courſe by *Striveling*, and knowing that the company would ſeparate how ſoon they had paſſed the Bridge, he directed moſt of his followers to apprehend ſuch as they could overtake. Divers were taken in the Moors of *Calder* and *Carnwath*, but ſuffered to eſcape by their takers: many horſes were found ſtraying in the fields the riders being overcome with ſleep and fallen from them. Amongſt others *Archibald Wachop* of *Nidry*, and ſome 7 or 8 with him, whilſt they lay ſleeping in a meadow nigh to *Cambuſneth*, were taken by the Lord *Hamilton*, and ſent to be kept in the Caſtle of *Draffan*: but his Lady the day after, out of a womanly commiſeration, whilſt her Lord was abſent, ſuffered them to depart. *Bothwel* himſelf fled unto the Weſt Borders, and from thence into *England*.

The King purſueth and cometh to *Edinburgh.*

Nidry taken by the Lord *Hamilton*, and dimitted by his Lady.

The badneſs of this attempt put the Borders in a great fear, for many of them, eſpecially of the *Johnſtons*, had followed him in that journy: yet ſo great was the Kings clemency, as being at *Dumfreis*, whither he went in the beginning of *July*, a general Pardon was proclaimed to all that would ſubmit themſelves; whereupon numbers did enter, and were received in favor. *Bothwel*, thus forſaken almoſt of all, did notwithſtanding in the Court again find ſome that out of emulation and private rancor, more than for any affection they carried unto him, wrought the King new Troubles.

Pardon granted to thoſe that would forſake *Bothwel.*

Alexander Lindeſay Lord *Spinie*, a great Favourite in that time, out of the malice he bare to the Maſter of *Glamis* Theſaurer, whom he knew *Bothwel* alſo hated, did ſecretly practiſe to bring him into the Kings preſence, and make his Reconciliation. This coming to the knowledge of Colonel *Stewart*, who was ſtill detained in *Blackneſs*, to procure his own liberty and recover the Kings favor, he ſignified the ſame to the King by Sir *James Sandilands*, who as then was keeper of the Houſe; and being brought before the Council at *Dalkeith* ſtood to the declaration, affirming *that the Lord* Spinie *had reſſet* Bothwel *in his Ladies Houſe at* Aberdowre; which he offered to prove *by witneſſes, circumſtances & other clear demonſtrations.* Theſe were his words. *Spinie* denying all, appealed the Colonel to combat, which the King would not permit, aſſigning the 12 of *September* for his Trial before the

The Lord *Spinie* delated for practiſing with the Lord *Bothwel.*

An. 1592. Juſtice. *Spinie* appearing at the day, the Colonel excuſed himſelf by the ſhortneſs of the time, and had a new diet aſſigned him; at which his probation failing, *Spinie* was reſtored to his honor, dignity and ſervice: yet did he never recover his former credit with the King, but was held ſtill ſuſpected; and whether offending at this, or that the firſt declaration was true in it ſelf, the year following he took open part with *Bothwell*, and was therefore denounced Rebel.

John Weymis of *Bogie* committed for his practices with *Bothwel* eſcaped.

At the ſame time *John Weymis* younger of *Bogie*, Gentleman of his Majeſties Chamber, and in great favor both with the King and Queen, was diſcovered to have the like dealing with *Bothwel*, and being committed to the keeping of the Guard, eſcaped by the policy of one of the *Dutch* Maids, with whom he entertained a ſecret love. The Gentlewoman, named Miſtriſs *Margaret Twinſlace*, coming one night whileſt the King and Queen were in bed to his keepers, ſhewed that the King called for the Priſoner to ask of him ſome queſtion. The keepers ſuſpecting nothing, for they knew her to be the principal Maid in the Chamber, conveighed him to the door of the Bed-chamber, and making a ſtay without as they were commanded, the Gentlewoman did let him down at a Window by a Cord that ſhe had prepared. The keepers waiting upon his return ſtayed there till the morning, and then found themſelves deceived. This with the manner of the eſcape miniſtred great occaſion of laughter; and not many days after the King being pacified by the Queens means, he was pardoned, and took to wife the Gentlewoman who had in this ſort hazarded her credit for his ſafety. Theſe dealings at Court increaſed not a little the boldneſs of others in the Country, ſo as ſome of all ranks, both Barons, Gentlemen and Burgeſſes, became followers of *Bothwel*, and feared not to entertain him openly. All *Tiviotdale* ran after him; whereupon the King made an expedition to *Jedburgh* 12 *October*, and finding ſome of his Reſſetters, took Bonds of them for the better behavior.

A Faction made againſt the Chancellor.

At his return he found new vexations by a Faction made at Court againſt the Chancellor, whereof the Heads were the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Argile* and *Morton*, the Maſter of *Glamis* and Lord *Home*; with theſe the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, who were releaſed from their wards by the Queens interceſſion, did afterwards joyn. That which gave the occaſion was, a claim made by the Queen of the Lordſhip of *Muſſilburgh*, as being a part of *Dumfermlin*, which ſhe deſired the Chancellor to reſign, for he had acquired an heritable right thereof at the making the Act of Annexation. The Chancellor excuſing himſelf, and in effect denying to ſatisfie her deſire, ſhe grew offended, and drew in theſe Noblemen to oppoſe him: whereupon he withdrew himſelf from Court, and remained in *Nidisdale* the reſt of that year.

Troubles in the North betwixt *Huntley* and the *Clanhattan*.

I have read in a MS. called the Acts of the *Gordons*, that *Glenmuik*, *Glentaner*, *Strathdie*, and *Birs*, were ſpoiled, and *Brachlie* with his Son-in-law ſlain by *Mackendoqhuy* of *Inner-Aw*.

In the North there was likewiſe great unquietneſs; for the *Clanhattan* conducted by *Angus Williamſton*, to revenge the Earl of *Murrays* death, made great ſpoil upon the Earl of *Huntleys* lands in *Strathſpey*, and *Glemmuck*, killing divers, and amongſt others two honeſt men, *John Gordon* of *Brachlie*, and *James Middleton* of *Ballaſtrein*, againſt whom they could pretend no quarrel. *Huntley* to be revenged of this wrong made an Incurſion upon the lands of *Pettie*, which the *Clanhattan* did then poſſeſs, exercing great cruelty; and underſtanding that *William Malcolmtoſhe* was at the ſame time ſpoiling the lands of *Colerick*, encountred him at the head of *Staplegate* hill, where after a ſhort Conflict ſome threeſcore of the *Clanhattan* were killed, a few only falling on his ſide. Shortly after in another Expedition upon the ſame lands, having drawn together a number of High-landers from *Loqhaber*, *Badenoch* and *Strathdawn*, he waſted, burnt and ſpoiled all that Country, killing a great many people.

The Earl of *Angus* imployed in a Commiſſion to the North in *November*.

The King, to pacifie theſe Troubles, directed the Earl of *Angus* with a Commiſſion of Lieutenandry unto the North, where he wrought ſo much as the publick Incurſions of both ſides did ceaſe. And in this time was Mr. *George Ker*, Brother to the Lord *Newbottle*, intercepted as he lay at the Iſle of *Cumray*, intending a journy towards *Spain*: with him were deprehended divers miſſive Letters and Blanks ſigned by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and by Sir *Patrick Gordon* of *Aughendown*. Mr. *Andrew Knox* then Miniſter of *Paiſley*, who was afterwards made Biſhop

ſhop of the Iſles, upon ſome diſcovery made to him, did enterpriſe his taking, and making him to be conveighed with a ſtrong Guard, delivered him to the Provoſt of the City, the King being then in *Alloway* at the Chriſtmaſs with the Earl of *Marre*, who but a few days before had married the Duke of *Lennox* his Siſter. Advertiſement made of his apprehenſion and of the Letters deprehended with him, the King made haſte to return. The night before his coming was the Earl of *Angus* returned from the North, and not having heard any thing of Mr. *George Kers* taking, went as he was accuſtomed to his lodging in *Edinburgh*, but was preſently arreſted by the Provoſt and Bailiffs, and ſent priſoner to the Caſtle. The King eſteeming this too great a preſumption in them, to have uſed a Nobleman and Counſellor lately returned from ſuch a publick imployment without warrant in that manner, was not a little offended; yet becauſe of the hainous accuſations laid againſt him, their forwardneſs was excuſed, and his impriſonment allowed for good ſervice by Act of Council. *An.* 1592.

The Earl of *Angus* impriſoned in the Caſtle.

Mr. *George Ker* at his Examination did ingenuouſly confeſs all that he knew of the buſineſs, the ſum whereof was as followeth. *That upon a Letter ſent from Mr.* William Creichton *the Jeſuite, then reſiding in* Spain, *and aſſurance given of the King of* Spains *aid for the alteration of Religion, Mr.* James Gordon *and Mr.* Robert Abercrombie *Jeſuites had deviſed to ſend one to* Spain, *to certifie the King of the concurrence of the Scottiſh Catholicks in his ſervice, and that for the greater ſecrecy the three forenamed Earls ſhould undertake for the reſt, and by their Letters teſtifie the ſame. That this being proponed to the Noblemen, they did willingly conſent, and accordingly ſet their hands to eight Blanks, ſix whereof were to be filled as Miſſives from them to the King of* Spain, *and the two other with Procurations, one for the meſſengers credit, the other for the Articles that ſhould be drawn up in* Spain. *That the filling of the Blanks was truſted to Mr.* William Creichton *and Mr.* James Tyrie; *and that Sir* James Chiſholm, *one of the Kings Maſter houſholds, was firſt choſen to be carrier of the Blanks; but that he being impeded through ſome private buſineſs, they were delivered to him ſubſcribed in the month of* October, *he being then in* Edinburgh. He further declared, *that by conference at the ſame time with the Earls of* Angus *and* Arrol *he underſtood that the King of* Spain *was to ſend an Army of thirty thouſand men into* Scotland, *whereof* 15000 *ſhould remain in the Country, and with the aſſiſtence of the Catholicks either* [illegible] *the preſent Religion, or procure liberty to their own Profeſſion: and that the reſt of the Army ſhould invade* England, *being conveyed thither by the Catholick Lords who were to meet the Army at their landing, which was appointed to be either at* Kirkubright *in* Galloway, *or in the mouth of* Cluid. This was the ſum of his Confeſſion.

Mr. *George Ker* his Confeſſion.

The Earl of *Angus* charged with theſe points denied, affirming the Blanks and Subſcriptions to be counterfeited. But *David Grahan* of *Fintry*, who was apprehended upon ſuſpicion at the ſame time, declared that Mr. *Robert Abercrombie* had revealed the purpoſe to him, and ſhewed that the Blanks were truſted to Maſter *George Ker*.

The Earl of *Angus* denieth the Blanks.

This ſo manifeſt a diſcovery of Popiſh Plots, tending not only to the overthrow of Religion but alſo of the Realm, which by this Treaſonable practice ſhould have been reduced to a miſerable Slavery, did animate the King much againſt the Jeſuites: whereupon he publiſhed his reſolution, *to ſpare none that ſhould try guilty of the Treaſon, but make them an example to all poſterities; requiring in moſt ſerious manner all his good ſubjects to beware of theſe Jeſuites, Traitors to their native Country, and in their prayers to implore the mercy of God for preſervation of themſelves, their wives and children from the Conſpiracy intended.* The Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, eſteeming it their duty to make the Churches of the Country foreſeen of the Conſpiracy that was detected, gave notice thereof by their Letters to ſuch as were moſt nigh at hand, deſiring them to meet at *Edinburgh* the 8 of *January*, for giving their advice touching theſe dangers, and how the ſame might beſt be prevented.

The Kings reſolution publiſhed for puniſhing that Conſpiracy.

The

An. 1592. A Meeting of the Miniſtery.

The Meeting was frequent, for the report of the diſcovery drew many thither. Mr. *Robert Bruce* in a ſhort ſpeech having related the peril wherein the Country and Church were brought by theſe practices, it was thought meet by ſome Commiſſioners to entreat of his Majeſty the execution of the Laws againſt Jeſuites and their Reſſetters, with the puniſhment of ſuch as ſhould be found guilty of the preſent Conſpiracy. The King accepting graciouſly thoſe that were ſent unto him, and giving the whole Aſſembly thanks for the readineſs they ſhewed to aſſiſt him in the proſecution of that Trial, wiſhed them to conſider of what importance the buſineſs was, and not only to give their advice for the courſe that ſhould be taken, but alſo to let him know what help they would contribute for ſtrengthening him in his proceeding againſt the unnatural Subjects.

The King his deſire propoſed to the Meeting.

An offer made by the Meeting.

His Majeſties deſire being reported to the Meeting, their advice was, that a Parliament ſhould be indicted, and the Subſcrivers of the Blanks cited thereto: and becauſe it was not expected that they would appear, ſo as his Majeſty ſhould be compelled to purſue them by force of Arms; they did humbly offer their attendence upon his Majeſties Perſon, till they ſhould be apprehended or expulſed the Country; as likewiſe to entertain a Guard to his Majeſty of three hundred horſemen and an hundred foot, ſo long as any neceſſity was, and till the Laws of the Country had taken effect againſt the Rebels: providing it ſhould not be drawn into a cuſtom, nor prejudge the liberty of the Realm in time coming. The offer was thankfully accepted, and a Proclamation made to meet the King at *Aberdene* the 20 of *February*, for ſetling the North parts; and for a beginning of Juſtice, *David Graham* of *Fintry* was arraigned, and being found guilty, beheaded in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh* the 16 of *February*.

Fintry beheaded.

Some two days before his Execution, Mr. *John Graham*, one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice, being charged (becauſe of the buſineſs he made in behalf of *Fintry*) to depart forth of the Town, and keep ward in *Strathern*, was killed as he was going to the tide at *Leith*. There had been a queſtion long depending betwixt Sir *James Sandilands* and him for the lands of *Halyeards*, and by reaſon thereof a profeſſed enmity amongſt them; and it falling out at the ſame time when he was going to *Leith*, that the Duke of *Lennox* accompanied with Sir *James* and divers others was making towards their ſport in the Sands, Mr. *John Graham* apprehending that they did purſue him, made a turn upon that aſcent which is without the Gate of the Town, as if he would ſtand there to his defence; which Sir *James* taking for a ſort of provocation, he made towards him, and entring in conflict, Sir *Alexander Stewart*, a grave Gentleman, ſervant to the Duke of *Lennox*, was killed by the ſhot of a piſtol: preſently after Mr. *John Graham* by another ſhot was ſtricken in the breaſt, and fell to the ground. They who did give him the convoy, ſeeing him fall, did all flie, and the companies ſeparating, he was led to a poor Cottage near unto the place, and, as he lay in bed, killed by the ſaid Sir *Alexander* his Page, in revenge of his Maſters death.

The diſpoſition and qualities of Mr. *John Graham*.

A man he was but meanly born, and deſcended of that unhappy race which had an hand in the Murther of King *James* the Firſt: a long time he ſerved as Deputy to the Earl of *Argile* in the Juſtice Courts, and after his death waited on Captain *James Stewart*, by whoſe means he was preferred to be one of the Senators of the College of Juſtice in the place of Mr. *Robert Pont*: of a quick wit and a good and ready utterance; but was exceſſively proud, covetous and unhoneſt in his dealings, as appeared in ſuborning of the Notary of whom we ſpake, and the fraud which he uſed to Mr. *Andrew Polwart* ſubdean of *Glaſgow*, a man of great learning, who being forced to fly into *England* in the year 1584 with the other Miniſters that took their refuge thither, had intruſted him with his Living and Rent, upon aſſurance to be repoſſeſſed when the time ſhould change; yet being returned and having obtained his peace, could he never bring him to fulfil his promiſe; whereupon after a long plea at Law, not finding an outgate, the honeſt man conceived a diſpleaſure and died.

The Earl of *Angus* eſcapeth.

The Earl of *Angus* the ſame day that he was killed made an eſcape out of the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* by the connivence of the keepers, and flying to the North joyned

joyned with *Huntley* and *Arrol*. They upon the report of the Kings coming to *Aberdene*, left their Houſes and betook themſelves to the mountains, ſending their Ladies to intercede for them, and make offer of the keys of their Houſes, which they had been charged to render. *An.* 1593.

The King receiving the Ladies courteouſly, told them that if their Husbands would enter and abide Trial, they ſhould receive no wrong, otherwiſe the crime laid to their charge did ſo highly touch the Eſtate, as he could not ſtay the courſe of Juſtice. In the mean time, for preſerving the Country in peace, the Earl of *Athol* was made Lieutenant within the bounds of *Elgin*, *Forres*, *Narne*, *Innerneſſe* and *Cromartie*; and the like Commiſſion given to the Earl of *Marſhall* of the Sheriffdoms of *Kincardin*, *Bamffe* and *Aberdene*. The Houſes of the Rebels rendered. *Athol* and *Marſhal* made Lieutenants of the North.

This done the King returned to *Edinburgh*, * where the Lord *Burgh* did meet him. He was ſent from the Queen of *England* to congratulate the diſcoveries of theſe treacherous practices, and make offer of her aſſiſtance in purſuing and puniſhing thoſe that ſhould trie culpable: *wherein ſhe wiſhed him to do as a King ought in ſuch a caſe; and if he could not apprehend their Perſons, to confiſcate their Lands and Rents, whereby he ſhould undo them, and better the Eſtate of his Crown. And ſeeing the Cauſe was common, and touched all Princes profeſſing the ſame Religion, ſhe deſired to be certified what his reſolution was, that ſhe might aſſure other Princes her Confederates of the courſe taken in both their Dominions for reſiſting the attempts of* Spain. The King thanking the Queen for her friendly offer and advice, ſaid, *That he knew Sir* Robert Bowes *her Reſident Ambaſſador had advertiſed her of the whole particulars, and of the Blanks and Letters intercepted: That he had made a beginning, and was fully reſolved to proſecute the ſame with all rigor againſt thoſe that he ſhould trie culpable; but willed her to conſider how dangerous it was for him to have ſo many great men his Rebels, and what a buſineſs it would be to hunt them out of thoſe holes and deſart places where they lurked: That he would ſtand in need of her help and ſupply, which he doubted not to find, it being more dangerous for her Eſtate to have the* Spaniard *ſet foot in his Kingdom, than either in* France *or the* Low-Countries, *both which ſhe had liberally helped and ſupplied with men and monys. But what particular Supply he would crave, his own Ambaſſador whom he minded to ſend ſpeedily ſhould declare.* This was the effect of the Conference kept with the Lord *Burgh* at his firſt hearing. * 26. *March.* *An.* 1593. A Meſſage from the Queen of *England*.

At the next audience the Ambaſſador falling again upon the ſame purpoſe, ſaid, *That her Majeſty did wiſh the King to fortifie himſelf with a wiſe, ſound and well-affected Council, that might help to diſcover ſuch wicked practices, and repreſs them when they were detected*: and then caſting in ſomewhat of the puniſhment that the Queen had taken of thoſe that had given *Bothwel* countenance in *England*, *he wiſhed the King to conſider what courſe was beſt to be held with him in ſo troubleſome a time; and if it were not for his Majeſties quiet (having ſo many Rebels) to receive him upon his ſubmiſſion in favor.* The Ambaſſador interceedeth for *Bothwel*.

The King paſſing that which he had told of the puniſhing of *Bothwels* Reſſetters, albeit he knew no ſuch thing was done, anſwered, *That if the Queen did either reſpect his countenance or her own Honor, ſhe would be ſo far from giving him refuge in her Dominions, as he thought certainly ſhe would deliver him, according to the tenor of the League ſtanding among them. But for taking him in favor, his offences were unpardonable, and to be abhorred of all Sovereign Princes; therefore deſired him to ſhew the Queen his Miſtreſs, that if he ſhould underſtand any reſſet to be given* Bothwel *after that time, he could not but joyn with her greateſt enemies for his own ſafety. As for his reſolution in proſecuting the Trial begun, he ſhould have it with him in a Letter of his own hand.* This done he was dimitted, Sir *Robert Bowes* reſiding ſtill at Legier.

Midſt of *April*.

In the end of *April* there was an Aſſembly kept at *Dundy*, wherein his Majeſty directed Sir *James Melvil* of *Halhill* with certain Articles, in the firſt whereof he declared, *That he would not ſuffer the Privilege and Honor of his Crown to be diminiſhed, and Aſſemblies to be made when and where they pleaſed. Therefore willed them, before the Diſſolution of the preſent Aſſembly, to ſend two or three of their* An Aſſembly of the Church at *Dundie*.

Articles ſent by his Majeſty to the Church.

An. 1593. *their number, by whom they ſhould know his mind touching the time and place of their next Meeting.*

By the ſecond it was deſired, *That an Act ſhould be made inhibiting Miniſters to declaim in Pulpit againſt the proceeding of his Majeſty and Council, under pain of Deprivation; both in regard of his Majeſties good intentions known to themſelves for maintaining Religion and Juſtice, and for the eaſie acceſs that divers of the Miniſtery had unto him, by whom they might ſignifie their complaints and grievances if any they had.*

Thirdly, *In regard of Mr.* Craig's *decrepit age, his Majeſty deſired to have five or ſix nominated to him by the Aſſembly, that he might chuſe ſome two of them to ſerve in his Houſe.*

Fourthly, *Seeing the ſtanding of Religion and Safety of his Perſon were ſo ſtraightly conjoyned, as they that were enemies to the one could not be friends to the other; that ſome of every Presbytery ſhould be appointed to inform and advertiſe his Majeſty of the practices of the Papiſts and the Reſſetters of* Bothwell, *whoſe whole courſes tended to the ſubverſion of Religion, no leſs than the indangering of his Majeſties Perſon.*

And fifthly, *That they ſhould appoint ſome of their number to cauſe the Magiſtrates of Burghs, where there are any Sea-ports, try thoſe that came into the Country, or paſſed forth of the ſame, to delate their names, that the Plots and practices againſt Religion might be better diſcovered.*

The Aſſemblies Anſwer.

Theſe Articles, eſpecially the firſt two, ſavoring of diſcontent, were anſwered generally by the Aſſembly. Concerning their Meetings, they ſaid, that they ſhould follow the Act of Parliament made the year preceding: and for the declaiming in Pulpit, an Act was made prohibiting *any Miniſter to utter in Pulpit any raſh or irreverent ſpeeches againſt his Majeſty and Council, or their proceedings; and to give their Admonitions upon juſt and neceſſary cauſes, and in all fear, love and reverence.* Which the King eſteeming to be no reſtraint, but rather to miniſter an excuſe to the unruly ſort when they tranſgreſſed than otherwiſe, rejected, as not ſatisfying his demand; whereupon the Petitions of the Church proponed againſt Papiſts at the ſame time, and againſt the erections of Tithes in Temporalities, were not much regarded.

In this Aſſembly it was enacted, 'That none profeſſing Religion within the 'Church of *Scotland* ſhould from thenceforth repair to any of the King of *Spains* 'Dominions, where the tyranny of Inquiſition was uſed, for traffick of Merchan-'diſe, or other the like negotiations, till the King did obtain liberty from the King 'of *Spain* to his Subjects for traffick in theſe bounds, without any danger of their 'perſon or goods for the cauſe of Religion, under the pain of Excommunication.

The Merchants offending hereat did petition his Majeſty and Council for maintaining their liberty of Traffick; which was granted. Notwithſtanding whereof the Miniſters proceeded in their Cenſures, till the Merchants made offer to ſurceaſe their Trade with *Spain* how ſoon their Accompts were made, and they payed by their Creditors in thoſe parts.

A change of the *Mondays* Mercat urged at *Edinburgh.*

But the aboliſhing of the *Mondays* Mercat in *Edinburgh*, though aſſented unto by the Council of the Town, and paſt in an Act, took not the like effect: for the Shoomakers, who were moſt intereſſed in that buſineſs, hearing that the ſame was to be put in execution, tumultouſly gathering themſelves together, come to the Miniſters houſes, menacing to chaſe them forth of the Town if they did urge that matter any more. After which the motion ceaſed, the Mercat continuing as before. This did miniſter great occaſions of ſport at that time in Court, where it was ſaid, *That Raſcals and Sowtars could obtain at the Miniſters hands what the King could not in matters more reaſonable.*

Sir *Robert Melvil* ſent into *England.*

In the beginning of *June* Sir *Robert Melvil* was ſent in Ambaſſage to *England*: His Commiſſion was, to ſignifie what had been done in the proſecution of the Authors and contrivers of the laſt practices ſince the Lord *Burgh* his return, and to require ſome aid and aſſiſtence for inabling the King to follow that buſineſs to an end; and particularly he was deſired to crave a ſupply of mony for levying 600 Soldiers,

Soldiers, and entertaining them ſome months, till the ſervice was finiſhed, and the Rebels either apprehended, or forced to quit the Realm: withal he was appointed to renew the former complaints of *Bothwel* his reſſet and entertainment in the Borders of *England*, and to crave his delivery according to the League. But while he was preſſing that buſineſs in *England*, *Bothwel* ſurpriſed the King at home, and for a while made all theſe purpoſes to ſleep, ſo as he returned without effecting any thing. *An.* 1593.

The King ſurpriſed by *Bothwel*.

The occaſion and manner of the Surpriſe was this. The Chancellor, who had all that year been abſent from Court, upon a diſcontent the Queen conceived againſt him, had ſent to the King a Letter, 'requeſting his licence to depart forth 'of the Country, ſince he could not with ſafety attend his ſervice; for that to re-'main at home, and live deprived of his Majeſties preſence, he ſaid was to him a 'very Hell, which he could hardly endure; promiſing to return at ſuch time as his 'Majeſty ſhould find convenient to recal him to his ſervice.

The manner of the ſurpriſe.

The King did ſhew the Letter to the Queen, becauſe in the ſame he had proteſted much of his ſincere affection towards her, and being loth to quit him whom he had tried to be ſo able a Servant, moved her to forget all quarrels, ſo as he would reſign the Lordſhip of *Muſſilburgh*, which had bred this diſſenſion. The Reſignation made, and the Chancellor being on the point to return to Court, the Duke of *Lennox*, by the advice of *Athol*, *Ochiltry*, and other of the name of *Stewart*, reſolved to prevent his coming by the inbringing of *Bothwel*. The Parliament had broke up ſome two days before, and the Noblemen reſorting to the Palace to take their leave of the King, the Gates were kept patent, and leſs heed taken of thoſe who entred. *Athol* with his Lady had lodged all that time in the Houſe then pertaining to the Earl of *Gowry*, at the back of the Palace, and kept *Bothwel* private, with Mr. *John Colvil*, one of his followers. So early in the morning the Lady pretending to bid the King farewel, and making her entry thorough the Poſtern Gate, taketh *Bothwel* and his companion along with her, and bringeth them unperceived of any into the Kings Bed-chamber. The King was then private in a retiring-room, and when he came back, and ſaw them ſtand with their Swords in their hands, cried aloud, *Treaſon, treaſon.* They falling on their knees called for mercy. *Nay*, ſaid the King, *you have diſhonoured me:* and placing himſelf in his Chair, *Strike, Traitor*, ſaith he to *Bothwel*, *and make an end of thy work, for I deſire not to live any longer.* He proteſting with many oaths that he came only to beg pardon, and to put himſelf in his Majeſties will: the King replied, *That mercy extorted by violence was not mercy, and that it was not the form of Supplicants to come with weapons in their hands.* Whilſt the King was thus talking, the Earl of *Marre* and Sir *William Keith* entred into the Chamber, and preſently after them a number of *Bothwels* Faction, who by this time had poſſeſſed the outer Court, and aſſumed the charge of the Gates.

The City in arms.

The report of this accident going to the City the people went to arms, and conducted by Sir *Alexander Home*, their Provoſt made towards the Palace to give the King relief: but he was then become ſomewhat pacified, and following the Earl of *Marre* his advice, after he had ſhewed himſelf from a window to the people, and given them thanks for their readineſs, he willed them to return to their houſes and attend his advertiſement. All that day matters were carried fairly in a ſort, *Bothwel* uſing humble ſpeeches, and offering himſelf to Trial for the conſultation which began his trouble: for his other miſdemeanors he deſired mercy, excuſing himſelf by the want and neceſſity whereunto he and his friends were driven. But when he perceived the Kings countenance not to be towards him as he wiſhed, he changed his forms, and letting ſome words fall that ſounded not well, gave divers to ſuſpect that he ſhould attempt ſome violence. This did ſet the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador on work who, being aſſiſted by the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did after long travel and much perſuaſion induce the King to ſet his hand to the Articles following.

Conditions granted to *Bothwel* by the Ambaſſadors mediation.

1. That Remiſſion ſhould be granted to *Bothwel*, his friends and partakers, for all attempts againſt his Majeſties Perſon and Authority in any time paſt, and promiſe made never to call or purſue him and his foreſaids for any by-paſt fact; as likewiſe

An. 1593. wiſe to repoſſeſs them in their houſes and lands, notwithſtanding whatſoever Proceſs laid againſt them.

2. That a Parliament ſhould be called in *November* next, and ſuch an Act paſt in his and their favors as was made at *Linlithgow Anno* 1585, for their greater ſecurity.

3. That during that time the King ſhould not receive in his Company the Chancellor, the Lord *Home*, the Maſter of *Glammis*, and Sir *George Home* Knight.

4. That from henceforth the Earl *Bothwel*, his friends and followers, ſhould be eſteemed as good and lawful ſubjects, and uſed with much favor as if they had never offended.

Articles ſubſcribed by the Witneſſes.

Theſe Articles the King did in the word of a Prince promiſe to perform; and for *Bothwels* greater ſatisfaction, after he had ſigned the ſame with his own hand, cauſed ſo many of the Council as were preſent together with the Magiſtrates and Miniſters of *Edinburgh* ſubſcrive as Witneſſes. The Subſcribers were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Athol*, the Lords *Forbes*, *Ochiltry*, *Spiny* and *Urquhart*, the Maſter of *Gray*, Mr. *James Elphinſton*, *Murdocarny*, the Clerk of Regiſter, *Nicoll Edward*, *John Moriſon*, *George Fodrick* and *David Williamſon*, Bailiffs of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Miniſters. For *Bothwel* it was promiſed that he ſhould leave the Court, and not come towards the King till he was called by his Majeſty.

The King goeth to *Falkland*.

Theſe things were done at *Halirudhouſe* the 14 of *Auguſt* 1593, ſome twenty days after the Surpriſe. The next day the King went to *Falkland*, attended by the Duke of *Lennox*, the Lord *Ochiltry*, and *Creichton* of *Clany* a follower of *Athol*, who did promiſe to wait upon the King unto *November*, and debar thoſe others that by the Articles were not to be admitted. The reſt of the month the King ſtayed at *Falkland*, and in that time *Bothwel* did obtain himſelf purged by an Aſſiſe of practiſing and conſulting with Witches, which had been the original of his miſchief.

A Convention at *Striveling* 7. *Sept.*

In the beginning of *September* the King went to *Striveling*, where he had appointed a Convention to meet for taking order with the broken men of the High-lands and Borders. Thither came the Lord *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Morton*, *Glencarne* and *Montroſs*, with the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Levingſton*; of the Church Eſtate, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld* and *Aberdene*, the Prior of *Blantyre*, and Abbot of *Londors*; and divers Commiſſioners of Burghs. After ſome ſpeeches concerning the Borders and High-lands, and the means to quiet them, which was the errand pretended, the King declared, 'that he had called them to that Meeting for buſineſs that 'touched him more nigh: and then relating the many indignities he had endured at '*Bothwels* hands, which they all knew, he deſired to have their advice touching 'the Conditions granted to him of late, and whether they did think him tied to 'the performance thereof, the ſame being extorted by the importunity of thoſe 'that took on them to mediate betwixt him and *Bothwel*, and yielded unto by him 'upon juſt fear. The Anſwer of the Convention was, *That they judged the fact of* Bothwel *Treaſonable, and the Conditions granted in ſuch a manner to carry no neceſſity of performance. That for the Remiſſion promiſed to him and his followers, the ſame depended upon his Majeſties own pleaſure, and that he ſhould do therein what ſeemed to him good: but to be tied not to receive in his company his Servants and Officers, they held it not to ſtand with the honor and dignity of a King. For the Remiſſion*, ſaid the King, *I could be content, for the quiet of the Realm, to grant the ſame upon his humble ſuit and ſupplication, when I am now at liberty; but to be forced thereto, and by way of Capitulation to grant the ſame, I do not think it agreeth with mine Honor. That which I require of you, ſince I judge the Conditions unlawful, and that neither in Law nor Conſcience I am bound to obſerve them, is, that by publick Act the ſame be declared; and that, as a free Prince, I may preſently, and in all time coming, admit and receive into my company ſuch of the Nobility, Council, Officiars and other good ſubjects, as I ſhall think good to uſe in the adminiſtration of my affairs.* All eſteeming this to be moſt reaſonable, an Act was made declaring, 'That his Majeſty, with the advice of the Eſtates, had recalled the

The Eſtates find the Conditions given to *Bothwel* diſhonourable.

'Grant

'Grant made to *Bothwell* in *Auguſt* laſt; and that, being a free Prince, he might 'uſe the ſervice of any of his ſubjects, and call them to him at his pleaſure. *An.* 1593.

This Declaration made, the Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvil* were directed to *Bothwell*, to ſhew him that albeit the King did not think himſelf bound in Law or Honor to perform the Conditions made at *Halirudhouſe*, yet if he ſhould now make humble ſuit for Pardon to himſelf, and his followers, the ſame ſhould be granted, with a double Proviſo: firſt, that he ſhould ſupplicate his Pardon and paſs the ſame formally before the 20 of *November*; ſecondly, that the Remiſſion being exped, he ſhould depart forth of the Realm, and abide in ſuch parts beyond Sea as the King ſhould appoint, and not return into the Country without his Majeſties licence. The Prior of *Blantyre* and Sir *Robert Melvil* directed to *Bothwell*.

Bothwell at firſt did take the offer well, and ſeemed therewith content; but when he was returned to *Edinburgh*, (for the intimation was made to him at *Linlithgow*) and heard that the Lord *Home* and thoſe others againſt whom he took exception were received in Court, he was greatly commoved, and, falling to his wonted forms, threatened to make the King obſerve the Conditions, and keep what he had promiſed. To this purpoſe he advertiſed the Earl of *Athol*, deſiring he ſhould meet him at *Striveling* the firſt of *October* with his forces. *Athol* kept the Diet, accompanied with the Earl of *Montroſs* and a great number of men: but the King was parted from *Striveling*, and remained then at *Linlithgow*, attended by the Lord *Hamilton* and divers other Noblemen, which made *Bothwell* change his purpoſe and diſappoint the enterpriſe. *Bothwell* falleth to his wonted forms.

The King underſtanding that *Athol* with his forces was come to *Striveling*, ſent a meſſenger to charge him to return home and diſſolve his companies: which he obeyed, pretending that his buſineſs was only to hold a Court at *Down* Caſtle, (a Houſe pertaining to the Earl of *Murray*, whereof he had the Ward) and that the meſſenger might witneſs the truth thereof, he took him along with him the next morning to *Down*. The ſtay of the meſſenger put the King in ſuſpicion that the Charge was not obeyed, and that *Athol* did wait upon *Bothwell's* coming. Whereupon he went back to *Striveling*, and underſtanding that *Athol* was gone to *Down*, he followed thither. The Lord *Home*, who was appointed to ride before and view the fields, encountering the Earl of *Montroſs*, made him priſoner, and uſed him and his men ſomewhat roughly. But he profeſſing to be ſent by *Athol* to the King for making his excuſe, and declaring the true cauſe of his coming in thoſe parts, was dimitted the next day, upon his promiſe to appear before the Council whenſoever he ſhould be charged. After this the King going to *Edinburgh Bothwell* was cited before the Council; and not appearing, was of new denounced Rebel. *Athol* coming to *Striveling* is charged to return home in the beginning of *October*. *Montroſs* taken by the Lord *Home*. *Bothwell* denounced Rebel.

Leaving theſe affairs for a while, we will now return to the Popiſh Lords. They had been cited to the Parliament which was kept in *July* preceding, but upon ſome informalities and defects in the Libel the Proceſs was remitted by the Eſtates to the King and Council. This being ill interpreted, and taken to be done in their favor, the Miniſters of the Synod of *Fife*, meeting at S. *Andrews* in the beginning of *Octob.* did ſummarily excommunicate the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* & *Arrol*, the Lord *Home*, and Sir *James Chiſholme*. They ſent Letters alſo to all the Presbyteries, deſiring their Excommunication to be publiſhed in all the Churches; and particularly required the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* to call a meeting of ſome principal Miniſters & wel-affected Barons, to adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be taken for the defence of Religion, and repreſſing the practices of enemies. The King, upon advertiſement of theſe proceedings, called Mr. *Robert Bruce* (who was then in great favor) and willed him to ſtay the publication of Sentence, as being unjuſt and altogether informal, for that neither were theſe perſons ſubject to the Synod of *Fife*, nor were they cited to anſwer. *And if this be your order*, ſaid he, *that the Miniſters of one Synod may excommunicate, and at their deſire all the reſt ſhall make intimation, who can be ſure, or how ſhall it be eſchewed, but numbers ſhall this way be brought in troubles?* Mr. *Robert* anſwering that it was not in his power to ſtay the publication, the brethren having already concluded the ſame, and that the Miniſters of *Fife* had their own Reaſons, and were anſwerable to the General Aſſembly; *Well*, ſaid the The Popiſh Lords excommunicated by the Synod of *Fife*. The King dealeth with Mr. *Robert Bruce*, to ſtay the publication of the Sentence.

An. 1593. King, *I could have no reſt till ye got that which ye call the Diſcipline of the Church eſtabliſhed; now ſeeing I have found it abuſed, and that none amongſt you hath power to ſtay ſuch diſorderly proceedings, I will think of a mean to help it.*

The Popiſh Lords meeting the King at *Falaw* deſire a Trial.

The intimation in the mean time went on, and according to the motion made for convening ſome principal Miniſters and Barons, there aſſembled a good number at *Edinburgh* the 17 of *October*. The King was gone then to *Jedburgh*, for pacifying ſome Tumults in the Borders, and in his going thither was met at *Falaw* by the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, who humbly intreated a Trial, and that they ſhould not be condemned unheard, offering to enter themſelves what time and in what place his Majeſty ſhould appoint. There were divers of the Council with the King at the time, by whoſe advice they were enjoyned to enter their perſons in the Town of *Perth* the 24 of that month, and abide there till order was taken for their Trial. And leſt caſting of themſelves in the Kings way, ſhould be thought to have proceeded upon an intelligence that the King did keep with them; the Maſter of *Glammis* and Abbot of *Lundors* were directed to inform the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and Miniſters of *Edinburgh* of that which had happened, and the anſwer that the Lords received.

They are commanded to enter themſelves in *Perth*.

Petitions of the Church ſent to the King at *Jedburgh*.

How ſoon this was known, Commiſſioners were ſent from the Aſſembly to the King with certain Petitions conceived in this form.

The Commiſſioners of the Church, Barons, Burgeſſes, convened from divers parts of the Realm, foreſeeing the preſent danger wherein the Church of God, the Perſon of the King, and whole Country do ſtand, have thought it their duty to petition his Majeſty, and propone their advice as followeth.

1. Seeing the Commiſſioners are informed that the Excommunicate Lords, namely the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, with their Complices, are to be put to the trial of an Aſſiſe, they humbly crave that the Trial be not precipitated, and that the Diet aſſigned may be prorogated, till ſuch time as the Profeſſors of Religion (who are minded to be their Accuſers, and to purſue them for the Treaſons they have contrived) may be throughly adviſed with the buſineſs, and reſolve what is convenient to be done.

2. That, according to the Laws and Cuſtoms obſerved in ſuch Crimes, thoſe Excommunicate and Treaſonable Apoſtates may be committed to ſure Cuſtody in the Town of *Edinburgh*, *Dundy*, and *Striveling*, or other places that ſhall be thought expedient, till order be taken with Papiſts, of which Faction they are known to be the Heads, and till the Eſtates adviſe upon the form of their Trial.

3. That when the Eſtates after mature deliberation ſhall put the foreſaid Traitors to Trial, the Jury be not nominated at the option of the parties accuſed, but by the party accuſer, who are the whole Profeſſors of the Goſpel.

4. That ſeeing the foreſaid Traitors are Excommunicated, and by the juſt Sentence of the Church cut off from the Society of Chriſts Body, that they be not admitted to ſtand in judgment, or have any benefit of Law till they be reconciled to the Church, according to the Laws of the Country, and his Majeſties own promiſe; as likewiſe in reſpect they have made themſelves guilty, partly through their eſcape forth of Ward, and partly by playing the Fugitives, and not appearing neither at S. *Andrews*, to which they were firſt cited, nor at the time of the laſt Parliament.

5. Or if his Majeſty will not alter the day appointed at *Perth*, as we do not doubt but after good conſideration he will, then we deſire that ſuch as profeſs Religion may be a guard to his Majeſty at the time, to defend his Perſon from violence, and to accuſe and purſue them to the uttermoſt; which we are minded to do, although it ſhould be with the loſs of all our lives in one day, being fully reſolved, if they continue enemies to God and his Truth, that the Country ſhall not brook them and us together.

The Conference betwixt his Majeſty and the Commiſſioners of the Church.

The Commiſſioners coming to *Jedburgh* had preſence given them, and having preſented the Petitions, the King at the reading of the Inſcription grew incenſed, ſaying, *That he would not acknowledge any ſuch Convention, nor them for Commiſſioners, ſeeing they had aſſembled themſelves without his conſent and knowledge.* They anſwered,

anſwered, that the Meeting was warranted by his Majeſties Proclamations. A long reaſoning was kept upon that Point: in end the King condeſcended to hear them as ſubjects, and ſatisfie them with Reaſon in every particular, but to accept of their Commiſſion or return any anſwer to that Meeting he would not. This paſſed, he ſaid, *That he was not foreſeen of the coming of theſe Earls unto him at* Falaw, *nor had he any intelligence with them; but when they came, and did humbly offer themſelves to Trial, he could not of his Princely duty refuſe it though they had been the meaneſt and ſimpleſt perſons of the Land: That he had diſmiſſed them without any promiſe or the ſmalleſt aſſurance of favor, whereof he had many witneſſes; and for the time and place aſſigned to their Trial, the ſame was done by advice of ſuch of the Council as were preſent; but that he had ſince conſidered the time to be too ſhort, and the town of* Perth *not ſo convenient, and therefore had appointed a Meeting of the Eſtates at* Linlithgow *the laſt of that month, by whoſe advice he would proceed and do that which was fitting. It hath been,* ſaid he, *the ſuit of the Miniſters to have thoſe Earls brought to their Trial, and now when they offer themſelves unto it, it is ſtrange there ſhould be ſuch buſineſs made for a delay. As for himſelf, he had reſolved, what time and place ſoever were appointed for the Trial, to have all thing rightly done, and that neither the Judges nor Jurors, if the matter came to that point, ſhould be other than men indifferent and well-affected to Religion.* An. 1593.

The Commiſſioners putting his Majeſty in mind of that he had ſaid at the firſt view of the Blanks, and the hearing of Mr. *George Ker* his Confeſſion, *that the Crime was above the reach of his power to pardon,* and beſeeching him to regard his Honor and ſurety, ſeeing it was dangerous to permit the Earls to come accompanied with ſuch numbers as they intended to bring; he ſaid that he could provide for any dangers that way. And when they did offer, as in the Articles, to come and attend his Majeſty as a Guard at the time of Trial; he anſwered, *That he would make choice of his own Guard; that thoſe whom he called to that Diet ſhould be welcome, and ſuch as came undeſired ſhould not be ſo.*

Then they ſhew what offence was taken at the Lord *Hume* his entertainment in Court, who was both Excommunicated, and known to be a profeſſed enemy to Religion. The King replied, *That a day was given him to ſatisfie the Church by the Miniſters themſelves, which was not as yet expired; and if he did not ſatisfie, that he ſhould remain no longer at Court.* But, ſaid they, he doth not keep promiſe, and is thought to have been a chief inſtrument in bringing theſe Excommunicates to your Majeſties preſence. *For that,* ſaid the King, *I know it not; and if you will accuſe him, he can ſpeak for himſelf.* After theſe ſpeeches, they humbly beſought his Majeſty to vouchſafe the Aſſembly ſome anſwer in writing; but he abſolutely refuſed, and ſo they took their leave.

The Aſſembly reſolved to keep the Diet appointed for the Lords Trial.

Theſe Anſwers reported did no ways content the Meeting, whereupon it was reſolved that upon advertiſement they ſhould all convene in arms at the place which ſhould be aſſigned for the Trial of the Lords, and be their purſuers; to which purpoſe ſome was left at *Edinburgh* to make timely warning to the reſt. The King being informed of this Concluſion at his return to *Edinburgh*, called the ſpecial Miniſters that were in Town, and ſhewed that it was an undutiful part in them to convocate the ſubjects, and cauſe them take Arms without his Warrant; prohibiting any ſuch advertiſement to be given as was appointed. They, excuſing themſelves, ſaid, *That it was the Cauſe of God, and in defence thereof they could not be deficient.*

A Proclamation inhibiting all Convocations.

Hereupon a Proclamation was made, 'declaring the courſe that his Majeſty 'had taken to try the Conſpiracy of the Popiſh Lords, and how, after ſome pains 'taken in that buſineſs, he had indicted a Parliament in *July* laſt for that cauſe, at 'which time nothing being done, (albeit not in his default) and he impeſhed a 'long time after by the practices of *Bothwell* and other Troubles in the Country, 'was no ſooner received forth of his hands than he fell again upon the ſame 'thoughts; and that now he had appointed a Convention of Eſtates at *Linlith-*'*gow*, for taking their advice touching the Surety of his own Perſon, the relief of 'the ſubjects oppreſſion, and the ordering of all that buſineſs, eſpecially ſince

An. 1593. 'the ſaid Lords had by their Letters any otherwiſe moſt humbly deſired a Trial, 'which he doubted not the Eſtates would conſider, and ſo proceed therein as 'might beſt ſerve to the preſerving of Religion and the quietneſs of the 'Country; his own intention being no other but to have them ſatisfie the 'Church, or, if they refuſed, to cauſe them to be expulſed and baniſhed the 'Country. And for that end he had commanded them to remain at *Perth*, and at-'tend the reſolution of the Eſtates, diſſolving their forces, if any they had aſſem-'bled. Whereof his Majeſty did think meet to give all his ſubjects notice, that 'they might know his care for the maintenance of true Religion againſt all the 'enemies thereof. And therefore inhibited the ſubjects to make any Convocati-'ons; or if any were already made by the ſiniſtrous informations of ill-diſpoſed 'people, they were commanded to diſſolve and turn to their Houſes, till they 'ſhould be advertiſed either by miſſive Letters or Proclamations, and not other-'wiſe, under the pains appointed for Seditious perſons and diſturbers of the pub-'lick Peace.

A Convocation of the Eſtates.

Notwithſtanding of this diſcharge there came great companies to *Edinburgh*, and in all parts of the Country were people ſtirring; ſo that the Convention which was called to meet at the ſame time, being not very frequent, kept a ſhort while together. The Offers and Petitions of the Popiſh Lords being only read, the conſideration thereof was remitted to certain choſen by the Eſtates. Theſe were the Lord *Thirlſtan* Chancellor, the Earls *Marſhal*, *Marre*, *Montroſſe*, and *Rothes*, the Lord *Levingſton*, *Scot* of *Balwery*, *John Murray* of *Tullibarden*, *Alexander Bruce* of *Airth*, Mr. *George Lowder* of *Baſſe*, *William Scot* of *Abbotſhall*, Mr. *David Carnagie* of *Colluthie*, Sir *Alexander Hume* of *North-Barwick* Provoſt of *Edinburgh*, *Clement Currie* Baily, with the Commiſſioners of the Towns of *Dundie*, *Couper*, *Striveling* and *Linlithgow*. To theſe, or any four of every Eſtate, together with his Majeſties Officers, power was given to conſider the Petitions and Offers of the ſaid Lords, to try their Accuſations, Purgations, and the truth thereof, and to conclude therein, as they ſhould think moſt expedient for the ſurety of Religion, and redreſſing of diſorders within the Realm, ordaining their determination to be as valid and effectual as if the ſame had been concluded in Parliament or Convention. It was likewiſe ordained that Mr. *Robert Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, and Mr. *James Carmichel*, and *John Duncanſon* ſhould be admitted to the ſaid Conference, if they ſhould deſire; and that in the abſence of any of the Eſtates nominated, ſuch as were preſent ſhould appoint others at their pleaſure. The Commiſſioners nominated having convened at *Edinburgh* the 12 of *November*, after many days reaſoning grew to this concluſion.

Certain of the Eſtates ſelected to judge of the Lords Offers.

Concluſion taken touching the Popiſh Lords.

That the King, for the publick peace of the Realm, and to remove all Troubles and the occaſion thereof, after mature deliberation and conference kept with the Miniſters, had by the advice of the Commiſſioners elected by the Eſtates declared, and by irrevocable Edict ordained, That the true Religion eſtabliſhed in the firſt year of his Majeſties Reign ſhould be only profeſſed and exerciſed in all time coming within the Realm, and that none ſhould ſupply or reſſet any Jeſuites, Prieſts and other adverſaries of Religion, under the pains contained in the Acts of Parliament.

That ſuch as have not embraced Religion, or made defection from the ſame, ſhould conform themſelves before the firſt of February *next, ſatisfie the Church, and obey ſuch things as ſhall be preſcribed to them by the King and the Church; or if any of them did think it difficile ſo to do for any ſcruple of Conſcience, they ſhould depart forth of the Realm to ſuch parts beyond Sea as his Majeſty ſhould appoint, betwixt this and the ſaid day, and not return till they were reſolved to imbrace the Truth and ſatisfie the Church; they always and their heirs enjoying their lands and livings, and their procurators being licenſed to appear before the ordinary Judges for debating their actions, notwithſtanding of any proceſs laid againſt them.*

That the Earls of Angus, Huntley *and* Arrol, *the Laird of* Achindowne *and Sir* James Chiſholme, *ſhould be unaccuſable of the Crimes contained in the Summons executed againſt them by occaſion of Blanks and Letters intercepted, and concerning*

their

their trafficking with ſtrangers to the prejudice of Religion, and the ſaid Proceſs extinct for ever, diſcharging the Juſtice, Advocate and other Officers preſent and to come of all calling and proceeding againſt them and their heirs therefore in time coming. But in caſe they have ſent, or after this time ſhall ſend, any Pledges forth of the Realm for fulfilling of Conditions tending to the overthrow of Religion, in that caſe the ſaid abolition ſhould be null, neither ſhould it be farther extended than to the Crimes contained in the Summons, and no way comprehend any Murthers, Fire-raiſings, or other Crimes committed by them. An. 1593.

That ſuch of the ſaid Earls and others as ſhould reſolve to obey his Highneſs Laws in profeſſing the true Religion, before the 1 *of* Feburary, *ſhould remain in the places and bounds to be appointed for them, and forbear all practiſing or intelligence with the Jeſuites, Prieſts and other Papiſts, debarring them from and forth of their company.*

That they ſhould neither diſpute nor permit diſputing at their Tables againſt the Truth, or in favor of Popery, and entertain in their houſes a Miniſter, and be ready to hear conference, and reſolve themſelves of Doubts, that they may be the better prepared to ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith at the day appointed, unleſs it pleaſe the Church to prorogate their Subſcription for ſome longer ſpace.

That the Earls of Huntley *and* Arrol *ſhould before the* 1 *of* February *remove out of their company Mr.* James Gordon *and Mr.* William Ogilvie *Jeſuites, and find ſurety, under the pain of forty thouſand pounds, each of them to abide by their Subſcriptions, and not to make defection from the Religion:* Achindowne *and Sir* James Chiſholme *finding the like ſurety, under the pain of ten thouſand pounds.*

That ſuch of them as make choice to leave the Country, and will not imbrace the true Religion, ſhould give aſſurance to forbear all practiſing with Jeſuites and others againſt Religion and the State when they are abroad, and till their departing keep no intelligence with any of that Sect.

That they ſhould declare their choice of the two conditions before the 1 *of* January *to the King and Church; otherwiſe, in caſe they do not accept the ſame in manner and within the time above ſpecified, they ſhould enjoy no benefit by virtue thereof, but ſhould be liable to trial and puniſhment of Law, as if the ſame had never been proponed nor offered unto them.*

That the Church ſhould in the mean time call all ſuſpected perſons before them, requiring them to ſatisfie, and if they be obſtinate, delate their names to his Majeſty and Council, that they may be puniſhed; and that Maſters and Landlords be holden to anſwer for perſons ſo ſuſpected, as for other crimes.

Theſe were the concluſions taken in this meeting by the Deputies of the Eſtates, and ſigned by the King and them, which likewiſe were to be ſubſcribed by the three Earls and their complices in token of their acceptation. What effect the ſame took, we ſhall afterwards hear.

Troubles betwixt the *Maxwels* and the *Johnſtons.*

In the end of this year there fell our great Troubles in the Weſt Marches. Some of the ſurname of *Johnſton* having in the *July* preceding made a great depredation upon the lands of *Sanwhare* and *Drumlanrig*, and killed eighteen perſons that followed for reſcue of their goods, a Commiſſion was given to the Lord *Maxwel*, then Warden, for purſuing the doers with all hoſtility. Not long before a great friendſhip had been contracted betwixt him and the Laird of *Johnſton*, and bounds interchanged for aſſiſting one another; which the Lord *Sanwhare*, *Drumlanrig*, and others intereſſed by the *Johnſtons* feared ſhould make him remiſs in executing the Commiſſion: yet conſidering his diſpoſition, and that he loved above all things to be followed, they took advice to offer their ſervices, ſo as he would joyn with them for ſuppreſſing the power of the *Johnſtons*. *Maxwel*, thinking this to be a good occaſion for bringing all *Niddiſdale* to depend upon him, embraced the offer; whereupon a Bond was formed, and ſubſcribed by them and theſe others, with divers of their friendſhip. This Bond being negligently kept fell into the hands of one *Johnſton* of *Commerties* who ſerved the Lord *Maxwel*, and was by him carried to the Laird *Johnſton*; who reſolving to diſſemble his knowledge of the Bond, ſent a Gentleman to learn of the Lord *Maxwel* himſelf, if any ſuch friendſhip was made up amongſt them as was noiſed in the Country. *Maxwel* at firſt denied that there

An. 1593. was any ſuch thing; but having miſſed the Bond, and ſuſpecting the ſame to have fallen into *Johnſtons* hands, he excuſed the matter by the Commiſſion that was ſent to him, ſaying, He muſt obey the King, and do as he was directed.

Johnſton preventeth the Lord *Maxwel*, and killeth Captain *Oliphant*.

Johnſton, ſeeing whereto matters would turn, did aſſociate to himſelf the *Scots* of *Teviotdale*, the *Eliots* and *Grahams* of *Eske*, and hearing that *Maxwel* had levied ſome companies of horſe and foot, and placed the foot-company with their Captain called *Oliphant* in *Lochmaben*, to attend his coming to *Anandale*, reſolved to prevent him and cut them off; and ſo falling upon them unexpected, killed the Captain and divers of the ſouldiers. Some fled to the Church, thinking to ſave themſelves; but the ſame being ſet on fire, they came forth and rendred.

Maxwel invadeth *Anandale*.

Maxwel, to repair his diſhonor, gathered in haſt as good as 2000 men, and entred into *Anandale* with diſplayed Banner, as the Kings Lieutenant, intending to raiſe the houſes of *Lochwood* and *Lockerby*. *Johnſton*, not equalling his forces, kept aloof, and after the Border faſhion, ſent forth ſome prickers to ride and make provocation. Againſt them a number went out of *Maxwels* Army, who encountring with a great company were beaten and chaſed back to the ſtall or main hoſt, which by their breaking in was wholly diſordered. *Johnſton*, that ſtood in a piece of high ground, beholding the iſſue of the skirmiſh, took the advantage of their confuſion, and breaking upon them, without any reſiſtence made, put them all to flight.

The Lord *Maxwel* killed, 6. *Decem.*

The Lord *Maxwel*, a tall man and heavy in armor, was in the chaſe overtaken and ſtricken from his horſe. The report went that he called to *Johnſton*, and deſired to be taken, as he had ſometime taken his Father; but was unmercifully uſed, and the hand that he reached forth cut off. But of this I can affirm nothing. There always the Lord *Maxwel* fell, having received many wounds. He was a Nobleman of great ſpirit, humane, courteous, and more learned than Noblemen commonly are; but aſpiring, and ambitious of Rule. His fall was pitied of many, for that he was not known to have done much wrong in his time; and was rather hurtful to himſelf than others.

The Lord *Hereis* and Barons of the Country appointed to remain at *Dumfreis*.

The King took theſe news very hardly, that his Warden, a Nobleman bearing his Authority, ſhould be cut off in ſuch a manner, and he kept in ſuch a buſineſs, what with *Bothwell* on the one hand, and the Popiſh Lords on the other, as he could not take journey to thoſe parts; it grieved him exceedingly, always for quieting the Country, order was taken that the Lord *Hereis*, *Drumlanrig*, *Lagg*, and ſome other Barons ſhould abide at *Dumfreis* with their friends, and be ready upon all occaſions to repreſs whatſoever Stirs might ariſe.

A Convention of the Eſtates.

The 18 of *January*, in a Convention of Eſtates called at *Halirudhouſe*, the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol* were declared to have amitted the benefit of the Act of Abolition, becauſe of their miſregard of his Majeſties favor, and not accepting of the benefit offered before the day prefixed. The King had uſed divers means to gain them, and would gladly upon aſſurance of their good behavior have winked at Crimes paſt; but all was in vain, the Jeſuites prevailing with their counſels, and feeding them ſtill with hopes of forein aid: whereupon charge were directed for entring their perſons in Ward, till trial was taken of the Accuſations laid againſt them. *Angus* was charged to enter in *Blackneſs*, *Huntley* in *Dumbriton*, and *Arrol* in the Caſte of *Edinburgh*, and *Achindowne* in *Tantallon*; but none of them gave obedience.

The Popiſh Lords declared to have loſt the benefit of Abolition.

The Queen delivered of a Son at *Striveling*.

The Lord *Zouche* Ambaſſador from *Engand*.

Now the time of the Queens lying in drawing near, the King went to *Striveling* where ſhe then abode, and remained with her until ſhe was delivered upon the 19 of *February* of a Son; about which time came the Lord *Zouche* Ambaſſador from the Queen of *England*, to complain of the King his lenity in proceeding againſt the Popiſh Lords: for ſhe had ſeen the Conditions granted them in *November*, and was highly diſpleaſed therewith. But when the Ambaſſador underſtood that they had loſt the benefit of that Grant in their own default, and that the King had proceeded ſo far as to make publick Declaration thereof, he was ſatisfied, and inſiſted to have the ſentence of Forfeiture pronounced againſt them. This not proceeding with ſuch haſte as he deſired, he fell to treat ſecretly with *Bothwell*, who was making

king new Stirs, and had drawn numbers of all ſorts to follow him; yea with ſome ſpecials of the Miniſtery he found ſuch credit, as both in their publick Sermons, and otherwiſe by their private dealings, they did incourage people to joyn with them; and, which did moſt offence the King, ſent one Mr. *Andrew Hunter*, a Miniſter, to be his Preacher, and attend him as a Chaplain. Nor did their folly, or madneſs rather, ſubſiſt here, but even the monys which had been collected in the Churches for the ſupply of *Geneva*, which was then in Trouble, and depoſed in the hands of Mr. *James Melvil* Miniſter of *Anſtruther*, were given to *Robert Melvil* and *George Strong*, two Captains, for levying Soldiers to aſſiſt him. *Bothwell* was then gathering new forces, and had appointed with the Earls of *Argile* and *Athol* to meet at *Leith* for the baniſhing of the Popiſh Lords, and revenge of the Earl of *Murray* his ſlaughter, (that was the pretext) and with them did the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador keep intelligence.

An. 1594.

Mr. *Andrew Hunter* Miniſter waiteth upon *Bothwell* as his Chaplain.

Bothwell prepareth of new to invade the King.

This being diſcovered to the King, one of his ſervants, who had been ſpied in *Bothwells* company, was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*. Being examined, he confeſſed that by direction of his Maſter he had ſpoken with *Bothwell* and Mr. *John Colvil*, and that he believed they had ſome enterpriſe in hand, but what it was he knew not. The King, perceiving by his Confeſſion that the Ambaſſador had a ſecret dealing with *Bothwell*, was greatly offended; yet becauſe he would not ſeem to infringe the privileges of Ambaſſadors, after he had check'd him with ſome ſharp words, he dimitted his ſervant, and the Ambaſſador departed, the King not vouchſafing him a farewel.

The Ambaſſadors dealing with *Bothwell* diſcovered.

Bothwell in the mean time with the forces that he had gathered in the Borders, being about 400 horſemen or thereby, advanced and came to *Leith* the 2 of *April* at 3 of the clock in the Morning. The King remained at the time in *Edinburgh* not well accompanied; yet hearing that *Bothwell* was come ſo nigh, he commanded the Citizens and thoſe that were with him to arm. He himſelf going to Church, made a Speech at the end of the Sermon to the people, for the removing the ſuſpicions conceived of his favoring the Popiſh Lords: and recounting *Bothwells* treacherous attempts, deſired them to remember that he was their King, to whom they owed all fidelity, and to conſider in what caſe they themſelves ſhould be if *Bothwell* with his Borderers, men given to theft and robbery, ſhould get the upper hand. The hearers moved with his ſpeeches ſhewed great forwardneſs, and went incontinent to arms. The Lord *Hume* was commanded to take the fields, and lead the horſemen that were in Town. The King ſtayed with the foot, and before them marched the Cannon, which was brought forth of the Caſtle, making directly towards *Leith*.

An. 1594. The Road of *Leith*. The King commanded the people to arm.

How ſoon *Bothwell* underſtood that the Kings forces were marching, conſidering he could not equal them in number, he removed from *Leith*, and dividing his men in three troups, took the way by *Reſtalrig* toward *Dalkeith*. The Lord *Hume* with the horſemen followed to obſerve what courſe he held, and the King with the foot removing to the other ſide of the Town made his ſtand in the field called the *Borrow-Moor*. *Hume* with his company being advanced ſo far as *Niddry* edge, *Bothwell* turned upon him, and being far ſuperior in horſemen, gave him the chaſe; which they that ſtood by the King perceiving, adviſed him to return into the Town; but he refuſing to ſtir, anſwered, *That he would never quit the fields to a Traitor:* yet the danger was great, and, in the opinion of many, if *Bothwell* had taken his courſe directly to the King, and not purſued the chaſe ſo hotly, he might have carried the day; but in following, it happened his horſe to ſtumble and fall to the ground, and he bruiſed with the fall was forced to retire. That night he went to *Dalkeith*, and on the morrow diſſolved all his troups; which when *Athol* heard, he alſo went back into his Country. The *Fife* Captains with their ſoldiers arriving at *Leith* about midnight, when they underſtood how things had paſſed turned ſail, and went ſundry ways.

Bothwell removeth from *Leith*.

The Conflict betwixt *Bothwell* and *Hume*.

This purpoſe ſo defeated, the King ſent the Lord *Colvil* and Mr. *Edward Bruce* to the Queen of *England*, to complain of the miſdemeanor of her Ambaſſador, and the reſlet that *Bothwell* found in her Kingdom. In his Letter to the Queen, uſing a round

The Lord *Colvil* and Mr. *Edward Bruce* directed to *England*.

An. 1594. round plainneſs, he ſaid, *That although it had pleaſed her to commend the Ambaſſador ſhe had imployed for a wiſe, religious and honeſt man; yet he had in his opinion been fitter to carry the meſſage of an Herauld, than a friendly Commiſſion betwixt two neighbor-Princes. That he had ſeen nothing in him but pride and wilfulneſs, and that therfore denying to give him any anſwer, he chuſed to ſend the ſame by his own Meſſengers; whom he deſired her to credit as himſelf in all that they had in charge to deliver.* For *Bothwell*, he ſaid, *That he wondered how, notwithſtanding of the many ſolemn promiſes made as well by her Ambaſſadors as by Letters of her own hand, that he ſhould have no harbor within her Country, yet was he not only reſſet by her people, but ſuffered to reſide in ſome of her proper Houſes, and had received a good ſum of* Engliſh *mony, wherewith he waged both* Scots *and* Engliſh *in this late Treacherous attempt. To think this was by her direction or privity he would not, ſo far it was againſt all Princely Honor: on the other part, that ſhe being ſo wiſe and prudent a Prince, and having ſo long and ſo happily governed her Kingdoms, ſhould be ſo ſlighted and contemned by a number of her ſubjects, as that ſuch things ſhould be done without her knowledge, it could hardly be believed. Wherefore leaving it to her ſelf to ſolve theſe doubts, he would only remember her of the promiſe made at the delivery of* Ororick *an* Iriſh *Rebel, and deſire her not to put him in balance with ſuch a traiterous counterpoiſe, leſt he ſhould be conſtrained to ſay with the Poet,* Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos, *&c.*

The Kings Letter to the Queen of *England.*

The Commiſſion given to the Ambaſſadors.

This was the ſubſtance of the Letter. The Credit committed to them was to aſſure the Queen, 'That ſeeing the Popiſh Lords had not imbraced the Conditions 'offered, he ſhould proſecute the Laws againſt them, proſcribe their perſons and 'confiſcate their lands; and to crave of her, as one whom that cauſe equally touch-'ed, a ſupply of monys, till either they were expulſed the Realm, or their per-'ſons apprehended and preſented to Juſtice.

The Queen of *Englands* Anſwer. The Queen diſchargeth *Bothwell* his reſſet in *England.*

The Queen excuſing the overſight given to *Bothwell* by the ſlow purſuit of the Popiſh Lords, and the favor ſhewed to them, promiſed that from thenceforth he ſhould find no more reſſet in her Country; and for purſuing the Popiſh Earls the King ſhould lack no ſupply that was in her power to give. With this anſwer did Mr. *Edward Bruce* return; for the Lord *Colvil* went from that into *France*, to congratulate the victorious and happy ſucceſs of the *French* King againſt thoſe of the League, and invite him to aſſiſt the Baptiſm of the Prince, which was to be in *July* next.

An Aſſembly of the Church.

The Queen of *England* immediately upon the Ambaſſadors return, by a Proclamation in all the Borders, did inhibit the reſſet and harboring of *Bothwell*, and the aiding of him in any ſort; which the King did ſo kindly accept, as, rendring her many thanks for the ſame, he did therewith intreat her to aſſiſt the Baptiſm of the Prince his Son. The like imployment *Peter Young* his Majeſties Elemoſynar received for *Denmark*, the Dukes of *Brunſwick* and *Mecklenburgh*; and to the General Eſtates Sir *William Keith* and Captain *William Murray* the Provoſt of S. *Andrews* were directed.

The Parliament being in the mean time indicted to the 27 of *May*, the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh* the ſeventh of the ſame month, where the Excommunication of the Popiſh Lords was ratified, and ordained to be publiſhed in all the Churches of the Kingdom. The King did reſide then at *Striveling*; and thither were Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Patrick Simpſon*, Mr. *James Melvil*, and Mr. *James Nicholſon* directed by the Aſſembly, to repreſent the dangers wherein his Majeſties Perſon, Crown and Liberty of the Country ſtood, and to propone ſuch remedies as in their judgment were fitteſt for preventing the ſame.

Both the one and the other were conceived in this form.

Petitions directed from the Church to the King.

The perils which oft before were threatened by the pernicious practices of Jeſuites, and the malicious, unnatural and treaſonable Conſpiracies of the Earl of *Huntley*, *Arrol* and *Angus* and their complices, in betraying their native Country to the cruel and mercileſs *Spaniard*, are no leſs urgent, and now more to be feared, than when the danger ſeemed to be greateſt, as may appear by the Reaſons following.

1. It

1. It is certain that the *Spaniard*, who with ſo great preparations in the year 1588. enterpriſed the Conqueſt of the whole Iſle, retaineth the ſame intention, wanting an occaſion only to accompliſh his promiſe; as is manifeſt by the intelligence he hath kept with the Popiſh Lords, ever ſince the diſputation of that Navy. *An.* 1594. A Remonſtrance of the perils threatned to Religion.

2. The open Rebellion of the ſaid Lords at the bridge of *Falkland*, &c. with their continuance in the like Treaſonable attempts, notwithſtanding his Majeſties clemency in pardoning the ſame, doth evidence their obſtinacy in proſecuting the ſame Conſpiracies.

3. Whereas the Church hath not ceaſed at all occaſions to lay open theſe dangers, and humbly intreated that ſome remedy ſhould be provided, nothing hath been obtained; to the emboldening of the enemies in their practices and attempts.

4. Notwithſtanding that it was enacted in Council, that none ſhould preſume to requeſt for the ſaid Popiſh Lords, under the pain of loſing their places and Offices; yet none are in ſuch credit as their favorers, who contrary to their promiſes labour ſtill to procure them overſight and immunitie.

5. The Maſſes openly celebrated in the Houſe of *Balgawy* pertaining to Mr. *Walter Lindſay*, the Houſe of *Birnes* appertaining to the young Laird of *Bonyton*, the Houſes of *Douglas*, *Strathbogy*, *Logyamont* and *Slains* pertaining to the ſaid Earls, do ſhew that either they think themſelves aſſured of favor in the Court, or of ſuch aſſiſtence in the Country as may maintain their cauſe, or then that they are perſuaded to be ſupplied by Strangers.

6. The Act of Oblivion offered to them, with the great diſcontent of all good ſubjects, would not have been rejected, except they had looked for greater favor and better conditions.

7. The diſobedience they have ſhewed in entring to their Wards when they were charged, doth prove that they think themſelves aſſured of the aid and concurrence of others.

8. The arriving of the *Spaniſh* Bark lately at *Montroſſe* declareth that they have ſome practice to be put in execution preſently, if the ſame ſhall not be timely prevented.

9. The open Conventions they keep ſince the arriving of the ſaid bark do ſhew that they eſteem their Plots ſo ſubſtantially laid, as they regard not what can be done for reſiſting the ſame.

10. The diligence they uſe in preparing, and putting their friends and followers in arms, ſpecially in the North parts, is an argument of ſome enterpriſe they go about.

11. And laſt, whereas his Majeſty and Eſtates did upon the firſt diſcovery of their Plots and practices apprehend a great danger to Religion, the Kings eſtate, and Liberty of the Country; notwithſtanding that the cauſe is not removed, there is no care taken to withſtand their courſes, which declareth that there is either a purpoſe to cover, extenuate and bear forth their wickedneſs, or that the Lord hath in his judgment blinded and hardened the hearts of all Eſtates, that while the danger is greateſt, they can neither ſee nor apprehend the ſame.

The Remedies of the foreſaid Dangers were proponed, as followeth.

1. That the Parliament indicted to the 27 of the ſame month ſhould not be prorogated, but the time thereof preciſely kept, and the Popiſh Lords forfeited, and to that effect the Advocate ſufficiently inſtructed for maintaining the Relevancy of the Summons and Probation in due time provided. The Remedies of the dangers.

2. That none ſuſpected in Religion be choſen upon the Articles.

3. That after the Forfeiture, they be purſued with all extremity, their Lands and Rents annexed to the Crown, and no part thereof diſponed in favors of the perſons forfeited.

4. That

An. 1594. 4. That the Guard be imployed for apprehending Mr. *Walter Lindesay* the Abbot of *New-Abbey*, *James Wood* of *Bonyton* younger, Mr. *George Ker*, (who had made an escape out of the Castle the year before) Mr. *Alexander Lesley*, *Thomas Tyrie*, and other Traffiquers and Jesuits.

5. That the houses of the Rebels be possessed, and their livings intrometted with, to his Majesties use.

6. That all persons be inhibited to resset, supply or entertain any intelligence with the said Lords, especially their vassals and dependers, and that none under whatsoever pretext contravene the same.

7. That the subjects be charged to put themselves in arms by all good means, and be in readiness to pursue and defend, as they shall be warned by his Majesty, or otherwise upon urgent occasions.

8. That the Bark arrived at *Montrosse* be apprehended, and the persons that were within her, with such others as have had any dealing with them, and that they be examined diligently for the discovery of the practice they have presently in hand.

The Lord *Hume* reconciled to the Church.

Somewhat was adjected concerning the Lord *Hume*; but he compeiring in the same Assembly, gave satisfaction to the Church, and was absolved from the Sentence of Excommunication. All the remedies the King allowed, promising how soon the Forfeiture was past to follow forth the same: only at the 7 he took exception, where it was desired that *the subjects should put themselves in arms upon urgent occasions*; for he had not as yet forgotten the Stirs of the year preceding, and would have none to arm but upon his own Warrant.

Instructions sent from the King to the Church and Assembly.

Withal he sent Sir *Robert Melvil* and *Alexander Hume* of North *Berwick* with certain instructions to the Assembly; whereof one was, *That they should inhibit the Ministers to utter any irreverent speeches in Pulpit against his Majesties Person, Council or Estate, under pain of Deprivation*: and because one of their number, called *John Ross*, had in a Sermon preached before the Synod of *Perth* uttered divers treasonable and irreverent speeches of his Majesty, it was craved that they should censure him as his fault had deserved. Another was, *That they should excommunicate Mr.* Andrew Hunter, *for the scandal he had brought upon their Profession, he being the first open Traitor of their Function against a Christian King of their own Religion, and their natural Sovereign.* A third instruction was, *That by Act of Assembly Ministers should be ordained to dissuade both by publick and private exhortation their Flocks from concurring with* Bothwell *in his treasonable attempts, or any other that should make insurrection against the Authority established by God in his Majesties person.* The last was assented unto, and an Act made thereof: but the censure of the Minister *Rosse* was carried more slightly, and he only admonished to speak in time coming so reverently and discreetly of his Majesty, as there might be no just cause of complaint against him. *Hunter* was deposed from the Ministery, as a desertor of his Flock, and one suspected to have joyned himself with the Kings Rebels; but the Excommunication was not pronounced.

A Parliament wherein the Lords are forfeited.

The Parliament did hold at the time appointed; yet because the Noblemen convened slowly, 3 or 4 days were spent without doing any thing. In end, when by the excuses that divers made a greater number was not expected, they that were present assembled in the Parliament-house, and keeping the form accustomed made choice of a number for the Articles: of Noblemen there were three Earls and six Lords only present. Beginning was made at the summons of Forfeiture, the Letters and Blanks intercepted with Mr. *George Ker* presented, and the handwrits cognosced by witnesses. Some question there was about the Blanks, and that which should have been insert in them; but the presumptions were so clear, as none would doubt what the subject should have been. Yet the Noblemen urged a delay of the Trial to a more full Convention; which the King would not admit, knowing what misinterpretings that would make: and so by pluralities of voices, the crimes of Treason were found to be sufficiently proved and the Sentence of Forfeiture pronounced against the three Earls and *Ach indown*; their Scutcheons

of

of Arms (as the manner is) torn by a Herauld, and they declared to have loſt their honours, lands and eſtates for Treaſonable practices againſt the King and their Native Country. *An.* 1594.

In this Parliament divers Statutes were concluded, ſome in favors of the Church, and others very beneficial to the Country: as the Statute made for puniſhment of Theft, Robbery and Oppreſſion; another againſt Uſury; and a third againſt buying of Places by Judges and other members of the Court of Juſtice.

The next month paſſed in receiving the Ambaſſadors that came to aſſiſt the Baptiſm, which in the latter end of *Auguſt* next was performed with great ſolemnity. From *England* the Earl of *Suſſex* was ſent; the King of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Brunſwick*, *Mecklenburgh*, with the Eſtates of the united Provinces, had their Ambaſſadors preſent. But from the *French* King there came not any, though they alſo were expected at the day appointed for the Solemnity. The Prince was brought from his own Chamber to the Queens Chamber of preſence, and laid in a bed dreſſed in a moſt ſtately form. The Ambaſſadors entered into the Chamber, the Counteſs of *Marre* accompanied with a number of Ladies took up the Prince, and delivered him to the Duke of *Lennox*, who preſented him to the Ambaſſadors. *Suſſex*, as having the firſt place received him, and carried him in his arms to the Chappel; the reſt marching in their ranks, and followed by the Ladies of Honor, the Miſtriſs Nurſe, and others of inferior note. Before them went the Lord *Hume*, carrying the Ducal Crown, the Lord *Levingſton* carried the Towel or Napkin, the Lord *Seaton* the Baſon, and the Lord *Semple* the Laver. Above the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador there was a Pale or Canopy born by the Lairds of *Ceſford*, *Buclerogh*, *Duddope* and *Traquier*. The Princes train was ſuſtained by the Lords *Sinclar* and *Urqhart*. In this manner they walked toward the Chappel, a guard of the youths of *Edinburgh* well arrayed ſtanding on each ſide of the way, and the Trumpets ſounding. The Baptiſm of Prince *Henry*.

Being entred the Chappel, the King aroſe from his Seat, and received the Ambaſſadors at the door of the Quire; and then was the Prince delivered to the Duke of *Lennox*, who gave him to the Nurſe. After which the Ambaſſadors were conveyed to their places, which were ordered in this manner: upon the Kings right hand a Chair was ſet for the *French* Ambaſſador, but this was empty; next to him the Ambaſſador of *Denmark* was placed; on the left the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador and Lieger did ſit; and next after them the Ambaſſadors of *Brunſwick*, *Mecklenburgh*, and the States; every Chair had a Taſſel-boord covered with fine Velvet, and the Ambaſſador of *England* beſides the others had office-men ſtanding by him to wait.

The Service did then begin, and upon the end thereof the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador aroſe and preſented the Prince to the Biſhop, who was appointed to adminiſter the Sacrament. This was Mr. *David Cunningham* Biſhop of *Aberdene*. The action finiſhed, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Miniſter at *Leith*, had a learned ſpeech in *French* to the Ambaſſadors. After which they returned to the Chappel in the ſame order that they came. Then was the Prince laid upon a Bed of Honor, and his Titles in this ſort proclaimed by the Lion Herauld; *Henry Frederick*, *Knight and Baron of* Renfrew, *Lord of the Iſles*, *Earl of* Carrick, *Duke of* Rothſay, *Prince and* Stewart *of* Scotland. This done, certain pieces of ſilver and gold were caſt forth at a window among the people, and a number of Knights created at night, (for it was in the afternoon that the Baptiſm was miniſtred.) The Ambaſſadors with their train and the Noblemen preſent were royally feaſted, nothing lacking that was required to ſuch a Triumph. The reſt of the month was ſpent in Plays, running at Tilt, and ſuch other exerciſes as might give delight to the Strangers.

Amidſt theſe joys the King, not forgetting his own ſerious affairs, ſent his Secretary Sir *Richard Cockborn* of *Clerkinton* to *England*, to deſire the Queens aſſiſtence in purſuing the Popiſh Lords, according to the many promiſes made by the Lord *Zouche* and Mr. *Bows*, that how ſoon he ſhould enter into action againſt them ſhe An Ambaſſador ſent to *England*.

An. 1594. ſhe would have an honorable conſideration of him and his burthens: And that now the Sentence of Forfeiture being pronounced, it concerned him both in honor and ſafety not to permit their longer ſtay in the Realm. For the ſupport deſired and quantity thereof, he was commanded to follow the Inſtructions given to Sir *Robert Melvil* in his laſt Ambaſſage, and was injoyned to complain of one Mr. *Lock* his entertainment in the Court, who profeſſed himſelf an Agent for *Bothwell*; as likewiſe of Mr. *John Colvil* his publick reſidence in *Twedmouth*. In the laſt points he received ſatisfaction; and ſhortly after Mr. *John Colvil*, wearied of *Bothwells* courſes, by mediation of friends obtained his pardon. But for the matter of monys, divers ſhifts and excuſes were made; only ſome part of the mony was advanced, which was due otherwiſe to the King.

A new Conſpiracy of *Bothwell* and the Popiſh Lords.

In the beginning of *September* the Ambaſſadors were dimitted with many thanks, nor were they ſooner gone than a new Conſpiracy was detected. *Bothwell* having joyned himſelf with the Popiſh Lords, and received a part of the forein Gold ſent to them, did undertake to raiſe ſuch Perturbations in the South parts, as the King ſhould be compelled to relinquiſh the Expedition he intended to the North; and if he could apprehend his Perſon, to carry him to *Blackneſs*, (the Keeper whereof he had corrupted) and there detain him Captive, till they might come and make their own Conditions.

This enterpriſe was concluded in an Hoſtlary at the Church of *Menmure* in *Auguſt*, where *Huntley*, *Arrol*, *Angus*, *Bothwell*, *Achindown*, and divers others convened and ſubſcribed a Bond, which was given in cuſtody to Sir *James Scot* of *Balwary*. By the apprehenſion of Mr. *Allan Orme*, ſervant to *Bothwell*, and ſome Papers that were found with him, the whole purpoſe was diſcovered; which the King cauſed to be publiſhed, that people might ſee what truſt was to be given to *Bothwells* Religion.

Orme and *Cockeram* executed.

This Gentlemans caſe at his dying was greatly pitied, and much intreaty made as well for him as for *James Cockeram* keeper of *Blackneſs*: but the clemency ſhewed in former times to the followers of *Bothwell* was judged ſo hurtful, as the King againſt his nature was compelled to uſe rigor. Thus the two Gentlemen were condemned, and executed in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh* in the beginning of *October*.

Argile ſent with forces againſt the Lords.

Immediately after the Parliament, upon intelligence that thoſe in the Bark which had arrived at *Montroſſe* had brought with them ſome gold for ſupply of the Popiſh Lords, Commiſſion was given to the Earl of *Argile* and *Athol*, the Lord *Forbes* and a number of Barons, to go and expulſe them forth of the Country. But *Argile* being young, and the reſt declining the imployment till his forces or he himſelf ſhould take the fields, nothing was done. Whereupon Mr. *Robert Bruce* taking with him Mr. *James Balfour* made a journy to *Argile*, and partly upon promiſes of recompence from the Queen of *England*, partly upon hopes given that the lands of the Rebels ſhould be at his beſtowing, perſwaded the Earl to undertake the Commiſſion. So gathering his Forces he ſet forward about the end of *September*, and travelling through the Mountains came to *Badenoch* the 27 of that month, where he laid ſiege to the Caſtle of *Ruthven*; but this was by the *Clampherſon* ſo ſtrongly defended as he was forced to leave the Siege, and turn unto the Low-lands for joyning with the Lord *Forbes*, the Lairds of *Buqhain*, *Drum* and *Mackenzes*, who were all preparing to meet him.

The number of forces on both ſides.

In his own company were the Lairds of *Tullibardin*, *Grant*, *Macklain*, *Mackintoſh*, *Clangregory*, and *Mackneil* of *Baray*, with their friends and followers, reckoned in whole to 10000 and above. *Huntley* advertiſed of his coming did reſolve to fight him before his joyning with *Forbes* and thoſe of the Inland, and was thereunto encouraged by the Earl of *Arrol*, who brought with him a ſmall number of five or ſix ſcore at moſt, but reſolute Gentlemen all. They of *Huntleys* part were thought not to exceed 900. With this ſmall number did he adventure, marching the firſt day from *Strathbogie* to *Achindown*, where he encamped the ſecond of *October*. Captain *Ker*, that had ſerved him many years, a man of good experience, being ſent the next morning to try what way *Argile* took, did quickly return, and ſhew that the

the enemy was at hand. The two Earls hereupon dividing their forces, *Arrol* took the leading of the Van-guard, wherein were 300; the reſt abode with *Huntley* and made the Battel. *An.* 1595.

How ſoon the forces came in ſight one of another, *Argile* was ſomewhat troubled, for he was made to believe he ſhould ſee no enemy; yet truſting to his numbers, he commands *Macklain*, who had the leading of his Van, to advance: he himſelf keeping the advantage of the ground, made the Army ſtay on the ſide of a Hill which was full of Moſs and Bogs. *Huntley* carried with him certain Field-pieces, wherewith he plaid upon them in his approach, and therewith put them in great confuſion; for the High-landers caſting themſelves on the ground, as their cuſtom is, could hardly be raiſed ſo long as they heard the noiſe of the Ordnance. *Arrol* perceiving this made to give the Charge; but by reaſon of the ſteep aſcent he was driven to make a little compaſs, turning his ſide to the adverſaries, who by that time were got on foot, and reſuming a new courage did rain upon *Arrol* and his men in their paſſing ſuch a ſhower of Darts and Arrows, that, as they affirmed who were preſent, for the ſpace of a quarter of an hour the light of day was palpably eclipſed. *Achindown* was at this time killed, and *Arrol* dangerouſly wounded in his arm and leg: many had their horſes killed, and were compelled to take them to their feet. The Battel of *Glenlivat.*

Macklain, whoſe numbers were greater, environing *Arrol* and his company, held them ſo engaged betwixt himſelf and *Argile*, as they had been all cut in pieces, if *Huntley* had not with ſpeed come to their relief. But he perceived the danger, and charged with ſuch fury, as the Van and main of both Armies being joyned, they entred into a cruel fight, which continued almoſt two hours. In the end *Argiles* men were diſordered and put to rout. The Earl himſelf labored all he could to rally them again together, but it would not be; ſo amazed they were, as without once looking back, down they went to the other ſide of the Hill with all the ſpeed they could make. *Macklain* with a few Iſles-men ſtood long unto it after the reſt were gone, and retired in good order with a ſmall company he had. *Huntley* purſued the chace to the foot of the Hill, though the ſteepneſs of it be ſuch that a man can ſcarce walk down it on foot; but the eagerneſs made all dangers forgotten. There in a little Burn or Brook called *Alwhannachy* he had his horſe killed, and before he could be again mounted the enemy was gone to another Hill, whereas horſemen could not follow, and ſo the chace ceaſed. In this conflict *Argile* loſt two Couſens, *Archibald Campbel* of *Lochinzel*, his brother *James Campbel*, *Mackneill* of *Baray*, and about 700 common-ſoldiers: on *Huntleys* part, beſides his Uncle *Achindown*, 12 only were killed, but many were hurt and wounded. The Defeat of *Argile.*

This Fight happened on *Thurſday* the 3 of *October* 1594, and is called by the country people *the Battel of Glenlivat*, albeit it was fought on a Hill three quarters of a mile diſtant. The Victory fell happily on *Huntleys* ſide for the country people, who ſhould otherwiſe have been miſerably ſpoiled, if *Argile* with his Forces had prevailed.

The Lord *Forbes* with the Lairds of *Balwhyne* and *Drum*, that were advancing to aſſiſt *Argile*, upon advertiſement of his defeat, and that he was turned back, made after him, thinking to perſuade him return. But by the way a Gentleman of the name of *Irwyn* being killed by the ſhot of a Piſtol in the dark of the night, there entred ſuch a diſtruſt and jealouſie amongſt them, none knowing who was the doer, as preſently they ſeparated and went home.

The King had the news of *Argiles* Defeat brought him to *Dundee*, which made him haſten his journy to the North. The 16 of *October* he came to *Aberdene*, where counſel was taken for demoliſhing the Houſes of *Strathbogy*, *Slains* and *Newton*. In this ſervice the Earl of *Marſhal* was imployed, having ſome Companies of horſe and foot allowed him till the ſame was accompliſhed. The Kings Expedition to the North.

Huntley and *Arrol* during that time did lurk in *Sutherland*, thinking how ſoon the King returned South to come back into their Countrys; but the Duke of *Lennox* being left Lieutenant in thoſe parts, by the counſel and aſſiſtence of thoſe that were appointed to attend him, put them to ſuch extremity, as they made offer to depart forth of the Realm, and laid ſurety neither to return without his Majeſties The Lords give ſurety for departing the Realm, *&c.*

An. 1595. licence, nor to practiſe againſt Religion and the State whilſt they ſtayed abroad. It was debated a while, whether or not ſuch a Capitulation might ſtand with the Kings Honor; and his Majeſty being thereupon conſulted, in regard of the many difficulties that preſſed him in the time, and that it made for the quietneſs of the Kingdom to have them put away, the ſurety offered was accepted: which done, the Duke of *Lennox*, having ſtayed in thoſe parts three months, returned about the third of *February* to *Edinburgh*.

Bothwel flieth into *France*.

Bothwel now was in miſerable plight, being hated of the Queen of *England* for his combining with the Popiſh Lords, Excommunicated by the Church, and forſaken of his fellows, eſpecially Mr. *John Colvil*, who had followed him in all his Troubles, and knew the places of his reſſet; for he had made his peace, and (as the rumor went) betrayed *Hercules Stewart*, *Bothwels* Brother, who the ſame time was executed publickly in the ſtreet of *Edinburgh*. Theſe things did ſo increaſe his fears as, not knowing whom to truſt, he ſtole away privately to *France*. The King hearing that he was gone, and had taken land at *New-haven* in *Normandy*, ſent a Gentleman to the *French* King, to demand him as one who was declared a Traitor; and if that was denied, to deſire that he might be baniſhed *France*. The anſwer of the *French* King was, *That he ſhould give him no Countenance; but ſince he had taken his refuge thither, he could not but ſuffer him enjoy the free air of his Country*. Some months he remained there, till either wearied of the bad entertainment he found, or, as it was ſaid, for challenging a Gentleman to combate againſt the Kings Edict, he was forced to quit thoſe parts and fly into *Spain*: from thence he went to *Naples*, where he lived in a poor eſtate unto his death, which happened ſome years after the King his going into *England*.

His Brother executed.

Bothwel ſhifteth to *Spain* and *Naples*.

The Bond betwixt the Popiſh Lords and *Bothwel* exhibited.

How ſoon *Bothwel* was gone, all his followers did ſue for Pardon. Sir *James Scot* of *Balwery* offering to exhibit the Bond made at the Church of *Menmure* betwixt *Bothwel* and the Popiſh Lords, which he had in cuſtody, was brought before the Council, and having produced the ſame, laid open all their Plots. By his depoſition it appeared that Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot* was the principal worker of that Agreement. Whereupon the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* were called, and the Bonds ſhewed unto them, bearing a mutual concurrence in all things, Religion not excepted. Whereupon they were deſired to pronounce *Spot* Excommunicated, as one that had made defection from the Truth, and was otherwiſe ſuſpected of hanious crimes: But they excuſing themſelves, the Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly were called to meet at *Striveling*, where after ſome debating, the Sentence was pronounced againſt him. *Balwery*, after a few days impriſoned, was ſet at liberty and remitted, but never proſpered after that time, and ruined his Houſe utterly, for an enſample to all that will be medling with Factious and Seditious Rebels.

Sir *James Douglas* of *Spot* excommunicated.

An. 1595. An Aſſembly of the Church at *Montroſs*.

The year following an Aſſembly of the Church was kept at *Montroſs* in the month of *June*, where the Commiſſioners for the King did urge theſe Articles. Firſt, *Whoſoever did meddle or practiſe in any Treaſonable enterpriſe againſt his Majeſties Perſon and Eſtate, being found and declared culpable by Law, they ſhould likewiſe incur the ſentence of Excommunication, that ſo there might be an inſeparable union betwixt the two Swords*. Secondly, *That no Excommunication ſhould be pronounced at the appetite of particular men, but that a ſufficient number of the Church ſhould be firſt aſſembled, and the ſame determined by publick conſent*. Thirdly, *That none ſhould be Excommunicated for Civil cauſes, crimes of light importance, or particular wrongs of Miniſters, leſt the Cenſure ſhould fall into contempt, and become like the Popes Curſing*. Fourthly, *That no ſummary Excommunication ſhould be thenceforth uſed, but that lawful Citation of parties ſhould go before in all cauſes whatſoever*.

Articles ſent from the King to the Aſſembly.

The Aſſemblies anſwer.

To the firſt the Aſſembly agreed, with the clauſe *Legitima cognitione Eccleſiaſtica præeunte*. To the ſecond they likewiſe condeſcended. But to the third and fourth they anſwered, that thoſe being Points of great weight, and craved a mature deliberation, could not on the ſudden be determined; and ſo continued the reſolution thereof to the next Aſſembly, diſcharging in the mean time any ſummary Excommunication to be uſed, with this exception, *Niſi ſalus Eccleſiæ periclitetur*.

The

The exception displeased the King, for he thought it would serve the turbulent sort for a colour to all their proceedings. *An.* 1595.

But there fell out in the mean time a business which made all these things be forgotten. The Queen, moved by some that envied the Earl of *Marre* his credit, laboured to have the Prince her Son in her own custody, and had drawn the Chancellor and divers of the Council to promise their assistence. Advertisement given of this to the King, who was then at *Falkland*, he came to the Queen at *Halirudhouse*, and inhibiting any of the Council to come towards him till he should call them, dealt so with the Queen, that he diverted her from that course, and made her go and remain at *Striveling*. How soon she was gone, calling the Chancellor and such of the Council as were suspected to have suffered her in those conceits, he shewed himself much displeased, and chiding them bitterly followed the Queen to *Striveling*; where he remained not long, but, returning to *Falkland*, he left to the Earl of *Marre* a Warrant written with his own hand, and conceived in this form. *My Lord of* Marre, *because in the surety of my Son consisteth my surety, and I have concredited unto you the charge of his keeping upon the trust I have of your honesty, this I command you out of my own mouth, * being in the company of those I like; otherwise for any charge or necessity that can come from me you shall not deliver him. And in case God call me at any time, see that neither for the Queen nor Estates their pleasure you deliver him till he be* 18 *years of age, and that he command you himself.* Striveling *the* 24 *of* July 1595. This Warrant, as it shewed the Kings displeasure at those that had combined in the Plots, so it declared the great trust he put in the Nobleman.

The Queen seeketh to have the Prince in custody.

The King diverteth her from that course.

The Kings Letter to the Earl of *Marre* for receiving the Prince.

Shortly after the Chancellor, taking to heart the Kings offence, contracted a hearty sickness at his house of *Lawder*, and sending his Cousin the Secretary to the King, who remained then at *Hamilton*, did by him excuse the dealing in that matter, and with a solemn protestation of his Fidelity in all his Majesties services, seriously commended his Lady, children and friends, now that he was to end his life, to his Majesties protection. The King was much troubled with the news, and wrote unto him with his own hand the Letter following. *Chancellor, how sorry I am of these news I leave it to your self to judge; I was never a dissembler of my affections. And yet I trust that God will not spoil me of you so untimely. Therefore will pray you, so far as you may, with a valiant heart resist the assaults of your sickness, hoping in the goodness of my fortune that God will reserve you yet to me, as* Hezekiah *was to his people; for the necessity between Prince and subject is reciproque: nor can any sickness, how heavy soever it be, take away the life, if God cut not the threds thereof. As to your suits, if God calls you, I need no remembrance: for since I made you a pattern of my constant Favour during your life (as your self hath oftime said) I am much more bound of Princely duty to make your Wife and posterity, that bears your image, a vive representation of my thankful memory. And to comfort you in this, remember what I have done to the Duke, and my Lady* Huntley, *for their Fathers sake. This may assure you, that in case of the worst (which God forbid) your thoughts shall be prevented herein by my thankful behavior to them: and for your Cousin the Secretary, he shall be the better at my hand in losing you. But I green to hear better news: And if time and distance of place could have permitted me in any way, I should not have spared to have carried my own message my self. God send you your health, and keep you to me and to your Native Country.*

The Chancellor contracteth sickness and dieth.

The Kings Letter to the Chancellor.

This shewed in what account the King held him: and in truth he deserved nothing less; for he was a man of rare parts, and of a deep wit, learned, full of courage, and most faithful to his King and Master. In that last business which the Queen went about, of taking the Prince from the Earl of *Marre*, he was consenting; (for the two Noblemen had their private emulations, but it was ever with a reservation of his Majesties pleasure.) No man did ever carry himself in his place more wisely, nor sustain it more courageously against his enemies, than he did. Being visited in his sickness by Mr. *Robert Bruce* and the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, he expressed a great contempt of the world and of the vanities of it, lamenting that he had not done the good which he would and might have done in his place,

The Chancellor his qualities.

An. 1595. being impeded, as he ſaid, by the malice of his adverſaries, who were ever plotting his death and ruine. Two months he continued under that languiſhing ſickneſs, and ended his days moſt happily the 3 of *October*, 1595. The King did great lament his death, and honored him with this Epitaph.

His Epitaph written by the King.

Thou paſſenger that ſpies with gazing eyes
This Trophie ſad of Deaths triumphant Dart,
Conſider when this outward Tombe thou ſees,
How rare a man leaves here his earthly part.
His wiſdom and his uprightneſs of heart,
His piety, his practice of our State,
His quick Engine ſo verſt in every Art,
As equally not all were in debate.
Thus juſtly hath his death brought forth of late
An heavy grief in Prince and Subjects all
That Vertue love, and Vice do bear at hate,
Though vitious men rejoyces at his fall.
So for himſelf moſt happy doth he die,
Though for his Prince it moſt unhappy be.

Others for all this ſpared not to expreſs their malice in Libels and Rhythms after his death; ſome whereof were caſt in the Kings Chamber at *Linlithgow* and other places: but as the Authors were not known, ſo were the Rhythms deſpiſed and contemned by all good men. His Body was ſome days after conveyed to *Hadington*, and ſolemnly interred in the Sepulchre of his fathers.

Great Dearth of Corns, and great bloodſhed in the Country.

This year was by the vulgar people reckoned among the ill years, becauſe of the Dearth and ſcarcity of Corns, which the abundance of winds in the Harveſt-time had cauſed: yet for the Bloodſhed and ſlaughters committed in all quarters of the Country was it more juſtly to be ſo accounted. For in the South parts the *Johnſtons* and *Maxwels* had a bloody conflict, wherein divers were killed; the greateſt loſs falling upon the *Maxwels* that went from the Weſt parts beſides *Glaſgow* to aſſiſt their friends in the South.

David Forreſter Citizen of *Striveling* treacherouſly betrayed.

In the Iles and High-lands were likewiſe great Troubles: nor was the In-country more quiet, bloods and ſlaughters daily falling out in every place. Among which none was more odious than the ſlaughter of *David Forreſter*, Citizen of *Striveling*, killed as he was returning from *Edinburgh* by ſome that lay in wait for his life. The Lairds of *Airth* and *Dunnypace* were thought to have hounded out the committers, upon a ſpleen conceived againſt the Gentleman for the credit he had with his Maſter the Earl of *Marre*: for no other quarrel could be pretended. The Nobleman, taking this greatly to heart, cauſed to bring the body of his ſervant to *Linlithgow* (for he was killed nigh to *Linlithgow*) and with his whole friendſhip conveyed the ſame to *Striveling* there to be interred, carrying along the pourtraict of the dead with the wounds he had received in a white ſheet, to move the beholders to a great deteſtation of the fact. The Corps buried, and the Earl following the courſe of Law, the Lords *Levingſton* and *Elphinſton* did party the Committers. And though the King by his Proclamation did prohibit the aſſiſting either of the purſuit or defenders, commanding Juſtice to be done, nothing could take effect in that troubleſome time; ſo powerful was the combination of parties. But that which by the ordinary way of Juſtice could not as then be required, we have ſeen ſince viſibly puniſhed in the fall and ruine of thoſe Families, for a leſſon to all men to fly and abhor the ſhedding of innocent blood.

A Commiſſion to eight of the Council to rule the Exchequer.

The year preceding the King had directed, as we ſhewed, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clerkington* his Secretary to *England*, and amongſt other inſtructions willed him to urge the payment of the monys which the Lord *Zouch* and Mr. *Bows* the Queens Ambaſſadors had often promiſed. Wherein finding nothing but delays, and his neceſſities daily growing, he reſolved to look to his own Eſtate at home, and order his Revenues to the beſt profit. For this effect he made choice of

eight

eight persons to rule the affairs of the Exchequer. These were *Alexander* Lord *Vrqhart*, President of the College of Justice, *Walter* Commendator of *Blantire*, Lord Privy-Seal, Mr. *David Carnegy* of *Colluthie*, Mr. *John Lindesay* Parson of *Menmure*, and *James Elphingston* of *Innernoghty*, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* of *Dunmany*, Mr. *John Sken* Clerk of Register, all Senators of the College of Justice, and Mr. *Peter Young* of *Seaton* his Elemosynar. *An.* 1595.

To these eight or any five of them was intrusted 'the full and free administrati- The tenor of the Commission.
'on of the whole Rents and Duties pertaining to the Officers of Controllery and 'Collectory, resigned and committed by the four Officers in his Majesties hands, 'with power to deprive and discharge all inferior Chamberlains, Under-collectors, Customers, Secretaries, Intrometters whatsoever with any of the said 'Rents, all inferior Clerks of the said Offices; and to appoint new Clerks, Receivers and Intrometters with the same (excepting only the Office of the 'Clerk of Register his fees, privileges, and other commodities belonging to him 'or any of his Predecessors) to hear and exact account of Steward, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, Provost of Burghs, Customes, Clerks of Cocquet, Searchers, Chamberlains, Receivers, Factors and Intrometters with the Farms, Males, Profits and Duties, Caves, Customes, Fishings, Cole-pits, Parks, Steadings, 'Orchards, and other Rents of the property annexed of old and of new, or unannexed, and belonging any way to the Patrimony of the Crown; as also to 'hear the unmade accounts of the Treasurer and his Deputies, the General and 'Warden of the Coin, and Taskmen and laborers of the Mines and Metals, the 'Collectors of the Taxation, the Master of the Wardrobe, Jewels and movables, 'the Master of the work, the munition and plenishing of Castles, the Monks 'portions, the payment of the Guard and men of War, the Rents of Colleges, 'Hospitals, Schools and Students, the common good of Burghs, the Dowry of 'whole monys appertaining to the King, as well within the Realm as coming 'from other parts, and to allow or refuse allowance thereof as they should find 'meet: with power likewise to appoint and set Fines and Penalties for offences, 'to make and set down the prices of Wines, Victuals and Corns yearly, to put 'an order to his Majesties house and Esquiry and Stable, and make provision 'therefore; to repair the decayed Customs, appoint the order of uplifting the 'same, and to rowpe and set them to the best profit; to consider the state of the 'present Coin, and therein direct what they should think requisite; to assist the 'Treasurer and the Compositors in the expeding of Signatures, and that without 'their advice nothing should pass; to examine the diligence of Sheriffs and other 'inferior Judges with their Officers, and negligence; to correct and punish the 'faults of Officers of Arms; to compone, transact or uplift the Escheats of persons denounced to the Horn; and generally to do and perform all things proper 'to the Exchequer: they enjoying such places in Council and Parliament, as the 'Officers thereof had in former times, with all the power, privileges, honors and 'immunities that belonged thereto, either by Acts of Parliament or by Consuetude of the Realm.

The King did further promise *in verbo Principis* 'not to joyn any more to the The King his promise to the Commissioners.
'present Commission at any time hereafter; and in case a place fell void by de'cease of any of the present Commissioners, to receive and admit none but by 'advice and consent of those that remained alive; as also not to sign any Letter or 'Signature concerning the disposition of any of the Rents of property, collectory, 'or new augmentations, confirmatives or ratifications of any former gifts, dispositions, pensions, or investments, or licences for transporting of forbidden goods, 'unless the same were first heard, allowed and subscribed by the said Lords, or 'any five of them, sitting in Council by way of Action, Exception or Reply, notwithstanding the Seals were appended thereto. The Keepers whereof were dis'charged to append any Signet or Seal, except the Letters or Signatures were 'subscribed in manner above rehearsed, under the pain of losing their Offices. 'Moreover it was declared that the said Lords should have power to direct Letters 'of Horning, Poynding and Caption upon their own Acts and Decretes; and that

An. 1596. 'no ſuſpenſion of any charges for ingathering any part of the Patrimony ſhould 'paſs, except in Exchequer or Seſſion, three of the ſaid Lords ſubſcribing the ſame.

The Commiſſioners make faith.

The Lords again made faith, 'That the next unto God and good Conſcience 'they ſhould in all things reſpect his Majeſtie's weal, honor, and advancement of 'his Revenue, and neither for tenderneſs of blood, commodity to themſelves, awe 'or fear of any perſon, conſent to the diſpoſition of any part of the Patrimony 'whereby his Majeſtie's profits might be diminiſhed; and that they ſhould not give 'their conſents ſeverally, but being aſſembled, at leaſt five of them, in Exchequer; 'under proteſtation, that the accepting of the ſaid Commiſſion ſhould not be a 'reaſon of declining them in Action that concerned his Majeſty, ſeeing they did 'neither receive fee, nor were intromeetters with any part of the Rents, but only 'directed the Receivers and Collectors of the ſame.

Exception taken at the ampleneſs of the Commiſſion.

This Commiſſion approved by the Lords of Council was publiſhed at the market-Croſs of *Edinburgh* the 12 of *January* 1595. divers excepting at the ampleneſs of it, and ſaying, *That the King had left nothing to himſelf but the naked Title of a King, and put all his power and means in the hands of others, ſo as ſubjects were to expect no benefit nor reward from him.* The Courtiers, they eſpecially of the Bed-chamber, did grudge exceedingly, that all occaſion to do good to themſelves or their friends was this way cut off. Nor was it long before theſe Commiſſioners became extremely diſliked, partly for their ſtrict dealing with the ſubjects, and partly for drawing all the Offices into their own hands. Beginning was made at Mr. *David Macgill* Advocate, whom they preſſed to dimit and reſign his Office by reaſon of his age and imbecillity, as they pretended; and when by no perſwaſion he could be moved unto it, they did aſſociate with him in office Mr. *Thomas Hamilton*, one of their own number; which bred him ſuch a grief, as ſhortly after he ended his days. Next they fell upon the Maſter of *Glammes* Treaſurer, and his Deputy Sir *Robert Melvill*, and by examining their Accompts found them liable in ſuch ſums to the King, as to obtain a *Quietus eſt* they were glad to reſign the Treaſurer, which was beſtowed on the Prior of *Blantire*. Then did they labor the Secretary Sir *Richard Cockburne* to reſign his place, and exchange it with the office of Privy-Seal, which *Blantire* had dimitted in favor of Mr. *John Lindeſay*. This was eaſily effected, the Gentleman not liking to contend or fall in queſtion with them. The Office of the Collectory, reſigned by the Provoſt of *Linclowden*, was given to Mr. *James Elphinſton*. The Preſident they intended to make Chancellor; but to this the King would not condeſcend, knowing how he ſtood affected in Religion, and that his preferment to that chief place would open the mouths of the Miniſters, and raiſe a clamor in the Country. Theſe proceedings did work them much hatred, and (as is the lot of thoſe that rule in Eſtates) whatſoever was amiſs they carried the blame, albeit in many things they were innocent.

The Commiſſioners poſſeſs themſelves with Offices of Eſtate.

An. 1596. The next year begun with a Trouble in the Borders, which was like to have deſtroyed the Peace betwixt the two Realms, and aroſe upon this occaſion. The Lord *Scroop* being then Warden of the Weſt-Marches of *England*, and the Laird of *Baclengh* having the charge of *Lidiſdale*, they ſent their Deputies to keep a day of Truce for redreſs of ſome ordinary matters. The place of meeting was at the *Dayholme* of *Kerſhop*, where a ſmall Brook divideth *England* from *Scotland*, and *Lidiſdale* from *Baw* Caſtle. There met as Deputy for the Laird of *Baclengh Robert Scot* of *Hayninge*; and for the Lord *Scroop*, a Gentleman within the Weſt-Wardenry, called Mr. *Salkeld*. Theſe two, after Truce taken and proclaimed, as the cuſtom was, by ſound of Trumpet, met friendly, and upon mutual redreſs of ſuch wrongs as were then complained of, parted in good terms, each of them taking his way homewards. Meanwhile it happened one *William Armſtrong*, commonly called *Will* of *Kinmouth*, to be in company with the *Scottiſh* Deputy, againſt whom the *Engliſh* had a quarrel for many wrongs he had committed, as he was indeed a notorious Thief. This man having taken his leave of the *Scots* Deputy, and riding down the River of *Liddell* on the *Scottiſh* ſide towards his own houſe, was purſued by the *Engliſh* that eſpied him from the other ſide of the River, and after a chaſe of three or four miles taken priſoner, and brought back to the *Engliſh* Deputy, who carried him away to the Caſtle of *Carlile*. The

William Armſtrong, called *Will of Kinmouth*, taken priſoner.

The Laird of *Baclengh* complaining of the breach of Truce, (which was always taken from the time of meeting unto the next day at Sun-rising) wrote to Mr. *Salkeld*, and craved redreſs. He excuſed himſelf by the abſence of the Lord *Scroop*. Whereupon *Baclengh* ſent to the Lord *Scroop*, and deſired the Priſoner might be ſet at liberty without any Bond or condition, ſeeing he was unlawfully taken. *Scroop* anſwered, that he could do nothing in the matter, it having ſo happened, without a direction from the Queen and Council of *England*, conſidering the man was ſuch a Malefactor. *Baclengh* loth to inform the King of what was done, leſt it might have bred ſome miſliking betwixt the Princes, dealt with Mr. *Bowes* the Reſident Ambaſſador of *England* for the Priſoner's liberty; who wrote very ſeriouſly to the Lord *Scroop* in that buſineſs, adviſing him to ſet the man free, and not to bring the matter to a farther hearing. But no anſwer was returned: the matter thereupon was imparted to the King, and the Queen of *England* ſolicited by Letters to give direction for his liberty; yet nothing was obtained. Which *Baclengh* perceiving, and apprehending both the King, and himſelf as the King's Officer, to be touched in honor, he reſolved to work the Priſoners relief by the beſt means he could. *An.* 1596. The Laird of *Baclengh* complaineth of the breach of Truce.

And upon intelligence that the Caſtle of *Carlile*, wherein the Priſoner was kept, was ſurpriſable, he imployed ſome truſty perſons to take a view of the Poſtern-gate, and meaſure the height of the Wall, which he meant to ſcale by Ladders; and if thoſe failed, to break through the Wall with ſome iron inſtruments, and force the Gates. This done ſo cloſely as he could, he drew together ſome 200 horſe, aſſigning the place of meeting at the Tower of *Morton*, ſome ten miles from *Carlile*, an hour before ſun-ſet. With this company paſſing the water of *Esk* about the falling, two hours before day he croſſed *Eden* beneath *Carlile* bridge, (the water through the rain that had fallen being thick) and came to the *Sacery*, a plain under the Caſtle: There making a little halt at the ſide of a ſmall Bourn which they call *Cadage*, he cauſed 80 of the company to light from their horſes, and take the Ladders and other inſtruments which he had prepared with them. He himſelf accompanying them to the foot of the Wall, cauſed the Ladders to be ſet to it; which proving too ſhort, he gave order to uſe the other inſtruments for opening the Wall nigh the Poſtern, and finding the buſineſs like to ſucceed, retired to the reſt whom he had left on horſeback, for aſſuring thoſe that entred upon the Caſtle againſt any eruption from the Town. With ſome little labor a breach was made for ſingle men to enter, and they who firſt went in brake open the Poſtern for the reſt. The watchmen and ſome few the noiſe awaked made a little reſtraint, but they were quickly repreſſed and taken Captive. After which they paſſed to the Chamber wherein the Priſoner was kept, and having brought him forth, ſounded a Trumpet, which was a ſignal to them without that the enterpriſe was performed. My Lord *Scroop* and Mr. *Salkeld* were both within the Houſe, and to them the Priſoner cried a good night. The Captives taken in the firſt encounter were brought to *Baclengh*, who preſently returned them to their Maſter, and would not ſuffer any ſpoil or booty, as they term it, to be carried away: he had ſtreightly forbidden to break open any door but that where the Priſoner was kept, though he might have made prey of all the goods within the Caſtle, and taken the Warden himſelf Captive; for he would have it ſeen that he did intend nothing but the reparation of his Majeſties Honor. By this time the Priſoner was brought forth, the Town had taken the Alarm, the Drums were beating, the Bells ringing, and a Beacon put on the top of the Caſtle, to give warning to the Country. Whereupon *Baclengh* commanded thoſe that entred the Caſtle and the Priſoner to horſe, and marching again by the *Sacery*, made to the River at the Stony bank; on the other ſide whereof certain were aſſembled to ſtop his paſſage: but he cauſing ſound the Trumpet took the River, day being then broken; and they chuſing to give him way, he retired in order through the *Grahams* of *Esk*, (men at that time of great power and his unfriends) and came back into *Scottiſh* ground two hours after Sun-riſing, and ſo homewards. No ſatisfaction made, *Baclengh* ſets the Priſoner at liberty. The Caſtle of *Carlile* ſurpriſed, and the Priſoner freed.

This fell out the 13 of *April* 1596. The Queen of *England* having notice ſent her The Queen of *England* greatly offended with the enterpriſe.

An. 1596. her of what was done ſtormed not a little: One of her chief Caſtles ſurpriſed, a Priſoner taken forth of the hands of the Warden and carried away, ſo far within *England*, ſhe eſteemed a great affront. The Lieger Mr. *Bows* in a frequent Convention kept at *Edinburgh* the 22 of *May* did, as he was charged, in a long Oration aggravate the hainouſneſs of the fact, concluding that Peace could not longer continue betwixt the two Realms, unleſs *Bacleugh* were delivered in *England* to be puniſhed at the Queens pleaſure. *Bacleugh* compeiring and charged with the fact made anſwer, *That he went not into* England *with intention to aſſault any of the Queens Houſes, or to do wrong to any of her Subjects, but only to relieve a ſubject of* Scotland *unlawfully taken, and more unlawfully detained: That in the time of a general aſſurance, in a day of Truce, he was taken Priſoner againſt all order, neither did he attempt his relief till redreſs was refuſed: and That he had carried the buſineſs in ſuch a moderate manner, as no Hoſtility was committed, nor the leaſt wrong offered to any within the Caſtle. Yet was he content, according to the ancient Treaties obſerved betwixt the two Realms whenas mutual injuries were alledged, to be tried by the Commiſſioners that it ſhould pleaſe their Majeſties to appoint, and ſubmit himſelf to that which they ſhould decern.* The Convention eſteeming the Anſwer reaſonable did acquaint the Ambaſſador therewith, and offered to ſend Commiſſioners to the Borders with all diligence to treat with ſuch as the Queen ſhould be pleaſed to appoint for her part.

This matter debated in Counci.

The trouble quieted by *Bacleugh* in *England*.

But ſhe not ſatisfied with the anſwer refuſed to appoint any Commiſſioners; whereupon the Council of *England* did renew the Complaint in *July* thereafter, and the buſineſs being of new agitated, it was reſolved of as before, and that the ſame ſhould be remitted to the trial of Commiſſioners: the King proteſting, *That he might with great reaſon crave the delivery of the Lord* Scroop *for the injury committed by his Deputy; it being leſs favorable to take a Priſoner, than relieve him that is unlawfully taken: yet for the continuing of Peace he would forbear to do it, and omit nothing on his part that could be deſired either in equity, or by the laws of friendſhip.* The Borders in the mean time making daily Incurſions one upon another filled all their parts with Trouble, the *Engliſh* being continually put to the worſe; neither were they made quiet till, for ſatisfying the Queen, the Laird of *Bacleugh* was firſt committed in S. *Andrews*, and afterwards entered in *England*, where he remained not long.

Col. *Stewart* deſigned Lieutenant for the Iſles.

At the ſame time, for bringing the Iſles to obedience, Colonel *Stewart* was imployed to levy 1000 men, every Shire furniſhing 20 horſemen and 30 foot, or ſo much money as would ſuſtain them, allowing the horſemen 24 pounds monthly, and the foot 12 pounds, beſides the ſupply of the free Burghs. Theſe Companies were appointed to meet at *Dumbarton* the 20 of *Auguſt*, for aiding the King or his Lieutenant for the ſpace of 40 days, according to the cuſtoms, and when the days were come were commanded to follow the Colonel, as deſigned Lieutenant aſſigned by the King. But upon the bruit of this Expedition the principals of the Iſles did all ſubmit themſelves, offering obedience to appear before the King at the time his Majeſty ſhould appoint: ſo that Expedition ceaſed, the Colonel going no farther than *Ila*, where he remained a few days, and took aſſurance for their appearance.

An Aſſembly of the Church at *Edinburgh*.

In the *March* preceding the Aſſembly of the Church convened at *Edinburgh*, for conſulting upon the dangers threatned to Religion by the Invaſion of the *Spaniard*, which was then generally noiſed. Some brethren directed to lay open the perils to his Majeſty, returned with this anſwer; *That albeit there was no great cauſe to fear any ſuch Invaſion at that time, yet they ſhould do well to give their advice as if the danger were at hand, which would ſerve when neceſſity did require.*

A ſearch of the cauſes of the preſent fear of Invaſion.

The Aſſembly upon this thought meet to enter into conſideration both of the Dangers and Remedies; and firſt to enquire upon the Cauſes that had provoked God to threaten the Realm with that tyrannous Nation, to the end the ſame might be removed: then to deliberate how by ordinary lawful means the Enemy ſhould be reſiſted. The Cauſes they condeſcended to be Sins of all Eſtates, and eſpecially the ſins of the Miniſtery; which they held beſt ſhould be penned and drawn to

certain

certain Heads, that the Corruptions being laid open, the Remedies might be the better provided. For this work ſome of the brethren were named and ſet apart, who after a day or two preſented in writing a number of Articles touching the Corruption of Miniſters as well in their Offices as in their Lives and Manners; the Offences in the Kings Houſe, in the Court and in the Judgment-ſeats; the defection and Faults commune to all Eſtates: and the Remedies which in their opinion were fit to be uſed. *An.* 1596.

The Aſſembly allowing their labors, and acknowledging their own guiltineſs in that which concerned themſelves, ordained a day of Humiliation to be kept on *Tueſday* the week following by the Miniſters that were there preſent, for reconciling themſelves to God, and making up a new Covenant for the better diſcharge of their duties. A new Covenant made by the Miniſters for abiding to the profeſſion of the Truth, and living according to the ſame.

This is the Covenant that by ſome is ſo often objected, and ſaid to be violated by thoſe that gave obedience to the Canons of the Church, albeit in it there is not a word or ſyllable that ſounds either to confirming of the Church-government then in uſe, or to the rejecting of that which ſince hath been eſtabliſhed. But when other Arguments fail them, ſomewhat muſt be ſaid to entertain the conceipts of the popular. By this Covenant all did bind themſelves to abide in the profeſſion of the Truth, and to walk according to the ſame, as God ſhould enable them. But for the rules of Policy or Ceremonies ſerving to good order or decency, let inſpection be taken of the Regiſter which is extant, and it ſhall plainly appear, that at the time there was not ſo much as any mention thereof made.

But to proceed: The advices they gave for reſiſting the practices of the Enemy were, *That all who had kithed in action with the Popiſh Lords ſhould enter their perſons in Ward, till aſſurance was given that they ſhould neither keep intelligence with the Rebels, nor joyn with them in caſe they did return into the Countrey. That the rents and livings of the Rebels ſhould be upliſted for entertainment of Soldiers, and ſupporting other neceſſary affairs. That in every Pariſh Captains ſhould be choſen for the muſtering and training of men in arms, and ſome Commanders in every Shire appointed for convening the Country at needful occaſions. Laſtly, that they who were Sureties for the good behaviour of the Rebels without the Realm ſhould be called, and to pay the ſums contained in their Bonds.* Advice for reſiſting the enemies of Religion.

This advice preſented to the King went much againſt his mind; for his deſire was to have the baniſhed Lords reclaimed and brought to obedience, which he eſteemed to be the greateſt aſſurance both of his own peace and the Countries quiet: therefore did he only anſwer, That *if it could be proved that the Lords ſince their departing from* Scotland *had trafficked with Strangers to the prejudice of Religion or State, they ſhould be uſed with all extremity; but otherwiſe neither could their Cautioners be convicted, nor would he change the courſe which he had kept with their Wives and Children.* The King deſireth to have the Noblemen reclaimed.

Not long before this Aſſembly the King had communicated his mind to Mr. *Robert Bruce* touching that buſineſs, hoping that by the ſway he carried in thoſe Meetings ſome ſuch Propoſitions as tended to the reclaiming of the baniſhed Lords ſhould have been made by the Aſſembly; but finding his expectation not anſwered, he brake to him the matter of new, and ſhewed *how greatly it concerned his Eſtate to have them reduced and called home: That the Queen of* England *was grown old, and if any ſhould after her death withſtand his Title, he would have need of his Subjects aſſiſtence: And that having ſo many Nobles exiled, he would be leſs reſpected of Strangers, and be a great deal weaker at home. If he could therefore win them to acknowledge their offence, and ſo embrace the true Religion, (without which they ſhould never get any favor from him) he believed the courſe would not be diſallowed of wiſe men and thoſe that loved him. Always he deſired to know his judgment, for as yet he had not ſhewed his mind in that matter to any perſon.* He communicated his mind with Mr. *Robert Bruce.*

Mr. *Robert Bruce*, being as then in great favor and credit with the King, ſaid 'that he did think well of his Majeſties Reaſons; and that he ſhould not do a-'miſs to bring home *Angus* and *Arrol*, ſo as they would conform themſelves in 'Religion. But that *Huntley* could not be pardoned, being ſo hated as he was of Mr. *Robert Bruce* his anſwer and advice.

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An. 1596. The King reasoneth with him to the contrary of his advice.

the subjects. The King reasoning to the contrary, 'That if *Huntley* be willing to 'satisfie the Church and fulfil the Conditions which he would require of him, he 'saw no reason why he should not be received as well as the other two; and as he 'could not but know that his care of that man was great; and he having married 'his Cousin, whom he accounted his own Daughter, so was he the man of greatest 'power, and one that could stand him in most stead. Therefore desired Mr. *Robert* 'to think of that matter, and after a day or two give him his advice in it. At the next meeting being enquired what he had thought of the business, he answered as before, saying, That *Huntleys* return would be ill interpreted, and offend all good men. The King repeating the former Reasons, and adding, That if he brought one home he would bring them all; he replied, *I see, Sir, that your resolution is to take* Huntley *in favor; which if you do, I will oppose, and you shall chuse whether you will lose* Huntley *or me; for us both you cannot keep.* This saucy reply the King did never forget, and it was this which lost him the favor, which formerly he carried with the King.

Mr. *Roberts* saucy Reply to the King.

Shortly after the Lords exiled return.

The exiled Lords not finding that respect given unto them in forein parts which they expected, took a resolution to return, and to use all means for reconciling themselves to the King and Church. And that their return might be the more secret, they separated one from another. *Arrol* taking his journey homewards through the United Provinces was intercepted, and delivered into the hands of Mr. *Robert Danielston* Conservator of the *Scottish* priviledges, to be kept by him till the King should be advertised. But whether by the Conservators knowledge, or otherwise, he made an escape and came into the country. *Huntley* came some months before, and lurking secretly in the North, sent a supplication to his Majesty and the Convention which met at *Falkland* the 12 of *August*, the effect whereof was, that he might be permitted to return, and remain within any part of the Country his Majesty should appoint, he giving sufficient surety for his quiet and peaceable behavior.

The Earl of *Arrol* intercepted in the Low Countrys, escapeth.

A Convention at *Falkland*.

The Kings judgment of *Huntleys* Supplication.

The King having heard the supplication, took occasion to say, 'That one of 'the two courses was needful to be followed with him and the rest that were in his 'condition; that is, either utterly to exterminate them, their race, and posterity, 'or then upon their humble acknowledgement of their offence, and surety made 'for the state of Religion, to receive them in favor; for to continue in the condi'tion wherein they presently were, could not stand either with the safety of Reli'gion, or with his own Honor and estate. The first course, said he, hath the own 'difficulties, and will not be performed without great trouble: and for my self, 'so long as there is any hope that they may be reduced to the profession of the 'Truth, I desire not their destruction, but like rather to extend my clemency to'wards them; which I believe is the mind of all good and peaceable men. As to 'the present offer made by *Huntley*, I do not think it well general, and to no pur'pose; therefore by your advice I would have particular Conditions condescend'ed upon, such as may serve for security of Religion, mine own Honor, and the 'Tranquillity of the Country: such Conditions being offered, and security found 'for performance, I should then think that licence might be granted him to return, 'he being confined in such a part of the Country as should be thought most con'venient. The Convention, approving his Majesties judgement, resolved upon this as the fittest course, remitting the Conditions to be formed by his Highness and the Lords of Council.

A Convention at *Dunfermling*.

September the same Conclusion was ratified at another Convention of the Estates at *Dunfermling*, and the Baptism of the Princess, who was born the 19 of *August*, appointed to be at *Halirudhouse* the 28 of *November* next.

The Commissioners for the Church upon this report of the Lords meet at *Endinburgh*.

How soon this their return into the Country was known, and that such an Act was passed in their favors, the Commissioners of the Church assembled at *Edinburgh*, where falling to consider the dangers threatned to Religion by their return, it was thought necessary to acquaint all the Presbyteries with the present state of things; particularly That the forfeited Earls were returned into the Country without his Majesties Warrant and approbation; That they remained peaceably

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in the ſame, uſing all means to be reſtored to their livings, albeit they had neither acknowledged their offence in that treaſonable dealing with the King of *Spain*, nor their defection and apoſtaſie from the Truth: and That they had maintained an Act of Council in their favors at the Convention of *Falkland*, which was ratified thereafter at *Dunfermling*, whereby they were licenſed to remain upon certain Conditions to be preſcribed unto them by his Majeſty and Council, to the manifeſt hazard both of Church and State, conſidering their continuance in the ſame diſpoſition to work miſchief as before. Of theſe things they were deſired to inform their Flocks; and both in publick doctrine and private conference to ſtir up the Country-people to apprehend the danger, and to be in readineſs to reſiſt the ſame ſo far as lawfully they might. It was farther thought meet, that publick Humiliation ſhould be indicted through the whole Country the firſt *Sunday* of *December*, and the cauſe thereof declared to be the return of the Excommunicated Lords, and dangers thereby threatned to Religion, which the Miniſters ſhould enlarge according to their diſcretions; as alſo that the Presbyteries ſhould call before them their Entertainers, Reſſetters, and ſuch as kept company with them, and proceed ſummarily with the Cenſures of the Church, *una citatione, quia periclitatur ſalus Eccleſiæ & Reipublicæ.* Laſtly, they concluded that a number of Commiſſioners ſelected out of all the Quarters of the Countrey ſhould reſide at *Edinburgh*, and convene every day with ſome of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh*, to receive Advertiſements as ſhould be ſent from other places, and take counſel upon the moſt expedient in every caſe. The Brethren nominated to this purpoſe were Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, Mr. *Peter Blackburn*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, and Mr. *James Nicholſon* for the North parts; Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *Alexander Lindeſay*, and Mr. *William Striveling* for the middle part of the Country; Mr. *John Clapperton*, Mr. *John Knox*, Mr. *George Ramſey*, and Mr. *James Carmichell* for the South; and for the Weſt Mr. *John Howſon*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, *John Poterfield*, and Mr. *Robert Wilkie*. Their attendance was ordained to be monthly, and to begin in *November*. At which time Mr. *James Nicholſon*, Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *Andrew Knox*, Mr. *John Howſon*, and Mr. *George Ramſey* were appointed to wait: Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Balfour*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, and Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* obſerving ordinarily all the meeting.

An. 1596.

A publick humiliation indicted.

Perſons nominated to attend at *Edinburgh* for the Church.

These Conventions were by a new name called *The Council of the Church*, and appointed to be kept once every day at leaſt, for taking advice in every buſineſs that occurred. By direction of this Council Lord *Alexander Seaton*, Preſident of the Seſſion, was called before the Synod of *Lothian*, for keeping intelligence with the Earl of *Huntley*, and by them remitted back to that Council; before whom, with many atteſtations, he purged himſelf of any dealing with *Huntley*, or any of the Papiſt Lords, and upon promiſe not to imploy his credit that way was dimitted.

The Lord *Seaton* Preſident of the Seſſion cited to appear before the Synod of *Lothian*.

The King ſuſpecting their beginnings ſhould end in ſome trouble, but not liking to fall in contrary terms with the Church, if by any means the ſame could be eſchewed, commanded the Preſident, Secretary, Advocate, and Laird of *Colluthie*, to confer with the moſt moderate of the Miniſtery, and uſe their beſt means for ſatisfying them touching the return of the forfeited Lords. Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *James Nicholſon*, and Mr. *James Melvil* being ſent for to this Conference, were deſired to give their opinions, 'Whether or not, due 'ſatisfaction being made to the Church by the Lords (for otherwiſe the King did 'not mean to ſhew them any favour) they might be pardoned and reſtored to their 'eſtates. The Miniſters anſwered, *They came only to hear what was proponed, and in a matter of that importance could ſay nothing unacquainting their brethren:* The Conference was delayed till afternoon; at which time returning they ſaid, *That the Brethren were glad of the reſpect carried by his Majeſty to the Church, and that his reſolution was to give no favor to thoſe Rebels till the Church was firſt ſatisfied. But in their judgements, they having by Gods Law deſerved death, and being by the moſt ſovereign Court of the Kingdom ſentenced to have loſt their Eſtates, they could not be lawfully pardoned nor reſtored. And if the King and his Council would take*

A Conference betwixt certain of the Council and ſome moderate men of the Miniſtery.

An. 1596. *take on them to do it, they had God and the Country to answer unto; but for them they would give no assent, but protest to the contrary, that they were free thereof before God and man.*

The King offended with the pertinacy of the Ministers.

This Answer seeming rather to proceed of passion than any good zeal; it was next urged, 'Whether upon their humble and submiss suit to be reconciled, the 'Church could deny to receive them, it being commonly held, that the bosome 'of the Church should ever be patent to repenting sinners. They answered, *That the Church indeed could not refuse their satisfaction, if it were truly offered; nevertheless the King stood obliged to do Justice.* When by no reasoning they could be wrought from these extremities, the Conference brake off, and the effects thereof being reported to the King, he was greatly commoved, inveighing against Ministers at his Table, in Council, and every where. The wiser sort, that foresaw the ill effects this rancor would breed, advised the Ministers to send some of their number, to understand what it was that did offend the King, and offer all satisfaction on their parts; withal to lay open their Grievances, and in humble manner entreat a redress of the things which they esteemed hurtful.

Commissioners directed to his Majesty.

His Majesties peremptory answer to the Commissioners

Herein the same Brethren being employed, they found the Kings answers more biting and peremptory than they expected: for being desired to shew what it was that made his Majesty so offended with the Church, and professing to amend it so far as lay in them; he said, *There could be no Agreement so long as the Marches of the two Jurisdictions were not distinguished; that in their Preachings they did censure the affairs of the Estate and Council, convocate General Assemblies without his licence, conclude what they thought good, not once desiring his allowance and approbation, and in their Synods, Presbyteries and particular Sessions, meddle with every thing upon colour of scandal; besides divers other disorders, which at another time he would propound and have reformed; otherwise it was vain to think of any agreement, or that the same being made, could stand and continue any while.*

The Grievances of the Church proponed.

The Ministers not willing to dip in these matters, after they had in sober manner replied to each of these Points, fell to speak of their own Grievances. As first, the Favor granted to the Popish Lords in the late Conventions at *Falkland* and *Dunfermlin*; the countenance given to the Lady *Huntley*, and her invitation to the Baptism of the Princess; the putting her in the hands of the Lady *Levingston*, an avowed and obstinate Papist; and, which grieved them more than any thing else, the alienation of his Majesties heart from the Ministers, as appeared by all his speeches publick and private. To this last the King did first reply, saying, *That they had given him too just cause by their railing against him and his proceedings in their Sermons.* For the *Popish Lords, he had granted nothing to them but what the Estate had found needful for the Peace and quiet of the Realm.* As to the Lady *Huntley, he esteemed her a good discreet Lady and worthy of his countenance; and that she was a Papist they might blame themselves, who had never taken care to enform her of the Truth.* Lastly, for his Daughter the Princess, *he had trusted her to the Lord* Levingston, *a Nobleman known to be of good Religion, and not to his Lady, who should not be suffered to take any care of her, unless she conformed in point of Religion.*

The King his answer.

A new Trouble by Mr. *David Blake*, a Minister at S. *Andrews.*

Whilst things thus past betwixt the King and the Church, a new occasion of Trouble was presented by Mr. *David Blake*, one of the Ministers of S. *Andrews*, who had in one of his Sermons cast forth divers speeches full of spight against the King, the Queen, the Lords of Council and Session, and amongst the rest had called the Queen of *England* an Atheist, a Woman of no Religion. This being dilated to the *English* Ambassador he complained to the King, and thereupon was Mr. *David Blake* cited to appear before the Council the 10 of *November*. Mr. *Andrew Melvil* accompanying him to *Edinburgh*, did labor to make this a common cause, giving out that the same was done only for a preparative against the Ministers, to bring their Doctrine under the censure and controllment of the King and Council; and so far he prevailed with the Commissioners of the Church, as they sent certain of their number to intreat the desisting of the Diet, saying, *It would be ill taken to draw Ministers in question upon trifling delations, when as the enemies of the Truth were spared and overseen.* The King some days before had published the

Mr. *Andrew Melvil* laboreth to make it a common cause.

Conditions

Conditions upon which he was to grant a Protection to *Huntley*, and asking thoſe Commiſſioners if they had ſeen the Conditions, ſaid, *That both he and the reſt ſhould either ſatisfie the Church in every point, or be purſued with all extremity, ſo as they ſhould have no reaſon to complain of the overſight of Papiſts.* For Mr. *Blake*, he ſaid he did not think much of that matter, only they ſhould cauſe him appear and take ſome courſe for pacifying the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador. *But take heed*, ſaid the King, *that you do not decline the Judicatory; for if you do, it will be worſe than any thing yet fallen out.* *An.* 1596.

Now the Conditions proponed to *Huntley* were as followeth. The Conditions proponed to *Huntley*.

That he ſhould give ſufficient and reaſonable caution of Inland-men and landed Barons, to the number of ſixteen at leaſt, who ſhould be acted in the Books of Council under the pain of forty thouſand pounds (each two of the Cautioners conjunctly and ſeverally for five thouſand pounds of the ſaid ſum) that he ſhould faithfully obſerve and fulfil the whole Articles undermentioned, and every one of them. As firſt, That betwixt that and the firſt day of *April* next to come, he ſhould either ſatisfie the Church for his Apoſtaſie, and return to the boſome thereof in uniformity of Religion, or before the expiring of the ſaid time depart again forth of the Country, and not return again without his Majeſties licence.

2. Next, that during the ſaid ſpace, he ſhould not receive in his company any Jeſuite, Maſs-prieſts, or excommunicate Papiſts, nor have any dealing, communication or intelligence with them, eſpecially with his Uncle Mr. *James Gordon*; nor ſuffer his Children, in caſe any be brought forth in the mean time, to be baptized by another than a Miniſter.

3. That ſo long as he remained in the Country, as likewiſe in caſe of his departing at the time aforeſaid, he ſhould not traffick with any ſtranger or others whomſoever for alteration of the true Religion, or diſquieting the ſtate of the Country in any ſort.

4. That his former Cautioners ſhould remain obliged, in caſe after lawful trial, it ſhould be found that ſince his laſt departing he had trafficked with ſtrangers for ſubverſion of Religion or the alteration of the State, in the ſums for which they were bound.

5. That he ſhould preſently enter his perſon in Ward within ſuch a place as his Majeſty ſhould appoint.

6. That within fifteen days next he ſhould enter his eldeſt Son and apparent Heir as a Hoſtage to his Majeſty for obſerving the Articles before and after mentioned; and that his ſaid Son ſhould abide in ſuch company, Ward or Caſtle, as his Majeſty ſhould appoint, where moſt conveniently he might be inſtructed in the true Religion, and not eſcape by his Fathers knowledge or aſſiſtence.

Laſtly, That he ſhould compeir perſonally before the Council whenſoever he ſhould be called, upon fifteen days warning, for trying the contravention of any of the Articles above expreſſed: providing the cauſe for which he ſhould be charged were expreſſed in the Letters, and warrant given him that he ſhould not be challenged for any other fact done before his laſt paſſing forth of *Scotland*.

Theſe Articles the King cauſed to be imprinted, that all men might ſee he meant not to beſtow any favor either upon him or the reſt, unleſs they joyned themſelves to the Religion publickly profeſſed: yet this ſerved not to ſtop the mouths of people, nor did it remove the jealouſie of the Preachers, who were daily complaining, 'That Papiſts were favored, the Miniſters troubled for the free rebuke of ſin, and 'the Sceptre of Chriſts Kingdom ſought to be overthrown. The Proceſs, they 'ſaid, intended againſt Mr. *Blake* was but a policy, to divert the Miniſters from 'proſecuting their ſuit againſt the Popiſh Earls; and if he ſhould ſubmit his Do-'ctrine to the trial of the Council, the Liberties of the Church and Spiritual Go-'vernment of the Houſe of God would be quite ſubverted. In any caſe therefore 'they concluded that a Declinator ſhould be uſed, and Proteſtation made againſt 'theſe proceedings. This was held a dangerous courſe, and earneſtly diſſuaded by ſome few; but they were cried down by the greater number, that ſaid *it was the* The Conditions give no content.

A Declinator adviſed to be proponed.

An. 1596. *Cauſe of God, whereunto it concerned them to ſtand at all hazard.* So a Declinator was formed and given Mr. *Blake* to preſent, bearing this in ſubſtance:

Mr. *David Blake* his Declinator.

'That howbeit the conſcience of his innocency did uphold him ſufficiently 'againſt the calumnies of whomſoever, and that he was ready to defend the Do-'ctrine uttered by him, whether in opening the words or in application; yet ſee-'ing he was brought thither to be judged by his Majeſty and Council for his Do-'ctrine, and that his anſwering to the pretended Accuſation might import a pre-'judice to the Liberties of the Church, and be taken for an acknowledgement of 'his Majeſties Juriſdiction in matters meerly Spiritual, he was conſtrained in 'all humility to decline that Judicatory for the Reaſons following. Firſt, be-'cauſe the Lord *Jeſus*, of whom he had the grace of his Calling, had given him '(albeit unworthy of the honor to bear his Name) his Word for a Rule to his 'Preaching, and that he could not fall in the reverence of any Civil Law, but in 'ſo far as he ſhould be tried to have paſſed his Inſtructions, which trial belonged 'only to the Prophets and Paſtors, *the ſpirits of the Prophets being ſubject to them* '*alone*; for as firſt it muſt be declared whether he had kept his Inſtructions or not. '2. In regard the Liberty of the Church and Diſcipline preſently exerciſed was 'confirmed by divers Acts of Parliament, and the Office-bearers thereof peace-'ably poſſeſſed therein, particularly in the Judicatory of the Word preached (as 'was clear by divers late examples) he ought to be remitted for his Preaching to 'the Eccleſiaſtick Senate, as his competent Judge in the firſt inſtance. For which 'and for other weighty conſiderations, and namely for eſchewing the inconveni-'encies that might fall to Religion and his Majeſties own eſtate, by the appear-'ance of diſtraction and alienation of his Majeſties mind from the Miniſtery and 'the Cauſe of God in their hands, he for himſelf, and in name of the Commiſſion-'ers of the General Aſſembly, who had ſubſcrived the ſame Declinator, did humbly 'beſeech his Majeſty not to infringe the Liberty of the Chuch, but rather mani-'feſt his care in maintaining the ſame.

Mr. *Blakes* anſwer to the Diet.

When the Diet came, and the Summons were read, being deſired to anſwer, he ſaid, That albeit he might object againſt the Citation, the ſame being directed *ſuper inquirendis* contrary to the form preſcrived by Parliament, and no particular ſpecified therein; yet he would take him to the uſual remedy of Law, and deſire to be remitted to his own Ordinary. Being asked whom he meant; he anſwered, The Presbytery where the doctrine was taught. The King then replying that the matter laid to his charge was Civil, and that the generality of the Summons was reſtricted to the particular Letter produced by the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador; he ſaid, *That the ſpeeches wherewith he was charged being uttered in Pulpit muſt be judged by the Church, in prima inſtantia.* Again being inquired whether the King might not judge matters of Treaſon, as well as the Church did matters of Hereſie; he ſaid, *That ſpeeches delivered in Pulpit, albeit alleged to be Treaſonable, could not be judged by the King till the Church took firſt cognition thereof*; but that he was not come thither to ſolve queſtions, and ſo preſented the Declinator. The King, notwithſtanding that he was greatly offended (becauſe the day appointed for the Baptiſm of the Princeſs was approaching) continued all farther proceeding to the laſt of *November*.

The Declinator ſent to the Presbyteries to be ſubſcrived.

Meanwhile had the Commiſſioners for the Church ſent a Copy of Mr. *Blakes* Declinator with a Letter to all the Presbyters, requiring them for the greater corroboration of their doings to ſubſcrive the ſame, and to commend the cauſe in hand in their private and publick prayers to God, uſing their beſt credit with their Flocks, and employing all their labours for the maintenance thereof. The King being mightily incenſed with this doing, as tending to a direct Mutiny, and the ſtirring up of the ſubjects to Rebellion, gave forth a Proclamation, wherein he ſaid,

A Proclamation diſcharging the meeting of the Commiſſioners.

That certain perſons of the Miniſtery abiding in the Town of Edinburgh *had of long time continued together deviſing Plots prejudicial to his Majeſties Authority, and uſurping a power over their brethren, had directed letters for ſubſcriving a Declinator formed and already ſubſcrived by themſelves, requiring them with the return of their ſubſcriptions to ſend ſome of their number to aſſiſt their proceedings, as though they were not ſubjects, & that the King had no power nor authority over them,*

intending

intending, as appeared, by Convocations and the like tumultuous forms to break the Peace, and make an Inſurrection in the Country; whereas no care in the mean time was taken of their Flocks, but the ſame left comfortleſs and deſtitute of the Preaching of the Word; all which they coloured with a general Commiſſion alleged to be given by the laſt General Aſſembly, albeit there was no ſuch Commiſſion, that which he produced containing only a power to conſult and report, and not to ſet down Acts, or exerciſe any Juriſdiction: and granting that ſuch a Commiſſion had been given, the ſame could not be lawful, as given without the conſent and approbation of his Majeſties Commiſſioners, who were preſent at the time. Therefore to prevent the diſorders and Confuſion which therethrough might ariſe, his Highneſs, with the advice of the Council, diſcharged the ſaid Commiſſion as unlawful in it ſelf, and more unlawfully executed by the ſaid Commiſſioners; commanding the perſons under-written, namely, Mr. Andrew Melvil, *Mr.* James Melvil, *Mr.* John Davidſon, *Mr.* Nicoll Dalgleiſh, *Mr.* James Nicolſon, *Mr.* James Carmichael *and* John Clapperton, *to depart home to their ſeveral Flocks within 24 hours after the charge, and to attend upon the lawful diſcharge of their Callings, and no ways to return for keeping ſuch unlawful Convocations, either within the ſaid Burgh or without, under the pain of Rebellion.* *An.* 1596.

The Commiſſioners upon information that ſuch a Charge was directed fell to conſult what courſe they ſhould take; and firſt they reſolved, 'That ſince they 'were convened by the warrant of Chriſt, in a moſt needful and dangerous time, 'to ſee unto the good of the Church, *Et ne quid Eccleſia detrimenti caperet*, they 'ſhould obey God rather than man; and, notwithſtanding of any charge that 'ſhould be given, continue together ſo long as conveniently they might, and in 'the mean time ſend ſome of the number to the *Octavians* (this was the title com- 'monly given to thoſe eight Counſellors that were truſted with all affairs) to ad- 'vertiſe them, that ſeeing the Church at their entry to their places enjoyed a full 'peace and liberty, and that now it was caſt into great troubles, and the enemies 'of the Truth ſpared and overlooked, they could not but think that all this pro- 'ceeded from their counſels; and therefore whatſoever the event ſhould be, the 'Church would take her ſelf to them, and they only ſhould bear the blame. The Preſident anſwering in choler ſaid, 'That theſe Controverſies were begun without 'their advice, and ſo they ſhould end; that for their good ſervice they had reap- 'ed ſmall thanks, and drawn upon themſelves much envy, and therefore would 'have no medling in that buſineſs betwixt the King and them, but leave it to him 'and his Nobility.

The Commiſſioners of the Church upon this diſcharge enter into a new conſultation.

They ſent a Commiſſion to the *Octavians*.

This anſwer put them to a ſecond advice, and thinking they were miſtaken, and that theſe Commiſſioners were not in the fault, but that all proceeded from the King himſelf, they ſent Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *James Nicolſon* and *James Melvil*, to declare unto his Majeſty the great inconveniences that were like to ariſe upon this hard dealing with the Church, and humbly intreat a ſurceaſe of the Proceſs intended againſt Mr. *David Blake*, and that all other controverſies might be left off till ſome order was taken with the Papiſts, and an Aſſembly convocated for deciding theſe queſtions to his Highneſs content. The King anſwered, 'That it was 'not his fault, and that he was no leſs diſpleaſed than they were with the contro- 'verſies ariſen; and that yet if they would paſs from the Declinator, or declare at 'leaſt that it was not a general, but only a particular Declinator, uſed in the cauſe 'of Mr. *David Blake*, as being a cauſe of ſlander, and pertaining to the judgment 'of the Church, he ſhould alſo paſs from the Summons and ceaſe his purſuit.

Commiſſioners ſent to his Majeſty for ſurceaſing Mr. *Blakes* Proceſs.

His Majeſties offer to the Commiſſioners.

This yielding offer of the King was by the advice of the wiſer ſort thought good to be accepted, that there might be an end of contention: *For if*, ſaid they, *we go to try our ſtrength with the King, we ſhall be found too weak. As yet the Court ſtands in ſome awe of the Church, and whileſt they are in this conceit, it ſhall be meet to take the beſt conditions we can have; for if by our ſtrictneſs matters go to the worſt, our weakneſs ſhall ſoon appear; and thereafter ſhall the Church be no more feared nor regarded: too great ſtiffneſs doth ſeldom ſucceed well; and it is often ſeen, that they who will have all their wills, do loſe all in the end.* This was the reaſoning of the wiſe and more moderate ſort. Others flattering themſelves in their preciſeneſs

The wiſer ſort of the Miniſters adviſe to accept of the offer, but they are over-ruled.

An. 1596. held, *That the only way to prevail was to ſtand by their grounds; the Cauſe was Gods, which he would maintain: That worldly powers were not to be feared, and that God had in his hand the hearts of Princes to turn them whither he pleaſed, whereof in the preſent buſineſs they had ſeen a proof.* The debate held long, and in end by moſt voices it was concluded that they ſhould ſtand to the Declinator, unleſs the King would paſs from the Summons, and remitting the purſuit to the Eccleſiaſtical Judge make an Act of Council, that no Miniſter ſhould be charged for his Preaching, at leaſt before the meeting of the General-Aſſembly. The King perceiving this offer neglected was in great wrath, and told them who were ſent unto him, that he would hearken to no Agreement unleſs they would paſs ſimply from the Declinator, and cauſe Mr. *Blake* compeir, and acknowledge the Judicatory. Which being refuſed, the Proclamation was publiſhed, the Commiſſioners charged to depart forth of the Town, and Mr. *Blake* by a new Summons cited to the laſt of *November.*

Mr. *Blake* cited to the laſt of *November.*

The Baptiſm of the Princeſs *Elizabith.*

The next day being Sunday, and the day of the Princeſs Chriſtening, the ſame was kept in the Palace of *Halirudhouſe* with great joy and feaſting. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſador did name the Princeſs *Elizabeth* after the Queen his Miſtreſs; the Town of *Edinburgh* by the Magiſtrates aſſiſting as Witneſſes, ſuch honor did the King unto them. But all that day in the town Churches were bitter Invectives made againſt the two Proclamations; for beſides the charge given the Commiſſioners to leave the town, by another Proclamation the Barons, Gentlemen and all other ſubjects were diſcharged to convene with the Miniſtry, either in Presbyteries or Synods, or any other Eccleſiaſtical meetings, under whatſoever colour or pretence, without his Majeſtie's licence. Theſe things were mightily aggravated by the Preachers, and the people exceedingly ſtirred: at which the King more and more offending, he reſolved to keep the Diet aſſigned for Mr. *Blake*'s appearing in the Council-houſe of *Edinburgh*, accompanied with his Nobles that were preſent at the Baptiſm.

A Petition preſented by the Commiſſioners to his Majeſty and Council.

The Commiſſioners advertiſed of this, (for all that time ſome Gentlemen of the Chamber in hatred of the *Octavians*, gave intelligence of every thing that was intended) did form a Petition to be preſented to his Majeſty and the Noblemen, conſiſting of three heads. 'Firſt, they entreated the King, that ſeeing the deciſion of 'ſuch thorny and intricate queſtions as were moved at that time to the trouble of 'the Church could work no good, and was ſubtilly urged, only to ingender a diſ'ſenſion between his Majeſty and the Miniſters, he would be pleaſed to remit the 'determination thereof to a lawful Aſſembly, and not to incroach upon the limits 'of Chriſt's Kingdom upon any pretence, bending his actions, according to the 'preſent neceſſity, againſt the common enemies of Religion and State. Next, they 'exhorted the Noblemen to give his Majeſty a free and faithful counſel in that 'buſineſs; and as to the honor of God and their own juſt praiſe they had kept 'themſelves free both in counſel and action from working any prejudice to the 'liberty of the Goſpel, ſo they would not ſuffer themſelves to be drawn at that 'time under the guiltineſs of ſo great a ſin, by the craft of thoſe who were ſubtilly 'ſeeking the thraldom of the Goſpel, and thought to make their Honors the exe'cutors of their malicious devices. And thereby that by their credit they would 'procure a continuation of all controverſies unto a free and lawful Aſſembly, 'where the ſame might be gravely reaſoned, and concluded. This Petition was given to Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*, to be preſented; and if the ſame was refuſed, they were enjoyned to proteſt againſt the proceeding of the Council.

The Petition rejected.

The King receiving this Petition, after he had overviewed it, did reject the ſame as not worthy of anſwer, commanding to call Mr. *Blake*, and read the Summons.

The Points laid to Mr. *Blakes* charge.

Therein he was charged, Firſt, to have affirmed in Pulpit that the *Papiſh Lords* were returned into the Country with his Majeſtie's knowledge, and upon his aſſurance, and ſaid that in ſo doing he had *detected the treachery of his Heart.* Secondly, that he had called all Kings *the Devil's Barns*, adding that *the Devil was in the Court and in the guiders of it.* Thirdly, in his Prayer for the Queen he had uſed theſe words,

We

We muſt pray for her for the faſhion, but we have no cauſe, ſhe will never do us good. An. 1596.
Fourthly, that he had called the Queen of *England* an *Atheiſt*. Fifthly, that he had diſcuſſed a Suſpenſion granted by the Lords of Seſſion in Pulpit, and called them *Miſcreants* and *Bribers*. Sixthly, that, ſpeaking of the Nobility, he ſaid they were *Degenerated, Godleſs, Diſſemblers*, and *Enemies to the Church*: likewiſe ſpeaking of the *Council*, that he had called them *Holliglaſſes, Cormorants and men of no Religion*. Laſtly, that he had convocated divers Noblemen, Barons and others within S. *Andrews* in the month of *June* 1594, cauſed them take arms and divide themſelves in Troups of Horſe and Foot, and had thereby uſurped the Power of the King and Civil Magiſtrate.

Mr. *Robert Pont* proteſteth for the liberties of the Church.

After reading of the Summons Mr. *Robert Pont* proteſted that the Proceſs in hand and whatſoever followed thereof ſhould not prejudge the Liberty of the Church in matters of Doctrine. The King anſwered, *That he was not to meddle with any matter of Doctrine, but to cenſure the Treaſonable ſpeeches of a Miniſter in ſermon, which he and his Council would judge, except by clear Scripture it ſhould be proved, That Miniſters were not ſubject in theſe caſes to his Judicatory*. Thereafter Mr. *Blake* being commanded to anſwer, ſaid, that all theſe Accuſations were falſe, untrue Calumnies, producing two teſtimonials, one of the Provoſt, Bailies and Council of S. *Andrews*, the other of the Rector, Dean of faculty, Profeſſors and Regents of the Univerſity, which he alledged ſhould be preferred to any Report whatſoever. Next he ſaid for the firſt ſix points, the Lords of the Council were not competent Judges, the ſpeeches alleged being uttered in Pulpit, but the ſame ought to be cenſured by the Presbytery where the Sermon was delivered. And then repeating his former Declinator, preſented a new one, in ſubſtance the ſame with the firſt. For the laſt point he made offer to ſubmit himſelf to the trial of the King and Council. Being removed and the Declinator put to voices, it was found, 'That the crimes and accuſations contained in the ſummons were ſeditious and 'treaſonable; and that his Majeſty, his Council and other Judges ſubſtitute by his 'Authority were competent Judges in all matters either criminal or civil, as well 'to Miniſters as to other ſubjects. This pronounced the Witneſſes were called and admitted, but their Examination was delayed to the next day.

Mr. *Blake* declineth the Council of new.

He preſenteth the Council with the Declinator.

The Kings care to keep peace with the Church.

After the Council diſſolved, the Prior of *Blantire* Treaſurer and *Alexander Hume* Provoſt of *Edinburgh* were ſent from the King to the Miniſters, that notwithſtanding of that his proceeding againſt Mr. *Blake*, he did not mean to uſe him with rigour, but if they ſhould move him to come and reſolve his Majeſty touching the truth of the points libelled, he would reſt upon his own Declaration, and ſend him back to his Charge: ſo careful was the King of Peace, and ſo deſirous to be in good terms with the Church. Night was then fallen, and the Commiſſioners gone to their lodgings; yet finding Mr. *Robert Bruce*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *James Nicolſon* and Mr. *James Melvill* together, they declared what they had in Commiſſion to have declared to the whole number. Mr. *Robert Bruce* anſwering in the name of the reſt, ſaid, *That if the matter did touch Mr.* Blake *alone, the offer might be accepted, but the liberty of Chriſt's Kingdom had received ſuch a wound by the Proclamations publiſhed the Saturday preceding and that day by the uſurpation of the ſpiritual Judicatory, as if Mr.* Blakes *life and the lives of twenty others had been taken, it would not have grieved the hearts of good brethren ſo much as theſe injurious proceedings had done; and that either theſe things behoved to be retreated, or they would oppoſe ſo long as they had breath.*

The King conferreth with ſome Miniſters touching Mr. *Blake*'s buſineſs.

This anſwer reported, the King the next morning called ſome two or three of the Miniſters unto him, did confer with them a long ſpace, ſhewing that he was ſo far from impairing the ſpiritual Juriſdiction or abridging any of the Church Liberties, as he would not only maintain them in what they enjoyed, but would enlarge and amplifie the ſame, when he ſaw it to be for their good: But *this licentious diſcourſing*, ſaid he, *of affairs of State in Pulpit cannot be tolerated. My claim is only to judge in matters of Sedition and other Civil and criminal cauſes, and of ſpeeches that may import ſuch crimes, whereſoever they be uttered; for that the Pulpit ſhould be a place privileged, and under colour of Doctrine people ſtirred to ſedi-*

An. 1596. *tion, no good man I think will allow. If Treaſon and Sedition be crimes puniſhable when they are committed, much more if they be committed in the Pulpit, where the word of Truth ſhould only be taught and heard.* One of the Miniſters anſwering, that they did not plead for the privilege of the Place, but to the reſpect that was due to the Meſſage and Commiſſion they carried, which having received from God, the ſame ought not to be controlled in any civil Judicature. 'Would 'you keep you to your Meſſage (ſaid the King) there would be no ſtrife; but 'I truſt your Meſſage be not to rule Eſtates, and when courſes diſlike you to ſtir 'the people to Sedition, and make your King and thoſe that rule under him odi-'ous by your railings and outcries. If any do ſo, ſaid the Miniſter, and be tried to have paſſed the bounds, it is reaſon he be puniſhed with all extremity; but this muſt be cognoſced by the Church. 'And ſhall not I (ſaid the King) have 'power to call and puniſh a Miniſter that breaketh out in Treaſonable ſpeeches, 'but muſt come to your Presbytery and be a complainer? I have good proof in 'the proceſs with *Gibſon* and *Roſſe*, what juſtice you will do me: and were it in a 'doubtful and ambiguous caſe, where by any colour the ſpeeches might be juſtifi-'ed, it were ſome way favourable to ſay that the Miniſter ſhould be called and 'convict by his brethren; but as in the preſent action with Mr. *Blake*, who hath 'ſaid, *The treachery of the Kings heart is diſcovered; all Kings are the Devils 'Barns*, &c. who ſees not the man hath paſſed his bounds, and not kept him to his 'Meſſage? I am not ignorant what agitations *France* of late and *England* in former 'times hath ſuffered by the violence of ſuch ſpirits, and I have been in my time 'reaſonably exerciſed with them, and ye muſt not think that I will tolerate ſuch 'licentiouſneſs. As for any lawful power or liberty ye or your Aſſemblies have 'granted either by the Word of God or by the Laws of the Kingdom, I mean not 'to diminiſh the ſame; and if ye think meet, I will publiſh ſo much by a Declara-'tion for ſatisfying you and all other my ſubjects.

The Miniſters deſire a Declaration to be made in favor of Church-Aſſemblies.

With this the Miniſters were dimitted, who having related the Conference they had with his Majeſty to the reſt of their brethren, it was agreed, in regard of the many inconveniencies which might enſue upon theſe diſtractions betwixt his Majeſty and the Church, that if they could obtain a Declaration in Council that by the Acts and Proclamations publiſhed his Majeſty did not intend to diſcharge any Church-Aſſembly, nor to annul any Concluſion thereof, but that the ſame ſhould ſtand in force as they had been in uſe by the warrant of the Word and approbation of his Highneſs Laws; and that the diſcharge of Barons and Gentlemen to convene with the Miniſters was not extended to any Eccleſiaſtical Conventions, but only meant of their convening in Arms; matters ſhould be paſſed over for the preſent; the Interloquutor in Mr. *Blakes* buſineſs not being uſed againſt him nor any other Miniſter, until a lawful General Aſſembly, wherein the queſtion concerning the limits of the Civil and the Spiritual Juriſdiction might be reaſoned and defined.

His Majeſty conſenteth to the Declaration.

This being propounded the King aſſented to the Declaration craved, offering farther to delete the Acts whereupon the Proclamations were founded. And for Mr. *Blake*, he was content that he ſhould be brought to his preſence, and declaring upon his conſcience the truth of the Points libelled, in the hearing of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Nicolſon*, and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, they three ſhould have power to determine what they thought meet. The buſineſs was now thought to be at an end, but in the afternoon, by the ſuggeſtion, as it was ſuppoſed, of the Preſident, the King would have Mr. *Blake* to come before the Council, and acknowledge his offence to the Queen; which done he ſhould be pardoned of all. This Mr. *Blake* refuſed, ſaying, he would neither condemn himſelf, nor approve the proceedings of the Council, who having taken upon them to judge of his Sermons, had admitted a ſort of ignorant and partially-affected people to be Witneſſes againſt him, rejecting the teſtimonies of the Town and Univerſity. When by no perſuaſion he could be moved unto it, the King went to Council, and the ſame day, it being the the ſecond of *December*, cauſed read the Depoſition of the Witneſſes, who did clearly teſtifie that all the ſpeeches libelled were uttered by

Mr. *Blake* refuſeth to acknowledge his offence to the Queen.

The witneſſes examined, and Mr. *Blake* found guilty.

Mr. *Blake*

Mr. *Blake* in Pulpit. Thereupon Sentence was given, that he had falſely ſlandered and treaſonably calumniated the Kings Majeſty, his Bed-fellow the Queen, his neighbor Princeſs the Queen of *England*, the Lords of his Highneſs Council and Seſſion, and therefore (his puniſhment being remitted to the King) it was ordained, that till his Majeſties pleaſure ſhould be declared, he ſhould be confined beyond the North water, and enter to his Ward within ſix days. *An.* 1596.

Notwithſtanding of this Sentence the day following a new Treaty began, which continued ſome ten days, and was like to have produced an Agreement; for the King was content, as before, to delete the Acts of Council at which the Miniſters took offence, by writing on the margent of the Book according to the cuſtom of deleting, *This matter is agreed, and the Act delete.* He was likewiſe pleaſed to mend the Narrative of the Proclamation, turning that upon the Papiſts and enemies of Religion that was ſaid of Miniſters; and for Mr. *Blakes* buſineſs, was content that the Interloquutor pronounced ſhould not be made a preparative againſt any other Miniſter, and that none ſhould be called upon their Preaching before the Council, till it was found in a lawful Aſſembly that the King might judge of thoſe that paſſed their bounds in Doctrine. Provided he might in the mean time be aſſured of the good behavior of the Miniſters, and that they ſhould not ſpeak unreverently of him or of his Council, which aſſurance he would have in writing. Some puniſhment alſo he would have afflicted on Mr. *Blake*, as either to tranſport him from S. *Andrews* to another Congregation, or ſuſpend him for a time from his charge: puniſhments not very rigorous, nor anſwerable to the quality of the offence. A new Treaty for making an Accord. Conditions craved by his Majeſty.

The Commiſſioners being herewith adviſed liked well of all, the laſt excepted. *A puniſhment*, they ſaid, *could not be afflicted where no cognition had proceeded: for as to the Trial taken, neither was it done by the proper Judge, nor was that equity obſerved which ought to have been; Witneſſes that were under the Cenſures of the Church, and ill affected to Mr.* Blake, *being admitted to depone againſt him.* This reported to the King, he made offer to name twenty perſons againſt whom no exception could be alleged, and to give Mr. *Blake* his choice of ſeven or eight of that number, who ſhould be new examined touching the verity of the ſpeeches whereof he was accuſed: if they upon their conſciences did abſolve him, he ſhould reſt ſatisfied; if otherwiſe, he would crave him to be depoſed. But this came to no effect, nor could any overture, albeit divers were proponed, ſerve to work an Accord, ſo as the communing broke off, and greater diſpleaſures aroſe on both hands than afore. For the Commiſſioners having directed two of the Brethren to ſhew the King, *That ſince they could obtain no redreſs for the wrongs done unto Chriſts Kingdom, and ſaw nothing but the enemies of the Truth were favoured, and the faithful Paſtors of the Church reviled and purſued, they could not abſtain from oppoſing theſe proceedings with the ſpiritual armor given them by God*; and did therefore indict a *Faſt* to be kept the Sunday following, being the 12 day of *December* with ſolemn Prayers for averting the Judgments which the preſent courſes did threaten. The Commiſſioners refuſe to agree to any Cenſure of Mr. *Blake*. The Miniſters indict a Faſt, and complain of wrong done to the Kingdom of Chriſt.

The King on the other ſide made his diſpleaſure and the ſcorn he took at theſe proceedings known by a declaration publiſhed on the 15 day, wherein he ſhewed, *That out of a deſire he had to keep peace with the Miniſters he did condeſcend to abſtain from troubling them in any caſe by-gone, until by a Convention of Eſtates and a General Aſſembly of the Miniſtery the difference between the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Judgments might be removed; providing they ſhould promiſe not to diſgrace him and his proceedings in their Sermons, which he was in hope to obtain by ſundry Conferences and meetings that he had kept with ſome of them, till at laſt publickly they had oppoſed themſelves in Pulpit by approving the doings of Mr.* David Blake, *accuſing himſelf of Perſecution, and falſly ſuggeſting to the people that all Church-Aſſemblies were diſcharged; whereas his reſolution was and is to maintain Religion and the Church-diſcipline eſtabliſhed by Law, and to ſuffer nothing to be done in prejudice thereof by whomſoever. Which his Highneſs thought good to make known to all his ſubjects, ordaining all Miniſters to ſubſcrive their obedience to Majeſty his and ſet their hands to the Bonds which ſhould be preſented to them for that effect, under the pain of ſequeſtring their Rents and Stipends ay and while they gave their obedience* His Majeſties Declaration publiſhed. A Bond of obedience to be ſubſcrived by the Miniſters.

An. 1596. *dience required.* The ſame day was Mr. *Blake* charged to go unto his Ward, and the Commiſſioners of new commanded to remove themſelves forth of the Town.

Maſter *Blake* charged to go to his Ward, and the Commiſſioners to leave the Town.

How ſoon they were gone, the Secretary Mr. *John Lindeſay* thinking the Miniſters of *Edinburgh* would be more tractable being left to themſelves, did move the King to ſend for them, and make a freſh Propoſition for ſetling theſe Diviſions.

A new motion of Agreement overthrown by the practice of ſome of his Majeſties Chamber

But they refuſing to enter in any communing, except the Commiſſioners were recalled by as publick a Proclamation as that whereby they were diſcharged, hope was given that the next day the ſame ſhould be done, and all queſtions laid over unto their return: which ſome of the Kings Chamber having underſtood, and fearing if matters were once accorded the *Octavians* (againſt whom they were chiefly ſet) ſhould continue in their imployment, among other reports they informed the King that a mighty Watch was kept in *Edinburgh* about the Miniſters houſes for fear of ſome violence to be offered unto them, which laid an heavy imputation upon his Majeſty, and that the Miniſters would never be quiet till theſe Factious people were put forth of the Town. The advice, as truly meant, was hearkned unto, and direction given to ſome 24 of the Burgeſſes that were beſt affected to the Miniſters to depart the Town within the ſpace of ſix hours. This they knew would be ill taken by the Miniſters; and, to put them in a greater fear, they did advertiſe them by a counterfeit Letter to look unto themſelves, becauſe *Huntley* had been with the King late that night, and cauſed that charge to be given. This Letter ſent to Mr. *Robert Bruce* was by him communicate to Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, whoſe courſe it was to preach that morning; and they both, apprehending the information to be true, did think it the ſafeſt way for themſelves to make the people advertiſed of the danger: ſo when the hour of Sermon came, the Preacher reading his Text out of the Book of *Canticles*, which was his ordinary at that time, and taking occaſion of the preſent Troubles of the Church; he made a particular relation of the proceedings and *treacherous forms* (ſo he called them) wherewith they were uſed by the Court, laying the whole blame upon the Preſident, Controller and Advocate, whom he particularly named, and uſed with moſt reproachful terms. Then turning to the Noblemen and Barons, he put them in mind of the zeal which their predeceſſors had ſhewed in planting Religion, and exhorted them with the like courage and conſtancy to maintain the ſame. Having cloſed the Sermon with a Prayer, as uſe is, he requeſted the Noblemen and Barons to meet in the little Church for aſſiſting the Miniſtery with their beſt advice.

The Miniſters deluded by a counterfeit Letter.

Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* in his Sermon inveigheth againſt the Counſellors.

He exhorteth the Noblemen and Barons to a Meeting.

A Petition directed to the King from the Meeting.

Mr. *R. Bruce* his Speech to thoſe that convened.

There aſſembled in the place many people beſides thoſe that were deſired, and ſo great was the throng as the Miniſters could hardly find entrance. Mr. *Robert Bruce* at laſt having made way unto himſelf, went to the Table where the Noblemen and Barons were placed, and after a ſhort Prayer declared in what danger the Church was brought by the return of the Popiſh Lords; how they had regrated the caſe to the King, and when they expected that order ſhould have been taken therewith, a new buſineſs was moved, and one of their Brethren called in queſtion for his Preaching, about which they had been in long conference, but could come to no end; and that now at laſt the beſt-affected of their people were charged to leave the Town, whereby they were brought to ſuſpect ſome worſe practices. They did therefore requeſt them humbly to intercede and intreat his Majeſty, that they might be permitted to ſerve God in their callings without moleſtation. The deſire ſeemed reaſonable: the Lords *Lindeſay* and *Forbes*, with the Lairds of *Bargenny* and *Buquhain*, Mr. *Robert Bruce* and Mr. *William Watſon* were choſen to prefer the Petition.

The King offended with the Meeting.

By ſome occaſion the King was that day come to the Seſſion, and being in the Upper Houſe, the Lords with theſe others were admitted; where Mr. *Robert Bruce* taking the Speech ſaid, 'That they were ſent by the Noblemen and Barons convened in the little Church, to bemoan the dangers threatned to Religion by the dealing that was againſt the Miniſters and true Profeſſors. *What dangers ſee you?* ſaid the King: 'Under communing, ſaid he, our beſt-affected people, that tender Religion, are diſcharged of the Town; the Lady *Huntley* a profeſſed Papiſt entertained at Court, and it is ſuſpected that her Husband is not far off. The King leaving

leaving that purpoſe, ask'd *who they were that durſt convene againſt his Proclamation.* The Lord *Lindeſay* in paſſion replied, *that they durſt do more than ſo, and that they would not ſuffer Religion to be overthrown.* Numbers of People were at this time thronging unmannerly into the room: whereupon the King not making any anſwer aroſe, and went down to the Lower Houſe where the Judges do ſit, commanding the doors to be ſhut. They that were ſent returning to the Church ſhew that they were not heard, nor was there any hope, ſo long as the Counſellors remained about the King, that they ſhould receive any favorable anſwer, and were therefore to think of ſome other courſe. *An.* 1596. The Lord *Lindeſay* his inſolent words to the King.

No courſe, ſaid the Lord *Lindeſay*, *but one*; *let us ſtay together that are here, and promiſe to take one part, and advertiſe our friends and the favorers of Religion to come unto us*; *for it ſhall be either theirs or ours.* Upon theſe ſpeeches followed ſuch a clamor and lifting up of hands, as none could hear what another ſpake. The Sedition increaſing ſome cried to Arm, others to bring out *Haman* (for whileſt the Lords were with the King, Mr. *Michael Cranſtone* Miniſter of *Cramond* had been reading to the people that ſtory) others cried, *The ſword of the Lord and of Gideon:* and ſo great was the fury of the people, as if one of the Deacons of Crafts, called *John Wat*, had not kept them back with a guard of Crafts-men that followed him, they had undoubtedly forced the doors, and wrought ſome miſchief. Sir *Alexander Hume* Provoſt of the Town was then lying ſick; yet being told what a Tumult was raiſed, he came to the ſtreet, and, as he was wiſe and skilful in handling the people, with his fair ſpeeches brought them after a little time to lay down their weapons and retire to their lodgings. A Tumult raiſed in the Church and City. A Deacon of the Crafts appeaſeth the fury of the people.

The Commotion thus raiſed, the King directed the Earl of *Marre*, the Lord *Pittenweem* and Laird of *Traquair* to confer with the Miniſters, and ask the cauſe of the tumult. They were then walking at the back of the Church (for the tumult had ſcattered the Meeting) and profeſſing a great diſlike of that which had happened, beſought the Noblemen to ſhew the King that they were not in fault, and had done their beſt to appeaſe the multitude. The cauſe, they ſaid, to their conjecture was that his Majeſty refuſed to hear their Petition, which they knew came not from himſelf, but of others. The Earl of *Marre* replied, that any reaſonable Petition would be heard and anſwered, being preferred in a dutiful manner; wherefore they ſhould do wiſely to go together and ſupplicate his Majeſty for remedy of theſe things wherein they were grieved. Whereupon they returned to the little Church, and after a ſhort deliberation ſent the Lord *Forbes*, the Laird of *Bargenny* and Mr. *Robert Rollock* with theſe Petitions. 'Firſt, that all which have 'been done in prejudice of the Church the laſt four or five weeks might be re-'ſcinded. Next, that in the things that concerned the Church, the Preſident, 'Controller and Advocate ſhould have no voice, as being ſuſpected in Religion, 'and oppoſite enemies to the Church. Thirdly, that the Citizens of *Edinburgh* 'who were charged to leave the Town might be permitted to ſtay at home, 'upon ſurety to appear whenſoever they were called. The King anſwered very calmly, *That his doings had been greatly miſtaken by the Miniſters*; *and that as theſe controverſies were moved againſt his will, ſo he wiſhed nothing more than to have them quietly ſetled. But that it could not ſtand with his Honor to reſcind ſo haſtily the concluſions taken in Council, nor to remove Counſellors from their places upon naked ſuſpicions, except ſomewhat could be verified that might diſable them. At afternoon he ſhould call the Council, and ſatisfie them in every thing which with reaſon they could deſire.* For the *Citizens*, he ſaid, *that the Supplications made in their behalf would come better from the Provoſt and Bailiffs of the Town, and the ſame upon their Petition ſhould be granted.* With theſe Anſwers the Lord *Forbes* and the reſt returned; and with them the Lord *Ochiltry* and Laird of *Ceſford* were ſent by the King to deſire them to put their Petitions in reaſonable terms, and await on the Council at two of the clock. Matters thus quieted, the King with the Lords went down the ſtreet peaceably to his Palace. Noblemen directed from the King to inquire the cauſe of the tumult. The Miniſters purge themſelves. A new Petition moved to the King. The Kings Anſwer to the Petitions proponed.

At afternoon the Noblemen and Barons aſſembling with the Miniſtery, after long reaſoning, did condeſcend upon the Supplication and Articles following.

'In

An. 1596. Articles condescended upon to be proponed to his Majesty.

'In most humble manner, we the Noblemen, Barons, Gentlemen, Burgesses 'and Ministers, this day by the mercy of God convened, do beseech your Majesty 'to apprehend the great danger wherein the state of Religion, Commonwealth 'and your Majesties own Honour and Person are brought by the means of crafty 'and deceitful Counsellors, who respecting only their own preferment and 'standing labour to file your Majesties eyes, that you should not perceive their 'courses: for albeit it hath pleased God to endue your Majesty with knowledge, 'wisdom and graces, beyond all Princes that have ruled this Kingdom at any 'time; yet it is no strange thing to behold good Kings brought upon ill courses 'by the devices of such as pretend love, but in very deed hate them maliciously. 'That such courses are now in hand, please your Majesty to consider what a Divi-'sion is made and entertained between your Majesty and the Church, who were 'ever to this time inseparably joyned; and how under colorable pretexts the li-'berty of Preaching and faithful applying of the Word is sought to be restrained 'and taken away, which cannot but bring many evils and inconveniencies with it, 'as this day's tumult may partly teach. And now seeing, blessed be God, the same 'is setled without the harm of any person, for preventing the like, or worse, we 'humbly desire the Articles following to be weighed and considered by your 'Majesty.

'1. That Professed Papists, processed by the Church, be not suffered to reside 'at Court; and that the Lady *Huntley* and Lord *Sanwhar* be removed and sent 'home.

'2. That *Alexander Seaton* President, Mr. *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and 'Mr. *James Elphinston*, be not admitted to sit in Council, at least when the cause 'of Religion, and matters of the Church are treated; seeing they are enemies to 'the quietness thereof, and have by their devices raised the troubles that present-'ly do vex the same.

'3. That the Acts of Council, Proclamations, Decreits and Interloquutors pas-'sed in prejudice of the Church and Ministers these last five weeks, be rescinded 'and annulled.

'4. That the Commissioners of the Church be recalled by Proclamation, and 'the Burgesses of the Town permitted to remain and attend their Callings.

'5. That the Bond advised by the foresaid enemies to be subscrived by all the 'Ministers under the pain of losing their Benefices and stipends be discharged, see-'ing the same is prejudicial to the Gospel, and that Commission, as use is, to mo-'difie stipends, for the present year.

'Lastly, that an Act of Council be made allowing the proceedings of the 'Church, and the concurrency given them by the Noblemen, Barons and other 'in the present action.

The Commissioners chused to present the Articles.

It was late and the night fallen before these Articles were put in form, the day being then at the shortest; the persons chosen to present them were, the Lairds of *Bargenny*, *Pittarrow*, *Faudonside*, Mr. *David Lindesay*, and Mr. *Robert Rollock*. Before their coming the Council had concluded not to receive the Petitions, as was promised, and to commit those that did present them; yet doubtful what might be the event thereof, it was thought fitter to terrifie them from presenting the same. For this effect the Lord *Ochiltry* was appointed to meet them at the utter Gate, who drawing *Bargenny* aside advised him to go back, because of the anger which the King had conceived, and to meddle no more in that business; for the King, he said, knew he was brought upon it unwillingly, and would excuse his part, if he went no farther. *Bargenny* forthinking his imployment, and not knowing how to colour it to his associates, the Lord *Ochiltry* drew them aside, and said that he had brought the Laird of *Bargenny* to the Town for affairs that did nearly touch him, and that he did not think to meet with such business at his coming, therefore desired them to have his friend excused for that time; and seeing they were a number sufficient to do the errand, they might go to it, or if they pleased to delay the same to the next morrow, he should be with them. They answered, that they were also little foreseen at their coming of those matters as he was, and seeing they were all joyn-

Bargenny declining the charge the business ceaseth.

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ed in one Commiſſion, if he was the principal did decline it, they could do nothing by themſelves: and ſo the buſineſs was left for that night. *An.* 1596.

In the morning early the King and Council departed to *Linlithgow*, leaving a Proclamation, which was preſently publiſhed at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, of this Tenor. 'That the King conſidering the late treaſonable uproar moved by certain Factious perſons of the Miniſtery of *Edinburgh*, (who after they had uttered moſt ſeditious ſpeeches in Pulpit, did convene a number of Noblemen, Barons and others in the little Church, and ſent ſome of their number to his Majeſty being then in the upper houſe of Seſſion, uſing him in a moſt irreverent manner and with ſpeeches ill-beſeeming any ſubject; and that a multitude of the Towns-men by perſwaſion of the ſaid Miniſtery had treaſonably put themſelves in Arms, intending to bereave his Majeſty and his Counſil of their lives) did think the ſaid Town an unfit place for the miniſtration of Juſtice, and had therefore ordained the Lords of Seſſion, the Sheriffs, Commiſſioners and Juſtice, with their ſeveral members and Deputies, to remove themſelves forth of the Town of *Edinburgh*, and be in readineſs to repair unto ſuch places as ſhould be appointed; commanding in like ſort all Noblemen and Barons to diſpatch unto their Houſes, and not to preſume to convene either in that or any other place without his Majeſtie's Licence, under the pain of his Highneſs diſpleaſure.

The King with the Council departeth to *Linlithgow*.

A Proclamation diſcharging all Judicatories to ſit in *Edinburgh*.

This Proclamation with the King's ſudden departing wrought a great alteration in the minds of the people. They began then to ſee their error, and look'd heavy one upon another. The better ſort being in a great perplexity what they ſhould do, called their Council together, but could not reſolve what courſe to take. To follow the King and plead for the town, they could not think any of them would be accepted; (and it being the laſt day of the week, hardly would any others undertake the imployment) ſo as they ſaw no way but to be quiet till they heard what the King and Council concluded to do. But the Miniſters perſiſting in their firſt reſolution labored to have the Noblemen and Barons remain together, and to ſend for others well-affected in Religion, who, as they thought, would joyn in the cauſe. A Bond to this effect was drawn up, and ſubſcrived by ſome few. The Council of the town excuſed themſelves, ſaying, Their good will was known, and that they were not to leave their dwellings; which made divers keep back their hands. Always it was thought meet that the Miniſters ſhould write to the Lord *Hamilton* and the Laird of *Baclevgh*, of whoſe aſſiſtence they held themſelves aſſured, intreating them to repair to the town and countenance the Cauſe; as likewiſe that the reſt of the Miniſters in the Country ſhould be convened as unto a General Aſſembly, and deſired to bring with them the beſt-affected Gentlemen within their Pariſhes.

A great alteration in the minds of people.

A Bond for mutual concurrence.

They were at the ſame time in a long deliberation, whether or not they ſhould Excommunicate the Lord Preſident and Advocate; which divers urged. The Controller was in ſome better opinion with them, by reaſon of a Meſſage ſent quietly to Mr. *Robert Bruce*. But in end they reſolved to continue that buſineſs to the meeting of the Aſſembly, when the Sentence might be pronounced with greater authority. Meanwhile, to keep the people in a good diſpoſition, a Faſt was proclaimed through the City, and Sermons of Preparation ordained to be made that afternoon in all the Churches.

The Excommunication of the Preſident deferred.

A Faſt in the City.

A Miniſter named Mr. *John Welch* making offer to ſupply the place in the high Church, was allowed to Preach, who taking for his theme the Epiſtle ſent to the Angel of the Church of *Epheſus*, did rail pitifully againſt the King, ſaying, *He was poſſeſſed with a Devil; and one Devil being put out ſeven worſe were entred in place. And that the ſubjects might lawfully riſe, & take the ſword out of his hand:* which he confirmed by the example of *a Father that falling in a phrenſie might be taken by the Children & ſervants of the family, & tied hand & foot from doing violence.* A moſt execrable Doctrine and directly repugnant to holy Scriptures; which yet was taken by many of the hearers as a ſound and free application: ſo ready are men to flatter themſelves in wickedneſs, and even to juſtifie Impiety it ſelf. A rumor was then alſo diſperſed

Mr. *Welch* and his Sermon.

A rumor diſperſed that *Arrol* had ſome forces aſſembled.

An. 1596. diſperſed about the town, that in the day of tumult the Earl of *Arrol* did come to the *Queen's Ferry* with 500 horſe, and was gone back upon report of the ſtir. This upon the Sunday took up a great part of the Miniſters ſermons, and was brought to juſtifie the multitudes proceedings, as though they had been directed by a ſecret providence to diſappoint the wicked practices that were in hand. A manifeſt forgery it was, yet believed at the ſame time by fooliſh and credulous people.

The Copy of the Letter ſent to the Lord *Hamilton* ſhewed to the King.

The Meſſenger ſent to the Lord *Hamilton* was at his coming well received. At firſt the Nobleman made a ſhew that he would go for *Edinburgh*; but upon better advice he turned to *Linlithgow*, and taking the copy of the Letter that was ſent unto him (for he rendred the principal to the bearer) he ſhewed the King what an invitation he had from thoſe at *Edinburgh*. The King at ſight of the letter grew exceeding angry, for therein, after a ſhort narrative of the injuries the Church had received by the malice of ſome Counſellors, it was ſaid, That *the people animated by the Word and motion of Gods Spirit had gone to Arms, and that the godly Barons and other Gentlemen that were in Town had convened themſelves, and taken on them the patrociny of the Church and her cauſe; only they lacked a Head and ſpecial Noblemen to countenance the matter, and ſince with one conſent they had made choice of his Lordſhip, their deſire was that he ſhould come to* Edinburgh *with all convenient diligence, and utter his affection to the Good Cauſe, accepting the honor which was offered unto him.*

This Letter did offend many of the better ſort.

This Letter endited by Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and ſubſcrived by him and Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, was of all that yet had happened the worſt, nor could it receive any good conſtruction; for albeit in an Apology afterwards ſet forth it was ſaid to be penned only to pleaſe the Nobleman, who was of an ambitious humor; yet put the caſe he had accepted, and taken before him to be their Head, as he was deſired, who can tell what miſchief might have enſued, and if it might not have turned to the wrack and ruine of many innocents? But faults follow one upon another, and when men have once paſſed bounds, they run eaſily into error.

A charge for apprehending the Miniſters.

On Monday early a Charge was directed to the Provoſt and Bailiffs for impriſoning the Miniſters; but they upon ſome advertiſement fled, and went to *Newcaſtle* in *England*. The town the ſame day ſent *John Arnot*, *Hugh Brown*, *George Heriot*, and *John Wat*, to purge themſelves of the tumult, and offer their obedience in every thing his Majeſty and Council ſhould be pleaſed to enjoyn for repairing the indignity and diſhonor done to his Highneſs; providing they ſhould not be thought guilty of the crime, which from their hearts they deteſted. But the King would receive no Purgation, ſaying, *That fair and humble words could not excuſe ſuch a fault, and that he ſhould come ere it were long, and let them know he was their King.* The next day in Council the tumult was declared to be treaſon, and the Deviſers, Executors and Partakers to be traitors, as likewiſe all that ſhould thereafter partake and aſſiſt the committers thereof.

The King refuſeth the Purgation offered by the Town. The Tumult declared treaſon by Act of Council.

The Town employed others towards the King.

This put the town in a great fear, neither did they expect any other than an utter ruine. All the Judicatories were removed to *Leith*, the Seſſion ordained to ſit at *Perth* after the firſt of *February*, their Miniſters were fled, the Magiſtrates not regarded, and thoſe of greateſt power about the King their enemies; what they ſhould do they were doubtful. After divers opinions given, they are reſolved that ſome ſhould be ſent who would be more acceptable, to ſupplicate the King, and excuſe the towns part, for that perhaps would be taken better at other mens hands than any of their own. To this errand none was held ſo fit as Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *John Preſton*, and Mr. *John Sharp*, men in favor with the King, and free of all Faction.

The Propoſition made by thoſe that were ſent by the Town.

Theſe coming to the King at *Linlithgow*, after they had ſhewed the miſerable eſtate of the Town, and how grieved all honeſt men were for the diſpleaſure he had conceived againſt them, did beſeech him not to uſe the extremity of rigour, but to put a difference between the innocent and guilty. 'In great towns, ſuch as 'that was (they ſad) there would ever be ſome bad ſpirits; and if the Inſo-'lencies of a raſcal Multitude ſhould be imputed to the town, it would be 'thought

'thought hard, ſpecially ſince the Magiſtrates had done their duties and repreſ- *An.* 1596.
'ſed the tumult. If on their part there had been any connivance, or the ſmall-
'eſt appearance that they did favor the Sedition, they proteſted that they
'would not have opened their mouths in their favor; but ſince it was known
'that none were more offended with the tumult than they, and that they were
'careful to find out the authors and preſent them to puniſhment, they could not
'but humbly entreat his Majeſty to relent his wrath, and to be mitigated towards
'the town.

His Majeſties Anſwer.

The King after a little pauſe anſwered, *That he could not think the Town to be free; for if ſome of the Principals had not approved the Multitude in their doings, the Tumult could not have been ſo great; but howſoever the Magiſtrates negligence could not be excuſed, in ſo far as they did not prevent the Diſorder: always his reſolution was to proceed by form of Law, and not to uſe any violent courſe; but he had appointed the Eſtates to meet in the ſame place where the Diſhonor was done unto him, and would follow their advice both in the Trial and Puniſhment.* With this anſwer they were dimitted.

The King cometh to *Leith* and the next day to *Edinburgh.*

The laſt of *December*, which was the day preceding the Convention, the King came to *Leith*, and ſtayed there all night, giving order for his entry into the Town the next morning, which was in this manner: The Keys of the Town being delivered to one of the Kings Officers, a Guard of armed men was placed in the ſtreets, and the Citizens commanded to ſtay within their houſes, and forbidden to carry any weapon. The Earl of *Marre* with the Lord *Seaton* and *Ochiltrie* had the charge of the Town given them, without the admiſſion of the Magiſtrates; and they having diſpoſed all things in the beſt faſhion, the King accompanied with a great train of Nobles entered the Town, and riding up the ſtreet lighted at the *Tolbuith*, where the Eſtates were appointed to meet. After ſome general diſcourſes of the Tumult, the King was adviſed to call the Magiſtrates, and hear what they could ſay in behalf of the Town.

Offers made by the Town for pacifying his Majeſties anger.

Sir *Alexander Hume* of *North-Berwick* Provoſt, *Roger Mackmath*, *George Todrick*, *Patrick Cochran*, and *Alexander Hunter* Bailiffs, with a number of the Town-Council, compeiring and falling on their knees, after ſome few words delivered by the Provoſt, did preſent in writing the Offers following.

'That for pacifying his Majeſties wrath, and ſatisfying the Lords of Council,
'they ſhould upon their great Oath purge themſelves of all foreknowledge and
'partaking in that ſeditious Tumult. And as already they had made a diligent
'ſearch to find out the Authors, ſo they ſhould not ceaſe till they had brought the
'Trial unto the uttermoſt point: or if his Majeſty and Council do think any
'others more fit to take the Examination, they ſhould willingly reſign their pla-
'ces to ſuch as his Highneſs would appoint, and aſſiſt them at their power. And
'becauſe his Majeſty had taken that Tumult to proceed from certain Sermons
'preached by the Miniſters, who were now denounced Rebels, they ſhould pro-
'miſe never to readmit any of thoſe Miniſters, unleſs his Majeſty did command
'otherwiſe. As alſo, that the like ſhould not fall out thereafter, the Town ſhould
'be obliged never to receive any Miniſter in time coming but by his Majeſties ad-
'vice and approbation: and in the election of their Magiſtrates they ſhould year-
'ly preſent their lites to his Majeſty and the Lords of Seſſion, to be allowed or
'diſallowed at their pleaſure, and propone ſuch others as his Majeſty ſhould think
'more apt and ſufficient for the Charge, and to that effect ſhould alter the time
'of their Election, and make the ſame on ſome day of *November*, when the
'Lords of Seſſion were convened and might give their advice thereto. They
'did laſtly offer to fulfil whatſoever his Majeſty and Council ſhould think fit to
'be done in the premiſſes, under Proteſtation that they did not take upon them
'the crime, and that it ſhould not be thought to have been committed of their
'foreknowledge.

The effects of the Mutiny contrary to that which was intended.

Thus it proved true which *Tacitus* ſaith, that *all Conſpiracies of the Subjects, if they ſucceed not, advance the Sovereignty:* for by this Tumult was the Kings Authority in matters Eccleſiaſtical ſo far advanced, as he received little or no oppoſition thereafter.

An. 1596. Advice given to raze the Town.

The Offers of the Town, howbeit made in great Submiſſion, were not accepted, and counſel given by ſome Noblemen to raze the Town, and erect a Pillar in place thereof, for a monument of the Inſolency committed, and the juſt puniſhment taken thereof. Others were more mild in their opinions; but for that time nothing was concluded.

The Queen of *England* upon notice ſent to her of theſe Broils did write to the King a Letter, which (for the loving advice it contained) I thought meet here to inſert.

My dear Brother,

The Queen of *Englands* Letter to the King.

IF a rare accident and ill-welcomed news had not broken my long ſilence, I had not uſed now Pen-ſpeech, as being careful of your quiet, and mindful of your ſafety. To omit the expreſſing of both, by letting you know how untimely I take this new-begun Phrenſie, that may urge you to take ſuch a courſe, as may bring into opinion the verifying of ſuch a Scandal as ye avowed to me to be far from your thought. In this ſort I mean it; ſome members of the Church with their companies have over-audaciouſly emboldened themſelves to redreſs ſome injurious Acts that they feared might overthrow their Profeſſion: which though I grant no King for the manner ought to bear with, yet at the inſtant when the new baniſhed Lords returned, and they ſeen to be winked at without reſtraint, and the Spring-time going on, when promiſed ſuccour is attended, together with many Letters from Rome *and elſewhere ſent abroad, to tell the names of men authorized by you, as they ſay (though I hope falſly) to aſſure your Conformity, as time may ſerve you, to eſtabliſh the dangerous party, and fail your own: I wail in unfeigned ſort, that any juſt cauſe ſhould be given you to call in doubt ſo diſguiſed acts, and hope that you will ſo try this cauſe as that it harm not you, though it ruine them.*

Of this you may be ſure, that if you make your ſtrength of ſo ſandy a foundation, as to call to your aid ſuch as be not of your Flock, whenas the one ſide be fooliſh, raſh, headſtrong and brainſick, yet ſuch as may defend you, having no ſure anchorage for themſelves, if you fail them; and the others, who have other props to ſuſtain them, though they lack you, yea ſuch as though your private love to their perſons may inveigle your eyes, not to pierce in the depth of their Treaſon, yet it is well known that their many Petitions for foreign aid might have tended to your peril, and your Countrys wreck; for ſeldom comes a Stranger to a weaker ſoil that thralleth not the poſſeſſor, or indangereth him at leaſt. I truſt you think no leſs; or elſe they muſt juſtifie themſelves to condemn you, for without your diſpleaſure, not feared for ſuch a fact, no anſwer can ſhield them from blame. Now to utter my folly in ſeeming buſie in anothers affairs, I ſuppoſe you will not miſlike, ſince the ſource of all is care of your good, to deſire that nought be done that may embolden the enemy, decreaſe your love, and endanger your ſurety. This is in ſum the line whereto I tend, and God I beſeech to direct your heart in ſuch ſort, as ye pleaſe not your worſt ſubjects, but make all know in a meaſure what is fit for them, and make difference between Error and Malice. So God bleſs you with a true thought of her that means you beſt,

Your affectionate Siſter

ELIZABETH R.

The Letter pleaſed the King well.

This Letter was to the Kings mind: for albeit he judged the Offence great, yet it was not his purpoſe to uſe Rigor, but to aſſure the Obedience of the ſubjects in time coming, and make his own advantage of their Diſorders. Therefore in the next Meeting which was kept at *Halirudhouſe*, the Tumult being of new declared to be Treaſon by the Eſtates, no farther was done, but a concluſion taken to purſue the Town criminally before the Juſtice; and to charge the Provoſt, Baylies, Council and Deacons of Crafts, as repreſenting the whole Body of the Town, to enter their perſons within the Town of *Perth* before the firſt of *February*, and there to keep Ward till they ſhould be cleared, or found guilty of the Uproar.

The Tumult declared Treaſon in the Convention of Eſtates.

The Town of *Edinburgh* charged to appear at *Perth*.

The *Octavians* quit their Commiſſion of the Exchequer.

In this Convention the *Octavians* not according well amongſt themſelves (for the

the Prior of *Blantyre* did keep a courſe with the Gentlemen of the Chamber, and underhand informed the Miniſtery of the ill affection that the Preſident and Advocate carried unto them) gave over their Commiſſion of Exchequer in his Majeſties hands. They pretended the many burthens which they ſuſtained otherwiſe, their ſervices in Council and Seſſion, with the charge of the Queens Rent and living; but the true cauſe was, the malice and envy carried unto them for the credit and place they had with the King, which their ſervice had well deſerved; for never were the Rents of the Crown ſo thriftily and ſo rightly uſed as in that ſhort time of their employment. But the King loved to have Peace though with his own loſs, neither did they like to be the inſtruments of his Trouble. *An.* 1596.

A little before theſe Stirs with the Church, Capt. *James Stewart* (who had been ſometimes Chancellor, and carried the Title of the *Earl of Arran*) was killed by *James Douglas* of *Tortherald*. This man after he was put from Court had lived obſcure in the North-parts, and was entertained by the Lady *Salton* his own Siſter. Being in ſome hope to come again by the Office of Chancellary, which was yet void by the death of the Lord *Thirleſtan*, he came South, and had a long conference with the King, which did greatly encourage him; but till matters might be better prepared, he took purpoſe to viſit his friends in *Kyle*. Taking his journy by *Symington* nigh unto *Douglas*, he was adviſed by his friends in thoſe parts to look to himſelf, and not ride ſo openly becauſe of *Tortherald* that lived not far off, whoſe Uncle he had followed (as they ſpake) to the death. His reply (as he was a man proud and diſdainful) That he would not leave his way for him, nor for all the name of *Douglas*, being overheard by a fellow, and reported to *Tortherald*, did ſo inflame him, the old ulcer remaining uncured, as he avouched to have his life at all hazards. So getting intelligence that he had taken horſe, he made after him with three of his ſervants, and overtaking him in a valley called *Catſlack*, after he had ſtricken him from his horſe, did kill him without any reſiſtence. It is ſaid that when Captain *James* ſaw the horſemen following, he asked how they called the piece of ground on which they were, and when he heard the name of it, he commanded the company to ride more quickly, as having gotten a reſponſe to beware of ſuch a part. He was a man full of violence, and when he was in place of Rule executed it with much cruelty, which was now payed home in the end. Captain *James Stewart* killed.

The King, who longed to ſee a decent Order eſtabliſhed in the Church, ſuch as agreed with the Word of God, the allowable cuſtom of the Primitive times, and with the Laws of the Country, did think this a fit time to effectuate his purpoſe, and thereupon to hold a National Aſſembly to meet at *Perth* the laſt of *February*, for treating and determining the bounds and exerciſe of the Spiritual Juriſdiction; and to the end that all might come the better prepared, and be duly adviſed with the matters then to be entreated, he cauſed ſome Articles to be drawn up and imprinted with a Preface, wherein he *took God the ſearcher of all hearts to record, that his intention was not to trouble the peace of the Church by thorny queſtions, nor yet to claim to himſelf any tyrannical or unlawful Government over the ſame, but only to have theſe Doubts ſolved, which might either in his time or in the time of his Succeſſors engender debate; and to have the Policy of the Church ſo cleared, as all Corruptions being removed, a pleaſant Harmony might be ſettled betwixt him and the Miniſtery, to the glory of Almighty God, the content of all good men, and terror of the wicked.* A National Aſſembly indicted at *Perth*. Articles publiſhed in print for the better preparation to the Aſſembly.

The Articles were 55 in number, and drawn up in form of Queſtions, as followeth.

1. May not the matters of external Gubernation of the Church be diſputed, *ſalva Fide & Religione?*
2. Is it the King ſeverally, or the Paſtors ſeverally, or both conjunctly, that ſhould eſtabliſh the Acts concerning the Gubernation of the Church? or what is the form of their conjunction in the making of Laws?
3. Is not the conſent of the moſt part of the Flock, and alſo of the Patron, neceſſary in the Election of Paſtors?

An. 1596.

4. Is it lawful for the Paſtor to leave his Flock againſt their wills, albeit he have the conſent of the Presbytery? and for what cauſe ſhould the Presbytery conſent thereto?
5. Is it lawful for a Miniſter to uſe ſuch application than that which may edifie his own Flock? or is the whole world the Flock of every particular Paſtor?
6. Is he a lawful Miniſter who wants *Impoſitionem manuum?*
7. Is it lawful to Paſtors to expreſs in particular the names of Councellors, Magiſtrates, or others whatſoever in Pulpit, or ſo lively to deſcrive them that the people may underſtand, by whom they mean, without notorious declared Vices and private Admonitions preceding?
8. For what Vices ſhould Admonitions and reproving of Magiſtrates paſs publickly from Pulpits, in their abſence or preſence, reſpective?
9. Is the Application of Doctrine in Pulpits lawful which is founded upon informations, bruits and rumors, ſuſpicions and conditions, if this be or that be, probabilities, likelineſs or unlikelineſs of things to come in Civil matters, which all may be falſe, and conſequently the Doctrine following thereupon? or ſhould all Applications be grounded upon the verity of known and notorious Vices?
10. Is the Text which is read in Pulpit the ground whereupon all the Doctrine ſhould be built? or may all things be ſpoken upon all Texts, ſo that the reading thereof is but a Ceremony?
11. May a ſimple Paſtor exerciſe any Juriſdiction, without conſent of the moſt part of his particular Seſſion?
12. Is his Seſſion Judge to his Doctrine?
13. Should not the Moderator of the Seſſion be choſen yearly, or any who hath voice therein?
14. May the Seſſion be elected lawfully by Miniſters only, without the conſent of the whole Congregation?
15. Why ſhould not Elders and Deacons of particular Seſſions be elected *ad vitam?*
16. How many Presbyteries are meet to be in the whole Countrey, in what places, and how many Paſtors of Churches in every Presbytery?
17. Should not the Elders and Deacons of every particular Seſſion have voice in Presbyteries, or the Paſtors only?
18. What are the matters belonging to the Juriſdiction of the Presbytery, which may not be entreated in particular Seſſions?
19. What form of Proceſs in Libelling and Citation, what Terms and Diets, and what Probations ſhould be uſed before the ſaid particular Seſſions and Presbyteries reſpective?
20. What matters ſhould the Synodal Aſſemblies treat upon, which may not be decided in Presbyteries?
21. Should not all who have voice in Presbyteries and in the particular Seſſions, have voice in the Synodal Aſſemblies?
22. Should each Univerſity or College, or every Maſter or Regent within Colleges, have voice in Presbyteries and Synods, in the Towns and Countreys where they are? as likewiſe what form of voice ſhould they have in General Aſſemblies?
23. Is it lawful to convocate the General Aſſembly without his Majeſtie's licence, he being *pius & Chriſtianus Magiſtratus?*
24. Is it neceſſary that the General Aſſembly ſhould be ordinarily convened for weighty cauſes concerning the whole Church?
25. Have not all men of good Religion and Learning voice in the General Aſſembly?
26. Is every particular Paſtor obliged to repair to the General Aſſembly? or is it ſufficient that only Commiſſioners come from every particular Seſſion, Presbytery, or Synodal?
27. Who ſhould chuſe the Commiſſioners to come from every ſhire to give voice in the General Aſſembly?
28. What

28. What is the number of thoſe that give voices, which is neceſſary to the lawfulneſs of a General Aſſembly? and how many of the number ſhould be Paſtors, and how many other men? *An.* 1596.
29. May any thing be enacted in the Aſſembly to which his Majeſty conſents not?
30. Is it neceſſary that the twe part of them who have *jus ſuffragii* ſhould conſent to any things decerned in Eccleſiaſtick judgments, that matters paſs not by one voice mo or leſs?
31. Hath not every Judgment inferior to the General Aſſembly a Territory limited, without the which they have no power of Citation or Juriſdiction?
32. What is the ordinary Eccleſiaſtick judgment for his Majeſties Houſhold and Council, removeable with his Majeſty to any part of the Realm?
33. Should there be libelled Precepts containing the cauſe of the Citation and certification of the Cenſures before all Eccleſiaſtick judgments? or ſhould they anſwer *ſuper inquirendis*?
34. Have the Inferior Judgments power to ſummon any to compeir before the ſuperior? or ſhould men be ſummoned only by the authority of that Judgment before which they ought to compeir?
35. Is it not neceſſary that private Admonitions, with reaſonable intervals of time, paſs before all manner of Citations?
36. What interval of time is neceſſary between every private Admonition and between the firſt Citation, and the day of compeirance, and betwixt the Citation and the laſt Admonition, in every one of the ſaid Judgments?
37. How many Citations ſhould infer Contumacy?
38. Is ſimple Contumacy without Probation of a crime, or is any crime without Contumacy, a ſufficient cauſe of Excommunication?
39. Are there not divers kinds of Cenſures, ſuch as *Prohibitio privati convictus*, *Interdictio à cœna*, not publiſhed to the people; and laſt of all, *Publica traditio Satanæ*?
40. Should the Presbyteries be Judges of all things that import ſlander? and if ſo be, whereof are they not Judges?
41. Can Excommunication be uſed againſt Thieves, Murtherers, Uſurers, and not payers of their Debts? and if ſo it may be, why are not the High-land and Border-thieves curſed, as alſo all the forſwearing Merchants and Uſurers amongſt the Borroughs?
42. Is there any Appellation from the Inferior to the Superior Judgment? and is not the ſentence ſuſpended during the Appellation?
43. Should not all Proceſſes and Acts be extracted to parties having intereſs;
44. Is ſummary Excommunication lawful in any caſe without Admonition and Citation preceding?
45. Have any others but Paſtors voice in Excommunication?
46. Hath every Eccleſiaſtical judgment a like power to Excommunicate?
47. Is it lawful to excommunicate ſuch Papiſts as never profeſſed our Religion?
48. A Woman being excommunicated, having a faithful Husband, ſhould he thereafter abſtain from her company?
49. Is it not reaſonable that before any Letters of horning be granted by the Seſſion upon the Proceſs of Excommunication, that the party ſhould be cited to hear them granted?
50. Hath not a Chriſtian King power to annul a notorious unjuſt ſentence of Excommunication?
51. May any Council or Univerſity be excommunicated? for what cauſe, by whom, and the manner thereof?
52. When the Paſtors do not their duties, or when one Juriſdiction uſurpeth upon another, or any other Schiſm falleth out, ſhould not a Chriſtian King amend ſuch diſorders?

An. 1596.

53. May Fasts for general causes be proclaimed without a Christian Kings command?

54. May any Ecclesiastical Judgment compel a man to swear *in suam turpitudinem?*

55. Should there any thing be entreated in the Ecclesiastical Judgment prejudicial to the Civil Jurisdiction or private mens rights? and may not the Civil Magistrates stay all such proceedings?

The Ministers greatly perplexed with these Questions.

How soon these Questions were divulged, and that it was seen they all touched upon the abuses crept into the discipline, the Ministers that stood affected to the present Order were much perplexed; neither did any thing more offend them, than that the Government should be brought in dispute which they had given out always to be a part of the Gospel. This at any hand they thought was to be prevented; and many private Conferences were kept to this purpose. Neither did the King neglect to provide himself of a party against that Meeting; and thinking he should gain most easily the Ministers in the North parts, he employed Sir *Patrick Murray*, Gentleman of his Chamber, to deal with them, giving him direction first to shew what a slander the Ministers of *Edinburgh* had brought upon Religion by stirring up of the late Uproar, and the inciting of the Lord *Hamilton* and others of the Nobility to open Rebellion against him; how for the same they were become Fugitives, and denounced his Majesties Rebels; and thereupon to desire them by some publick Act or Declaration to utter their dislike of the Seditious and Treasonable courses.

Sir *Patrick Murray* directed to the North to deal with the Ministers.

He was next desired to urge their subscription to the Bond, which was appointed to be subscribed by the Ministers for acknowledging his Majesties Royal power above them in all causes of Sedition, Treason, and other Civil and Criminal matters, and in all speeches uttered by them in Pulpits, Schools, or otherwise, which might import the said crimes, or any of them.

Thirdly, To require them to accept the Earl of *Huntley* his Offers for satisfying the Church, and to absolve him from his Excommunication, they finding his Offers reasonable; seeing *the bosome of the Church ought always to be open to Penitents*, and that they should be more ready to receive than cast out: wherefore as the Presbytery of S. *Andrews*, to the which he was not subject, had pronounced him Excommunicate, they, under whose Jurisdiction he lived, might and ought with better reason declare him absolved. Neither should the pretext of the General Assemblies Ratification of the sentence be a stay unto them, considering it was done many months after the pronouncing of the sentence, and that the Absolution they should give might in the like manner be ratified at the next Assembly; much less ought the prohibition of the Presbytery of *Edinburgh* (whereof his Majesty was informed) be any hindrance to them, seeing they were neither subject nor subordinate to them, but as free in all respects as themselves.

And if any doubt should arise upon the form of the Earls satisfaction, he was to remember them that the same is expresly defined in the Act of Parliament, *An.* 1572, made against Apostates and other adversaries of the true Religion, where it is said, *That they which have made defection from the Truth should not be received to our Sovereign Lords mercy and favour, till they have given of new the Confession of their Faith, and promised to continue in the Profession thereof all time coming, and to fortifie the Preachers of the same against whatsoever enemies.*

Last of all, he was appointed to deliver them a Copy of the imprinted Questions, and to desire the most discreet of their number to be sent Commissioners to the Assembly appointed at *Perth*, with promise of special favor to them in all their business, his good will towards the Ministery being no way altered by the wrong he had received from those insolent Ministers of *Edinburgh*. This was the substance of his Instructions.

The Ministers Answer.

The Ministers with the reverence that was due made answer, That for *the Tumult of Edinburgh* they were ignorant of the Ministers behavior therein, as likewise of their flight; and having no Jurisdiction over them, they could give forth

no

no Judgment or Cenſure: only in the general they would ſay, that whoſoever with juſt trial ſhould be found Authors of that Inſurrection deſerved to be puniſhed as Traitors; and if they were Miniſters, to be doubly puniſhed. *An.* 1596.

For their *Subſcription to the Bonds*, they anſwered, That at their acception of the Miniſtery they had taken Oath for acknowledging his Majeſties Power and Authority, and would not decline the ſame: but where the Bond did mention ſpeeches uttered in Pulpit, becauſe the ſame concerned application of Doctrine, which his Majeſty had proponed as a Queſtion to be decided in the approaching Aſſembly, they did humbly entreat his Majeſty to ſpare them in that point unto that time, which they promiſed preciſely to keep.

For *the Earl of Huntley*, they ſaid, His Repentance ſhould be moſt acceptable to them; that they were content to give him conference, and uſe all means for his reſolution; but they did not find him ſo willing to conform as they wiſhed, nor very earneſt for his abſolution.

This was the ſum of their Anſwer; which the King did accept the better, becauſe of the hopes given to his ſervant of all ſatisfaction on their parts at the Meeting of *Perth*: which they alſo performed; for both then and afterwards in all Aſſemblies and Conventions they did ſtick faſt unto him. But the King being made to underſtand that *Huntley* did linger and delay to make offers for ſatisfying the Church, he ſent him the Letter following written all with his own hand.

My Lord,

His Majeſties Letter to the Earl of *Huntley*.

I Am ſure ye conſider and do remember how often I have incurred ſkaith and hazard for your cauſe; therefore, to be ſhort, reſolve you either to ſatisfie the Church betwixt the day that is appointed without any more delay, or elſe if your Conſcience be ſo kittle as it cannot permit you, make for another Land betwixt and that day, where ye may uſe freely your own Conſcience: your Wife and Barns ſhall in that caſe enjoy your living; but for your ſelf never to be a Scottiſh-*man again. Deceive not your ſelf to think that by lingring of time your Wife and your Allies ſhall ever get you better Conditions. And think not that I will ſuffer any profeſſing a contrary Religion to dwell in this Land. If you obey me in this, you may once again be ſetled in a good eſtate, and made able to do me ſervice, which from my heart I would wiſh. The reſt I remit to the bearer, whoſe directions ye ſhall follow if you wiſh your own well. Farewell.*

From *Dunfermlin*. *JAMES R.*

Letters directed to the Presbyteries for keeping the Aſſembly.

Such was the Kings care for reclaiming the Nobleman to the profeſſion of the Truth, whilſt people ſuffered themſelves to be abuſed with rumors that he himſelf was declining. Letters in the mean time were directed to all the Presbyteries, advertiſing them of the meeting at *Perth*, and deſiring they ſhould ſend their Commiſſioners thither inſtructed with power to treat and conclude in all matters proponed. When the day came, the Aſſembly was frequent enough; but divers Commiſſioners bearing a power only to convene, hear and report, and not to queſtion any thing concluded in former Aſſemblies; the King ſent Sir *John Cockburne* of *Ormeſton*, Sir *John Preſton* and Mr. *Edward Bruce*, to ask thoſe that were convened, *Whether they did accompt that meeting a lawful General Aſſembly, having power ſufficient to treat and conclude in the Articles that ſhould be proponed, according to his Majeſties miſſive Letters directed to the ſeveral Presbyteries.* After long reaſoning anſwer was made, 'That they did eſteem the Meeting to be a lawful Ge-'neral Aſſembly, called extraordinarily by his Majeſties Letters, and that they 'would hear, treat and conclude of things that ſhould be moved unto them, ac-'cording to the Commiſſions wherewith they were authorized.

The Aſſembly declared to be a lawful General Aſſembly.

Articles preſented by his Commiſſioners to the Aſſembly.

This anſwer given, they preſented the Articles following. Seeing the quietneſs of the Church and the freeing of the ſame from ſlander, which upon the contrary effects would neceſſarily follow, is the principal ſcope and end at which his Majeſty aimeth in this preſent Aſſembly, foreſhewing faſhions and long diſputes whereupon

An. 1596. whereupon controverſies and debates might ariſe, his Majeſty hath thought good to remit the deciſion of a great number of the Queſtions imprinted to better opportunity, and will content himſelf with the determination of a few that he hath made choice of, which with a greater could not be longer delayed.

As firſt, That it be not thought unlawful either to the Prince or any of the Paſtors at any time hereafter to move doubts, and crave reformation of any points in the external Policy and Diſcipline of the Church, which are not eſſential concerning Salvation, nor expreſly defined in Scripture; providing it be done *decenter* in right time and place, *animo ædificandi, non tentandi.*

2. That ſeeing the Civil and Politick Government of the Country belongs properly to the Kings Office and his Counſellors, and it is no way pertinent to the ſpiritual Miniſtery of the Word; that no Miniſter ſhould thereafter meddle with matters of Eſtate in Pulpit, or with any of his Majeſties Laws, Statutes or Ordinances; but if any of them ſeem hurtful to Religion, they ſhould complain to the King and Council.

3. That it ſhould not be lawful to Miniſters to name any particular mens names in Pulpit, or ſo vively to deſcrive them as may be equivalent to their naming, except upon the notoriety of a Crime, which notoriety muſt only be defined by the guilty perſons being Fugitive for the Crimes, or the Declaration of an Aſſize, or their excommunication for the ſame.

4. That every Miniſter in his particular Application have only reſpect to the edification of his own Flock and preſent Auditory, without expatiating in other diſcourſes no way pertinent to their Congregation.

5. That every particular Presbytery be commanded to take a diligent accompt of the Doctrine of their Miniſters, and ſee that they keep themſelves within bounds in the premiſſes.

6. That ſummary Excommunication be utterly diſcharged, and that three lawful Citations at leaſt of eight days interval betwixt every one of them precede the Sentence.

7. That no Seſſion, Presbytery or Synod uſe Cenſures upon any but thoſe that are within their bounds; otherwiſe their Decrees and Sentences to be null.

8. That all Summons contain a ſpecial cauſe and crime, and none be uſed *ſuper inquirendis, quod eſt mere tyrannicum.*

9. That no Meeting or Convention be amongſt the Miniſters without his Majeſties knowledge and conſent, except the ordinary Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods.

10. That in the principal Burghs no Miniſters be placed without the conſent of his Majeſty and the Flock; and this order to begin preſently in *Edinburgh.*

11. That all matters concerning the reſt of his Majeſties Queſtions be ſuſpended, and neither condemned nor rebuked, either in Pulpit, or any other Judicatory, till the ſame be decided in the next General Aſſembly; eſpecially that no matters be called before the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories as importing Slander, wherein his Majeſties Authority may be prejudged; but that they meddle only with Cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtical.

12. That ſome wiſe and diſcreet Miniſters, to the number of ſeven or eight, be authorized by Commiſſion to reaſon upon the reſt of the Queſtions, when opportunity of time ſhall ſerve.

Laſtly, that the preſent Aſſembly grant Commiſſion to the Miniſters of the North Country to abſolve the Earl of *Huntley* from his Excommunication, if he ſatisfie the Church.

The advice of certain Brethren ſet apart to conſider the Articles.

For the better determining of the ſaid Articles, it was thought meet that ſome Brethren ſhould be deſired to confer of them apart, and report their opinions to the Aſſembly, which they did the next morning. Touching the Firſt Article, they ſaid, That they held it not expedient to make any Law or Act concerning that matter, leſt a door ſhould be opened thereby to turbulent ſpirits; otherwiſe they did think it lawful to his Majeſty by himſelf or by his Commiſſioners to propone in a General Aſſembly whatſoever point his Majeſty deſired to be reſolved in, or to

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be reformed *in ſpecie externi ordinis*, ſeeing *ſubſtantia externæ adminiſtrationis Eccleſiaſticæ eſt pleniſſime prodita in Sacris Literis*. And as the General Aſſembly hath accepted well of this manner of doing in all times paſt, ſo in their opinion they ſhould do the like in time coming. *An.* 1596.

For the Second their advice was, That the Acts already made which are hurtful to Religion and prejudicial to the liberty of the Word ſhould be diſcharged, and no Act thereafter paſt concerning Religion without the advice and conſent of the Church. As for matters of Eſtate mentioned in the Article, they craved a farther explanation of that point.

The third they eſteemed reaſonable, that no mans name ſhould be expreſſed to his rebuke in Pulpit, unleſs the fault was notorious and publick; but they eſteemed *Notoriety* muſt be defined otherwiſe than by the three ways ſet down in the Article: for Contumacy after Citation, the publick commiſſion of a Crime, ſuch as was *Bothwels* treaſonable attempt at *Leith*, the burning of *Dunnybriſſil*, and the like, make alſo a Notoriety. As to the *vive deſcription*, ſaid to be *equivalent*, they thought it hard to ſet any Law to that, ſeeing every guilty perſon will think him ſelf deſcrived when his fault is rebuked, albeit the Miniſter doth not think of him.

The Fourth and Fifth Articles they judged lawful: But for the Sixth, which craves a ſimple charge of ſummar Excommunication, they adviſed to remit the ſame to the next Aſſembly, ſuſpending the practice thereof in the mean time. The Seventh, they thought likewiſe was to be remitted. To the Eighth they agreed; and for the Ninth that concerned the meeting of Paſtors, they ſaid that beſides Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods, Paſtors are accuſtomed to meet for Viſitation of Churches, Admiſſion of Miniſters, taking up of Feuds, reſolving of Queſtions.

The Tenth they eſteemed reaſonable. The Eleventh Article ſeeming to import a diſcharge of many points of Diſcipline, they ſaid was ſo large that it could not be preſently anſwered. And the laſt two they remitted to the full Aſſembly, judging that they ought to be granted.

The Aſſembly required to meet with the Eſtates.

Theſe Anſwers ſhewed to the King were not liked, and held unſufficient; whereupon the Aſſembly was deſired to repair to the place where his Majeſty and the Eſtates were convened, for treating upon the foreſaid Articles. At their coming the King had a Speech much to this purpoſe; 'That they could not be ignorant either 'of the occaſion, or of his purpoſe in calling the preſent Aſſembly: And for the 'Occaſion, that it grieved him to remember it, not for any injury or diſpleaſure 'done to himſelf, but for the ſhame and ſlander caſt upon Religion: for have not 'the adverſaries, ſaid he, too juſt a ground againſt us, who ſay that our profeſſion 'teacheth the Contempt of Princes, and maintains Inſurrections againſt them? I 'know it is the fault of men and not of the profeſſion, and none of you that are met 'here I take to be guilty of the late attempt; but it is in your hands to clear your 'ſelves, if any think otherwiſe, and ſo to free your Profeſſion of that Scandal. As 'for the Purpoſe for which I have called you together at this time, it is to mend 'ſuch things as are amiſs, and to take away the queſtions that may move trouble 'afterward: if you for your parts be willing to have matters righted, things may 'yet go well. I claim nothing but what is due to every Chriſtian King within his 'Dominion, that is to be *Cuſtos & vindex Diſciplinæ*. Corruptions are crept in, 'and more daily growing by this liberty that Preachers take in the Application of 'their Doctrine, and cenſuring every thing that is not to their mind. This I muſt 'have mended; for ſuch diſcourſes ſerve only to move Sedition and raiſe Tumults. 'Let the Truth of God be taught in the Chair of Truth, and wickedneſs be repro-'ved; but in ſuch ſort as the offender may be bettered, and Vice made more odious. 'To rail againſt men in Pulpit, and expreſs their Names, as we know was done of 'late, there being no juſt cauſe, and make the Word of God, which is ordained to 'guide men in the way of Salvation, an inſtrument of Sedition, is a Sin, I am ſure, 'beyond all other that can be committed on earth. Hold you within your limits, 'and I will never blame you, nor ſuffer others to work you any vexation. The Ci-'vil Government is committed to me, it is not your ſubject, nor are ye to meddle

'with

An. 1596. 'with it. After ſuch words as theſe he began to ſpeak of the Articles proponed, deſiring to hear what Reaſons they had to the contrary.

Proteſtation made by Mr. *Tho. Buchanan* in name of the Church.

Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, as he was appointed, did firſt proteſt in the name of the Aſſembly, 'That their coming to that place was only to teſtifie their obedience 'to his Majeſty, and to hear what ſhall be proponed; but not to ſubmit matters 'Eccleſiaſtick, either concerning Doctrine or Diſcipline, to their Judicatory; or 'yet to make themſelves one Aſſembly with the Eſtates: and that therefore they 'ſhould be permitted to return to the place of their Aſſembly to treat, reaſon and 'conclude in the Points moved unto them according to the Word of God and 'good Conſciences. Which Proteſtation was admitted. Then he did humbly thank his Majeſty for his good affection to the Church, and care he had to redreſs things that were amiſs in ſo peaceable a manner. And for the particulars proponed, he ſhewed what was the mind of the Aſſembly, and the Reaſons that led them unto it, ſaying, they were willing to hear and give place to better information. Hereupon enſued a Reaſoning, which kept a long time, and ended in a good Agreement: ſo the Miniſters were dimitted, and aſſembling again in the ordinary place, they corrected their firſt Anſwers in this ſort.

The Anſwers of the Articles reformed.

1. That it is lawful to his Majeſty by himſelf or his Commiſſioners, or to the Paſtors, to propone in a General Aſſembly whatſoever point his Majeſty or they deſired to be reſolved or reformed in matters of external Government, alterable according to circumſtances; providing it be done in right time and place *animo ædificandi, non tentandi.*

2. That no Miniſter ſhould reprove his Majeſties Laws, Acts, Statutes and Ordinances, unto ſuch time as firſt he hath by the advice of his Presbytery, Synodal or General Aſſemblies, complained and ſought remedy of the ſame from his Majeſty, and made report of his Majeſties anſwer, before any farther proceeding.

3. That no mans name ſhould be expreſſed in Pulpit to his rebuke, except the Fault be notorious and publick; which Notoriety is thus defined, If the perſon be Fugitive, convict by Aſſize, Excommunicate, Contumax after Citation or lawful Admonition; nor yet ſhould any man be deſcrived vively by any other circumſtances than publick Vices always damnable.

4. That no Miniſter ſhould uſe Application, wherein he hath not a principal reſpect to the edifying of his own Flock and preſent Auditory.

5. That every Presbyter take diligent accompt of the Paſtors Doctrine, and that he keep himſelf within the bounds of his words.

6. That the anſwers of the ſixth Article ſhall be ſuperſeded unto the next General Aſſembly, ſuſpending in the mean time all ſummary Excommunication unto the ſaid Aſſembly.

7. That the ſeventh Article be remitted to the next Aſſembly.

8. That all ſummons contain the ſpecial cauſe and crime, and none to be given out *ſuper inquirendis.*

9. That no Conventions ſhall be amongſt the Paſtors without his Majeſties knowledge and conſent, except their Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods, the meetings of the Viſitations of Churches, Admiſſion or Deprivation of Miniſters, taking up of deadly Feuds, and the like, which have not been found fault with by his Majeſty.

10. That in all principal towns the Miniſters ſhall not be choſen without his Majeſtie's conſent and the conſent of the Flock.

11. That all matters concerning remnant Queſtions ſhall be ſuſpended, and neither damned nor rebuked in Pulpit or other Judicatories, till they be decided in the General Aſſembly; and that no matters importing ſlander ſhall be called before them in the mean time, wherein his Majeſtie's Authority is prejudged, cauſes Eccleſiaſtical only excepted.

Perſons nominated to reaſon the remaining Queſtions.

Laſtly, for reaſoning the ſaid Queſtions, according to his Majeſties deſire, the Aſſembly did ordain Mr. *James Nicolſon*, Mr. *John Coldclewch*, Mr. *Andrew Clayhills*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *James Melvill*, Mr. *Robert Wilky*, Mr. *William Cowper*, Mr. *John Cowper*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Patrick*

trick Galloway, Mr. *Robert Howy*, *John Duncanſon* and Mr. *James Bryſon* to convene at ſuch time and place, as his Majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to appoint, and to report their opinion and advice to the next general Aſſembly. *An.* 1596.

Theſe Concluſions taken, which for a beginning did ſatisfie the King, a Commiſſion was alſo given at his Majeſties deſire to the Miniſters of *Aberdene* and *Murray*, with ſome others of *Mernis* and *Angus*, for reconciling the Popiſh Lords. The conditions required of *Huntley* to be fulfilled before his Abſolution were. Commiſſion given for abſolving the Popiſh Lords.

'1. That he ſhould appear before the Commiſſioners appointed by the Aſſembly the 22 of *March* at *Aberdene*, and remain in that City during the time of their 'Conference with him, to the effect he might be inſtructed in the truth, and brought 'to condeſcend with knowledge unto the Religion profeſſed, and to the deteſtation of the contrary. 2. That he ſhould acknowledge the Church of *Scotland* to 'be a true Church, and adjoyn himſelf thereto, hear the Word, receive the Sacraments, and be obedient to the diſcipline thereof. 3. That he ſhould ſolemnly promiſe to remove forth of his company, and from the bounds that were under his 'power, all Jeſuites, Prieſts, and Excommunicate perſons. 4. That he ſwear and 'ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of the Faith in preſence of the whole Commiſſioners. '5. That he acknowledge the ſentence of Excommunication to have been juſtly 'pronounced againſt him for his Apoſtaſie from the Truth, the ſlaughter of the 'Earl of *Murray* and burning of *Dunnybriſſil*, and that he declare himſelf penitent 'therefore, promiſing aſſithment to the party whenſoever he ſhould be moved to 'accept the ſame. 6. That he provide ſufficient maintenance to the Churches 'within his bounds by the advice of his beſt-adviſed friends, and have an ordinary 'Miniſter to reſide with him in his Family. And laſtly, that he be content to reconcile with all that he is eſteemed to carry any grudge unto, and profeſs no 'quarrel to any of thoſe that aſſiſted the King in his purſuit. The Conditions required of the Earl of *Huntley*.

The like Conditions were required of *Angus* and *Arrol*, (that which concerned the Earl of *Murray* only excepted.) All matters being thus peaceably accorded, the King cauſed publiſh the good Agreement he had made with the Church, taking in his protection the Miniſters with their families, goods and poſſeſſions, and charging all Papiſts (thoſe excepted that were in terms of ſatisfaction) to depart forth of the Countrey before the firſt of *June*. The like Conditions preſcrived to *Angus* and *Arrol*. The King taketh the Miniſters in his protection.

The Aſſembly, finding the King ſo well pleaſed, made bold to intercede for the Miniſters, the town of *Edinburgh*, and the Gentlemen that were challenged for the tumult. For the town his Majeſty anſwered, *that he was not minded to trouble innocent men, and ſhould ſhortly ſettle with them.* Touching the Gentlemen he ſaid, *they ſhould do well to preſent their ſupplications by their friends.* But for the Miniſters, *he eſteemed them moſt guilty, and knew not what courſe to take with them.* It being replied, that by the Examinations taken it appeared that they all, eſpecially Mr. *Robert Bruce*, was a chief inſtrument in the ſtaying of the tumult, and that they ſhould therefore be rather rewarded than puniſhed: He anſwered, *that granting they did ſtay the Tumult, yet they were the cauſe of it; and if they for that fault were firſt corrected, he would not be much troubled with their reward. Nottheleſs, at the Aſſemblies requeſt, he would be content they ſhould be relaxed, upon Caution to underly the Trial of Law.* Thus an end was put to that meeting, and the next Aſſembly by his Majeſties conſent appointed to be at *Dundee* the 10 of *May* following. The Aſſembly intercedes for the Miniſtry of *Edinburgh*, and others charged with the Tumult. The Kings anſwer.

This year Mr. *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe* departed this life at *Bruxels* in *Flanders*, where for the moſt part he abode after the Queen of *Scotland*'s Execution. A man (though differing from us in Religion) worthy to be remembred for his fidelity to the Queen his Miſtreſs, and the extraordinary pains he took to procure her liberty, travelling with all the neighbor-Princes to enterpoſe their credit with the Queen of *England* for her relief: neither was he deficient otherwiſe in miniſtring the beſt Conſolations he could furniſh for bearing patiently her croſs, whereof one Treatiſe he afterwards publiſhed full of piety and learning. How heavily he took her death it cannot well be expreſſed: yet comforting himſelf in the beſt ſort he could, he put off to this time, and being much weakned by a languiſhing ſick- The death of Mr. *John Leſley* Biſhop of *Roſſe*.

neſs

An. 1597. neſs that held him ſome months he ended quietly his days. The Hiſtory of his Countrey from the beginning of the Nation unto theſe laſt times, written by him in the *Latine* tongue, doth witneſs both his Learning and Judgment. It being juſt to give unto every man (albeit an enemy) his due commendation, I could not paſs him unremembred. Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter at *Leith* was in the year following provided to that See.

The Town of *Edinburgh* denounced Rebels.

The Diet aſſigned for the appearing of the town of *Edinburgh* at *Perth* was upon their Petition continued firſt to the 15 day of *Feb.* and from the 15 again put off to the 1 day of *March*, with a Declaration, 'That if two of the Bayliffs, with the 'Dean of *Guild*, Treaſurer, four of the principal Deacons, four of the Council and 'their Clerk, making 13 in all, did enter themſelves the ſaid day, and bring a ſuffici-'ent Commiſſion from the Provoſt, Bayliffs, Council and Community of the town 'for underlying the order that ſhould be taken with them, as repreſenting the 'whole Body, their compeirance by ſo many ſhould ſerve for all the reſt.

It was the 5 of *March* before they were called, at which time there appeared a number of perſons, and preſented a Procuratory under the Seal of the Town, and the Subſcription of the Clerks thereof, which his Majeſty cauſed to be read: then asked if all contained in the Commiſſion were preſent. It was anſwered that they were all there, *William Mauld* excepted, who had his Majeſties Letter of diſpenſation, which they produced. But the ſame being granted the 11 of *Jannary* long before the deliverance upon their Petition, which expreſly ordained that they ſhould have thirteen perſons preſent for undergoing the Trial, it was declared to be no Warrant; and ſo for not fulfilling the Ordinance of the Council the Town was denounced, the Burgeſſes declared Rebels, and their *Common good* (ſo they call the Rents belonging to the Town) arreſted to the Kings uſe.

An. 1597. The Town received into favor at the interceſſion of Noblemen.

It was pitiful to behold the Deſolation wherein the Town was then caſt. The Magiſtrates renounced their Offices, and would carry no more Charge; the People were left without direction, wanting both Magiſtrates and Miniſters: and in this ſtate did they continue for the ſpace of fifteen days. At laſt, by the Interceſſion of ſome Noblemen, the King was pleaſed to receive the Town in favor; and the Provoſt, Bayliffs, Council and Deacons of Crafts being brought unto his preſence at *Halirudhouſe* the 21 of *March*, and falling upon their knees, did with tears beg Pardon for their negligence in not timely preventing that Tumult, raiſed (as they ſaid) by a number of ill-diſpoſed people, beſeeching his Majeſty to take pity of the Town, which did ſubmit it ſelf ſimply to his Highneſs mercy. The King after he had ſharply rebuked them, and ſhewed in many words the greatneſs of their offence, commanded them to remove, that he might think what was fitteſt to be done. Then calling for their Officers they had formerly made, he cauſed eke unto them the Articles following. 'That the lodgings in the Church-'yard wherein the Miniſters dwelt and kept their conſultations ſhould be given 'to his Majeſty, and uſed at his pleaſure. That the Miniſters that ſhould there-'after ſerve in the Town ſhould dwell in their own quarters and live diſperſed. 'That the Town ſhould be obliged for the indemnity of the Lords of Seſſion du-'ring their ſitting, under the penalty of forty thouſand Marks. That the neather 'Council-houſe, wherein the Provoſt and Bailiffs did keep their meetings, ſhould 'be appointed for the Exchequer; and that for the offence committed the Town 'ſhould be fined in twenty thouſand marks to be paid in four months. Theſe Conditions accepted, the King did pardon the Town, giving order to receive them to his peace, and by Proclamation recalled the Seſſion to ſit in their former place. Never did any King, conſidering the offence, temper his Authority with more grace and clemency than did his Majeſty at this time: which the people did all acknowledge, aſcriving their life and ſafety only to his favor.

Articles injoyned to be performed by the Town.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* ſuffered to return, but inhibited to Preach

Shortly after the Miniſters were alſo permitted to return, and had their peace granted, but were not ſuffered to Preach in their places; the King taking now the occaſion of finiſhing the work which ſome two years before had been moved, for diſtributing the people in ſeveral Pariſhes, and planting more Miniſters among them. The let he knew was in the Town, that ſtill put off the buſineſs becauſe

of

of the burthen it would draw upon them; and knowing that the deſire they had to have their old Miniſters reponed would make them the more forward that way, he refuſes to re-admit them until the diſtribution intended was perfected, and other four Miniſters adjoyned to them, for the better inſtruction and more orderly government of the people. The Miniſters themſelves did alſo profeſs that they were wearied of that *confuſed Miniſtery*, as they called it, and compeiring in the Aſſembly which held at the time appointed in *Dundee*, they reſigned their Offices, denying to ſerve any longer, unleſs they had a particular Flock deſigned. But becauſe that work required a longer time than the Aſſembly could well abide together, the ſame was committed to certain Delegates, and the Miniſters dwelling near unto *Edinburgh* ordained to furniſh the Pulpits for the interim. *An.* 1597.

An Aſſembly at *Dundee*.

In the Aſſembly Mr. *Robert Rollock* was elected to preſide, though he was not as yet in Orders; in ſo great eſteem he was with all good men for his learning, holineſs, and moderation. The firſt thing done was the taking of an accompt of the Miniſters travels with the Earls of *Angus*, *Huntley* and *Arrol*, and of their obedience to the Injunctions given in the former Aſſembly. This was teſtified by the Miniſters that had the charge to have been in all points ſo well performed, as no more could be required of them. For verifying thereof their ſeveral Subſcriptions were produced, together with an humble Supplication to the Aſſembly for accepting their ſatisfaction, and receiving them in the boſom of the Church; which accordingly was decerned, and order given that they ſhould be received by the ſame Commiſſioners who were appointed to meet at a certain time, and pronounce their Abſolution.

M. *Robert Rollock* elected to preſide.

Order given for Abſolution of the Popiſh Lords.

The next thing proponed was touching the Queſtions left unreſolved in the laſt Aſſembly; and becauſe exception was taken by ſome Brethren that were abſent at the Articles concluded at *Perth*, eſpecially that it ſhould have been acknowledged for a lawful General Aſſembly, it was of new declared to be a lawful Aſſembly, and certain explanations added by the reſt of the Acts: As in the point of *Notoriety*, the crime ſhould be reputed notorious that was ſo manifeſt and known, *ut nulla tergiverſatione celari poſſit*: and for *the convening of Paſtors with his Majeſties conſent*, the ſame was declared to be extended to all Aſſemblies either general or particular, authorized by his Highneſs Laws, and having warrant in the Word of God. His Majeſty did likewiſe expreſs his meaning touching *the proviſion of Burgs with Miniſters* in this ſort, that when the Aſſembly ſhould find it neceſſary to place a Miniſter in any Town, he ſhould either yield his conſent or give a ſufficient reaſon of his refuſe. With theſe Declarations the whole number was ſo well pleaſed, as proceeding in the reſt of the queſtions they determined as followeth.

Proceedings of the Aſſembly.

The reſt of the Queſtions determined.

First, Where his Majeſty doth crave that before the concluſion of any weighty matter his Highneſs advice and approbation ſhould be had thereto; the Aſſembly will be very glad to have his Majeſties Authority interponed to all Acts of any importance made by the Church, ſo as matters formerly treated and concluded be not drawn in queſtion.

2. That there ſhould be an uniform order keeped in the Ordination of Miniſters, and none admitted but by Impoſition of hands, and to a certain Flock on which they ſhall be aſtricted to attend. As alſo ſuch as have not received Ordination ſhould not be permitted to teach in great rooms, except upon urgent neceſſity and in the defect of actual Miniſters; and that good heed ſhall be taken that they did not paſs their bounds, eſpecially in Application.

3. That no Miniſters ſhould exerciſe any Juriſdicton, either by making of Conſtitutions or leading of Proceſſes, without advice and concurrence of his Seſſion, Presbytery, Synod, or General Aſſembly.

4. That all Seſſions ſhould be elected with conſent of their own Congregations.

5. That Seſſions, Presbyteries and Synods ſhould labour to be formal in their

An. 1597. proceedings, and that the inferior Judicatories ſhould be tried in this point by their ſuperiors.

6. That in the exerciſe of the Word whereunto Miniſters convene, there ſhould no Application be uſed.
7. That in matters of importance, if the voices be different only by two or three, nothing ſhould be concluded until a better reſolution was taken, and he who holdeth the negative give *rationem negandi.*
8. That Presbyteries ſhould not meddle with any thing that is not known without all controverſie to belong to the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatory; and that therein uniformity ſhould be obſerved throughout the Country.
9. That no Proceſſes and Acts ſhould be extracted at the deſire of parties having intereſs.
10. Summary Excommunication ſhould be ſuſpended as before, and in great crimes after publick intimation the Committer debarred *à ſacris & à privato convictu.*
11. That where any Presbytery ſhould be deſired by his Majeſtie's miſſive to ſtay their proceedings, as being prejudicial to the Civil Juriſdiction or private mens rights, they ſhould deſiſt until his Majeſty did receive ſatisfaction.

A general Commiſſion for Church-affairs.

The principal Queſtions being thus decided, it was thought meet to ſuperſede the treating of the reſt, and to give a general Commiſſion to certain of the moſt wiſe and diſcreet Brethren for all affairs that might concern the good of the Church. For this effect choice was made of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Thomas Nicolſon*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, *John Duncanſon*, Mr. *Patrick Sharpe*, Mr. *James Melvill*, Mr. *William Cowper*, and *John Clapperton*, to whom, or to any ſeven of them, power was given to convene with his Majeſty at ſuch times as they ſhould be required, for taking order touching the Proviſion of Miniſters to the Towns of *Edinburgh*, *Dundee* and S. *Andrews*, the Houſes of the King and Prince, and to any other Churches within the Realm that ſhould ſtand in need to be planted; as likewiſe to preſent the Petitions and Grievances of the Church to his Majeſty, either general or particular, and to give their advice to his Highneſs in all matters that might ſerve to the weal and peace of the Church.

Sir *Patrick Murray* directed to the North.

How ſoon the Aſſembly diſſolved, Sir *Patrick Murray* was ſent by the King unto the North, to ſee the Conditions made by the three Earls to the Church performed, and to aſſiſt the Commiſſioners appointed for their Abſolution. He had farther in charge to cauſe them to ſubſcrive the General Bonds for the Peace and quietneſs of the Country, and to find Caution each of them, under the pain of twenty thouſand pounds, not to traffick nor keep intelligence with any foreiners without his Majeſtie's licence by word or writing; particularly for the Earl of *Huntley* it is injoyned, that he ſhould follow the counſel of certain Barons and Miniſters that the King did nominate unto him, and proceed by their advice in all weighty affairs, eſpecially in matters that concerned his Majeſtie's ſervice. The Barons nominated to him were, the Laird of *Finlatour*, the Laird of *Innes*, the Laird of *Phillorth*, the Tutor of *Cromartie*, the Laird of *Pitlurge*, and Laird of *Cluny*, or any three of them; the Miniſters were, the Biſhop of *Aberdene*, Mr. *Peter Blackburne*, Mr. *John Forbes*, Mr. *Robert Howy*, the Parſon of *Turreffe* and Mr. *Alexander Douglas*, or any three of them.

A Proclamation againſt M. *James Gourdon.*

Whileſt the King was thus buſied to reconcile *Huntley* to the Church, Mr. *James Gourdon* Jeſuite came into the Country of intention to divert him from giving obedience; againſt whom a ſtrict Proclamation was made, inhibiting the ſubjects to reſſet, ſupply, or entertain any intelligence with him, under pain of treaſon, and a thouſand crowns promiſed to any that ſhould apprehend and bring him to the King. And at the ſame time was diſcovered a practice of fortifying the Iſle of *Elſay* in the Weſt ſeas, for receiving certain forces that the *Spaniſh* King had promſed to ſend thither. The contriver of this Plot was one *Hugh Barclay*

Barclay of *Lady-land*, who being committed the year before in the Caſtle of *Glaſgow*, had made an eſcape and gone to *Spain*: this year returning to make good what he had undertaken, with ſome few aſſiſters, he entred into the Iſle (a huge Rock it is, four miles in compaſs, wherein an old ruinous Tower built on the aſcent of the Rock of difficult acceſs) meaning to have victualled the ſame. Mr. *John Knox* (the ſame who took Mr. *George Ker* with the Blanks ſome five years before) getting intelligence of the purpoſe, came upon him unlooked, and landing in the Iſle did encounter him in the very ſhore: for the moſt of his company being gone to ſeek their ſport, he had ſtayed to ſee who thoſe were that he eſpied coming to the Iſle, not thinking that his purpoſe was known, or that any would purſue him; but when he perceived them to be unfriends, and to be ſet for his apprehenſion, he ran into the Sea and drowned himſelf. The King did eſteem this, as it was indeed, a piece of good ſervice; and the news thereof going to the Popiſh Lords made them more willing to fulfil that which they had promiſed: ſo that on the 26 of *June* the Earls of *Huntley* and *Arrol*, upon their ſolemn repentance, Oaths and Subſcriptions to the Articles of Faith, were abſolved in the Church of *Aberdene*. The Earl of *Angus* in the ſame manner was received by the Miniſters of *Mernis* and *Angus*. *An.* 1597.

The Laird of *Lady-land* having ſurprized the Rock *Elſay*, is drowned.

This buſineſs ended, the King for repreſſing the barbarous Feuds which abounded at that time in the North parts, ſent a Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Aberdene*, with concurrence of Sir *Patrick Murray* and ſome Miniſters, for taking up their quarrels, and with charges to cauſe the parties give aſſurance one to another, which ſhould endure to the firſt of *April* 1598. The Feuds mentioned in the Inſtructions ſent to Sir *Patrick Murray* were the Feuds betwixt the Earl of *Huntley* and Lord *Forbes*, the Earl of *Arrol* and the Laird of *Ludwherne*, the Laird of *Drum* and young *Frendraucht*, with a number more: but the moſt deadly and dangerous betwixt the Families of *Huntley* and *Murray* the King reſerved to be his own work, and ceaſed not till the ſame was removed, and a friendſhip made up by marriage, which ſhould in all reaſon be moſt laſting. Thoſe others were by the diligence of the Biſhop and Miniſters ſetled, and ſo the North parts reduced unto quietneſs.

The Kings care for removing of deadly feuds.

In the end of *June* the King called the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly to a meeting at *Falkland*; where amongſt other buſineſs a complaint was preferred by Mr. *John Lindeſay* of *Balcarres* Secretary, againſt Mr. *Robert Wallace* Miniſter at S. *Andrews*, for certain injurious ſpeeches uttered in his Sermons, having called him a Briber, and ſaid, *That albeit he had made conqueſt of fifty Chalders victual in* Fife, *and built a Houſe to the skies, yet his poſterity ſhould beg their bread, which ſome of his Auditors ſhould ſee; and that it was doubtful if ever God ſhould grant him Repentance.* The Secretary had complained of this to the Presbytery, but they refuſed to admit his Accuſation, unleſs the ſame was aſſiſted by two Witneſſes, who could affirm that the Accuſer had juſt cauſe to purſue the complaint, which they alledged to be the Apoſtles Canon in the 1 of *Timothy* ch. 5. v. 19. and ſhewed themſelves ſo partially affected, as he was forced to purſue the complaint before his Majeſty and Commiſſioners.

A meeting of the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly at *Falkland*.

The Secretary complaineth of Mr. *Robert Wallace* Miniſter at S. *Andrews*.

Mr. *Wallace* being ſummoned to that Diet, and deſired to anſwer to the complaint, refuſed to acknowledge the Judgment, alleging, 'That the General Aſſem-'bly had given them no Commiſſion in that particular, and that the Accuſation 'once before the Presbytery of S. *Andrews* ought to have been orderly taken out 'of their hands, which was not done. This Declinator being proponed, compeired 'Mr. *Nicoll Dalgleiſh* moderator of the Presbytery, and in their name proteſted 'againſt the proceedings of the Commiſſioners in that cauſe, as being once inten-'ded before them, ſeeing by that form of doing all the Presbyteries of *Scotland* 'ſhould be prejudged, and that the General Aſſembly, of whom they had their 'Commiſſion, would not take unto them the trial of any cauſe, with a neglect of 'the inferior Judicatories. Then ſaid the King, *I will likewiſe proteſt, that ſeeing one of the principal motives which induced me to crave, and the General Aſſembly to yield unto this Commiſſion, was to have the like of theſe offences, when they did ariſe, removed, and juſtice done by the Miniſters themſelves, rather than to be*

Mr. *Wallace* declineth the Commiſſioners.

Mr. *Nicoll Dalgleiſh* proteſteth againſt the Commiſſioners proceedings.

An. 1597. *brought before the Council, ye either proceed in examining the Complaint, and do that which is right, or hold me excuſed if I take order with it by another form that will not pleaſe you ſo well.*

The Declination and Proteſtation declared invalid.

The Commiſſioners having adviſed the Reaſons of the Declinator and Proteſtation, did find them all invalid and of no force, and that they had warrant ſufficient to proceed and miniſter juſtice in that action, as well in reſpect of the general power contained in their Commiſſion, as of the particular commended to their care in the planting of the Church of S. *Andrews*. So the Complaint was admitted, and the 5 of *July* appointed at S. *Andrews* for trying the ſame.

The Witneſſes examined do verifie the complaint.

At the day the Secretary compeiring, accompanied with Maſter *Robert Mauld* Commiſſar of S. *Andrews*, and *John Arnot* Clerk to the Commiſſar, (whom he produced as aſſiſting Witneſſes to take away the Presbytery's exception) did inſiſt in his complaint. Mr. *Wallace* being ask'd if he had any thing to oppoſe againſt the Witneſſes, refuſed to anſwer in reſpect of his Declinator: whereupon they were admitted, and upon oath declared that they knew the Accuſation to be juſt, and that the Secretary had not intended the ſame of any purpoſe to calumniate or ſlander the ſaid Mr. *Robert*, but only to be repaired to his credit and honor, as one who had been greatly wronged by him. The witneſſes for probation being then called, and Mr. *Wallace* inquired if he had any exception againſt them, refuſed, as before, to anſwer. So they likewiſe were received, and being ſworn, deponed, that they heard the ſaid Mr. *Wallace* utter the words complained of, in his Sermon. Not the leſs the Commiſſioners for their better information did think it meet to call his Auditors of the Univerſity, who were of better judgment, and could truly relate what they heard. The Maſters of the new College refuſing to give any teſtimony, in reſpect of the Presbyteries Proteſtation at *Falkland*, all the reſt affirmed what the Witneſſes had deponed. After which Mr. *Wallace* being again called, and deſired to ſhew what reaſon or warrant he had for uttering ſuch ſpeeches, refuſed ſtill to make anſwer; nor could any perſuaſion break his obſtinacy, though he was earneſtly labored by Mr. *Robert Rollock* and Mr. *James Melvil* apart, who did offer, upon the confeſſion of the fault, that the Proceſs ſhould ceaſe.

Mr. *Wallace* his obſtinacy.

A Viſitation of the Church of S. *Andrews*.

The Commiſſioners ſeeing no way to eſchew the pronouncing of Sentence, in regard of his obſtinacy, did yet take Council to viſit the Church, and inquire both of his and Mr. *Blakes* behavior in that Miniſtery, before they went farther. A Viſitation for this effect being appointed the 11 of *July*, and Mr. *Blake* ſummoned to the ſame day, the Elders and Deacons of the Church were inquired touching the behaviour of them both, and the verity of the Accuſations laid againſt them; who all upon oath deponed that the Accuſations were true, and that *Blake* had ſpoken all that whereof he was convicted before the Council; as alſo that the Secretaries complaint of Mr. *Wallace* was moſt juſt. And being ask'd touching their behaviour otherwiſe, they declared that both the one and the other were given to Factions, and that they did not carry themſelves with that indifferency which became Preachers.

Sentence given for removing Mr. *Blake* and Mr. *Wallace* from the Miniſtery of S. *Andrews*.

Mr. *George Gladſtaves* admitted Miniſter of S. *Andrews*.

This declaration made clear way to the Commiſſioners for ending that buſineſs, and providing S. *Andrews* with a more peaceable Miniſtery; whereupon Sentence was given that both the Miniſters ſhould be removed, and Mr. *George Gladſtaves* (a man ſufficiently qualified, ſerving then at *Arbirlot* in *Angus*) tranſlated and placed in their room, till another helper might be found out to be joyned with him. This done, the Sunday following he was accepted of the people with a great applauſe, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *James Nicolſon* and Mr. *James Melvil* entring him to the charge.

Abuſes in the Univerſity reformed.

And becauſe it concerned the peace of the Church no leſs to have the abuſes of the Univerſity reformed, he calling the Governors thereof, and inquiring what order they kept; when he underſtood that, againſt the cuſtomed form, Mr. *Andrew Melvil* had continued Rector in a number of years together, he commanded a new Election to be made, and honoring the Election with his own preſence in the Schools of S. *Salvator*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie* Principal of S. *Leonard* was choſen Rector, and appointed to bear that charge unto the ordinary time of Election: as alſo,

alſo, for preventing the like diſorders, a Statute was made, *That none ſhould be continued Rector above a year, nor admitted to the ſaid Office but after the ſpace of three years.* It was likewiſe declared, *That any Suppost, having received the Degree of a Maſter of Arts, might be choſen Rector, he reſiding in the Univerſity during his Office, or at leaſt the moſt part of his time.* *An.* 1597.

In the new Colledge, whereof the ſaid Mr. *Andrew* had the charge, all things were found out of order; the Rents ill husbanded, the Profeſſions neglected, and in place of Divinity Lectures Politick Queſtions oftentimes agitated: as, *Whether the Election or Succeſſion of Kings were the better form of Government; How far the Royal Power extended*; and, *If Kings might be cenſured for abuſing the ſame, and depoſed by the Eſtates of the Kingdom.* The King to correct theſe abuſes did preſcribe to every Profeſſor his ſubject of Teaching, appointing the firſt Maſter to read the Common places to the Students, with the Law, and Hiſtory of the Bible; the ſecond to read the New Teſtament; the third, the Prophets with the Books of *Eccleſiaſtes* and *Canticles*; and the fourth, the *Hebrew Grammer*, with the *Pſalms*, the *Proverbs*, and the Book of *Job*. In the new College all things found out of order.

For the better husbanding of the Rents as well in that as in the other Colledges, it was ordained, *That there ſhould be a Council choſen to the Univerſity, which ſhould have power to elect an* Oeconomus *in every Colledge for uplifting the Rents, and take care to ſee all things rightly adminiſtrated.* Of this Council were named the Chancellor of the Univerſity, the Conſervator of the Priviledges, the Laird of *Colluthie*, Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, and Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*; without whoſe conſent and ſubſcriptions it ſhould not be lawful to ſet any Leaſe, or make other diſpoſition whatſoever of any part of the Rents. A Council appointed for the Univerſity.

And, leſt they ſhould be diſtracted by any other employment, it was concluded, *That all the Doctors, Profeſſors and Regents, not being Paſtors in the Church, ſhould be exempted from the keeping of Seſſions, Presbyteries, Synodical or General Aſſemblies, and from all teaching in Churches and Congregations, Exerciſes excepted; with a diſcharge to all and every one of them, to accept any Commiſſion prejudicial to the ſaid Exemption, under the pain of Deprivation and Rebellion, at the Conſervators inſtance, the one execution not prejudging the other.* Yet that they ſhould not be thought excluded from the General Aſſembly, it was appointed, *That the Maſters and Regents of the Univerſity ſhould meet when any ſuch occaſion did offer, and condeſcend upon ſome three perſons, of whom one ſhould be elected by the foreſaid Council, to be preſent at the General Aſſembly for that year; which perſons ſo choſen ſhould not for the ſpace of three years thereafter be employed in that Commiſſion.* Theſe Articles being openly recited in preſence of his Majeſty, and of the whole members of the Univerſity, were accepted by the Maſters and Regents, with ſolemn promiſe of obedience. The Doctors, Profeſſors and Regents exempted for the Church meetings.

This Summer there was a great buſineſs for the trial of Witches; amongſt others one *Margaret Atkin*, being apprehended upon ſuſpicion, and threatned with torture, did confeſs her ſelf guilty. Being examined touching her aſſociates in that trade, ſhe named a few, and perceiving her delations find credit, made offer to detect all of that ſort, and to purge the Country of them, ſo ſhe might have her life granted. For the reaſon of her knowledge ſhe ſaid, *That they had a ſecret Mark, all of that ſort, in their eyes, whereby ſhe could ſurely tell, how ſoon ſhe look't upon any, whether they were Witches or not:* and in this ſhe was ſo readily believed, that for the ſpace of 3 or 4 months ſhe was carried from Town to Town to make diſcoveries in that kind. Many were brought in queſtion by her delations, eſpecially at *Glaſgow*, where divers innocent women, through the credulity of the Miniſter Mr. *John Cowper*, were condemned and put to death. In end ſhe was found to be a mere deceiver (for the ſame perſons that the one day ſhe had declared guilty, the next day being preſented in another habit ſhe cleanſed) and ſent back to *Fife*, where firſt ſhe was apprehended. At her Trial ſhe affirmed all to be falſe that ſhe had confeſſed, either of her ſelf or others, and perſiſted in this to her death: which made many forthink their too great forwardneſs that way, and moved the King to reval the Commiſſions given out againſt ſuch perſons, diſcharging all proceedings A diſcovery of Witches. A diſcharge of proceedings againſt Witches excepted in caſe of Voluntary Confeſſion.

An. 1598. against them, except in case of voluntary Confession, till a solid order should be taken by the Estates touching the form that should be kept in their Trial.

Troubles in the Borders.

In the Borders at the same time great Troubles were raised by the broken men of *Tindale* and *Rheadsdale*, who made Incursions on the *Scots* side, and wasted all the Country of *Liddisdale*. The Laird of *Bacleugh*, that had the keeping of those parts, to be repaired of that wrong, made a road into *England*, and apprehending 36 of the doers put them all to death, and brought away a great spoil. Sir *William Bows* being sent to complain of this, after much debating it was agreed, that for keeping peace in the Borders Hostages should be delivered of either side, *English*-men into *Scotland*, and as many *Scots* into *England*. But *Bacleugh* failing to deliver his in due time was commanded, for satisfying the Queen, to enter himself into *England*, as he did, remaining there from *October* to *February* next.

A Parliament at *Edinburgh*. Articles presented in the name of the Church.

In the month of *December* a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, for restoring of the forfeited Lords to their Lands and Honors. Amongst the Articles presented to this Meeting by the Commissioners of the Church, one was, 'That the Ministers, 'as representing the Church, and Third Estate of the Kingdom, might be admit-'ted to give voice in Parliament, according to the Acts made in favours of the 'Church, and the Liberty and freedom thereof. The King was earnest to have the Article granted, and at last obtained an Act to be made, whereby it was declared,

Voice in Parliament granted to such Ministers as should be provided to the places, as Bishops, Abbots, or other Prelates.

That such Pastors and Ministers as his Majesty should please to provide to the place, Title and Dignity of a Bishop, Abbot, or other Prelate, at any time should have voice in Parliament as freely as any other Ecclesiastical Prelate had at any time by-past. And that all Bishopricks then in his Majestie's hands, and undisponed to any person, or which should happen to fall void thereafter, should be only disponed to actual Preachers and Ministers in the Church, or to such other persons as should be found apt and qualified to use and exerce the office of a Preacher or Minister, and who in their provisions to the said Bishopricks should accept in and upon them to be actual Pastors and Ministers, and according thereunto should practise and exerce the same.

The Office for the Spiritual Government remitted to the Assembly.

As concerning the Office of the said persons in the Spiritual Policy and Government of the Church, the same was remitted to his Majesty to be advised and agreed upon with the General Assembly, at such time as his Highness should think expedient to treat with them thereupon; without prejudice in the mean time of the Jurisdiction and Discipline of the Church, established by Acts of Parliament, and permitted to General and Provincial Assemblies, and other Presbyteries and Sessions of the Church.

An. 1598. A General Assembly at *Dundee*.

This Act gave occasion to the indicting of a General Assembly, which convened at *Dundee* in *March* next; where the King being present did shew, *That he had anticipated the time of the Assembly*, (for the appointment was at *Striveling* the first Tuesday of *May*) *that he might be resolved touching their acceptation of the place in Parliament, with the form, manner, and number of persons that should be admitted to have voice; and thereupon desired them to enter into a particular consideration of the whole points of the Act; and first to reason whether it was lawful and expedient that the Ministers, as representing the whole Church within the Realm, should have voice in Parliament or not.*

Ministers might give voice in Parliament.

This Question being long debated, first in private by some Brethren selected to that purpose, then in the hearing of the whole Assembly, it was concluded, *That Ministers might lawfully give voice in Parliament, and other publick Meetings of the Estate, and that it was expedient to have some always of that number present, to give voice in name of the Church.*

The number to be als many as of old in the Papistical Church.

A second Question being moved, touching the number of those that should have voice; it was agreed, *That so many should be appointed to give voice as of old had place in the Papistical Church*, to wit, *51 persons, or thereby.*

The Election of those that should give voice to be made by the King and Church.

Thirdly, touching the Election of those that should have voice, it was resolved, *That the same did appertain partly to his Majesty, and partly to the Church.* And because time could not permit the discussing of the rest of the Points, as *De modo eligendi*, What Rent those Ministers should have, Whether they should continue in that Office *ad vitam*, or not, What their Title should be, and the cautions to preserve

ſerve them from corruption, with other the like circumſtances; the Presbyteries were deſired to conſider the ſame throughly, and thereafter to meet in their Synods all upon one day, to wit, the firſt Tueſday of *June*; and having reaſoned upon theſe Heads, to direct three of their number to convene with his Majeſty, (the advertiſement being upon a moneth at leaſt) and with the Doctors of the Univerſities, namely, Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, Mr. *John Johnſton*, Mr. *Robert Wilkie*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *Robert Howy*, Mr. *Patrick Sharp*, Mr. *James Martin*, at ſuch time and place as his Majeſty ſhould think moſt convenient; with power to them being ſo convened to treat, reaſon and confer upon the ſaid Heads, and others appertaining thereto; and in caſe of agreement and uniformity of opinions, to conclude the whole Queſtion touching Voice in Parliament; otherwiſe in caſe of diſcrepance, to remit the concluſion to the next General Aſſembly. *An.* 1598. Commiſſion for diſcuſſing the reſt of the Points.

The Commiſſioners proceedings in planting the Church of S. *Andrews* were at the ſame time ratified; but the proviſion of *Edinburgh*, which they had likewiſe concluded, made greater buſineſs. The King had been induced by the humble intreaty of Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Rollok* and Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, to ſuffer the old Miniſters Preach again in their places, upon their faithful promiſes to obſerve the Conditions following. Miniſters of *Edinburgh* permitted to preach upon condition.

1. That they ſhould not in Pulpit make any Apology for themſelves farther than to ſay, that they had ſatisfied his Majeſty touching their intentions in the day of the Tumult, and that they condemned the raiſers thereof, and all that took Arms, or gave command or allowance thereunto, praiſing the calm and clement courſe his Majeſty hath taken in cenſuring the ſame.

2. That they ſhould at no time thereafter tax, quarrel or reproach, directly or indirectly, privately or publickly, any inhabitant of *Edinburgh* that did ſhew themſelves affectionate to his Majeſty; and if any of them ſhould happen to fall in any offence meriting the cenſure of the Church-Diſcipline, they ſhould in the trial and cenſuring thereof uſe them indifferently, as if they had never kithed contrary to the ſaid Miniſters.

3. That they ſhould not in Pulpit ſpeak otherwiſe than reverently of his Majeſtie's Council and their proceedings, and in their Sermons labour to imprint in the peoples hearts a reverent conceit of his Majeſty and his actions, ſo far as in them lies; and whenas they ſhould hear any ſlanderous or offenſive reports of his Majeſty or of any of his Counſellors, his or their intentions or proceedings, they ſhould addreſs them in all humility to his Majeſty, and with due reverence make him acquainted with the reports, receiving his Majeſtie's own declaration therein, whereunto they ſhould give credit, and generally ſhould conform themſelves to the order ſet down in the late General Aſſembly thereanent.

4. That they ſhould never hereafter refuſe to give accompt of any of their ſpeeches in Pulpit, or of their proceedings elſewhere; but when his Majeſty ſhould require the ſame, they ſhould plainly declare the truth of that they ſhould be asked, in all humbleneſs and ſimplicity, without claiming to the general warrant of Conſcience not founded upon Reaſon.

The Miniſters upon theſe conditions being licenced to Preach, and the Town going on in dividing themſelves in Pariſhes, as they had promiſed, a lite was preſented of twelve perſons, out of which number the Commiſſioners of the Church were to elect four, beſides the old Miniſters, to bear charge in that Miniſtery, having his Majeſtie's approbation. The four on whom the choice fell were, Mr. *Robert Rollock* Principal of the Colledge of *Edinburgh*, Mr. *John Hall* Miniſter at *Leith*, Mr. *Peter Hewat*, and Mr. *George Robertſon*. Againſt the two laſt exception was taken becauſe of their youth, and that they were not men of that gravity which was required in Miniſters of ſuch a place. Yet the Commiſſioners, after trial taken of their Qualification, proceeded, and decerned all the four to be admitted. Four others named to be joyned with the *Edinburgh* Miniſters. Exception taken at two of the number.

Hereof the old Miniſters complained, with whom the Synod of *Lothian* joyned, who repaired in great numbers to the Aſſembly, thinking to carry the matter by voices;

An. 1598. voices; but when after a long conteſtation it came to be judged, the Decreet of the Commiſſioners was approved, and a new Commiſſion given to Mr. *David Lindeſay*, Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Robert Rollock*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *James Nicolſon*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, and Mr. *John Duncanſon*, to place the Miniſters in their ſeveral Pariſhes; or if any ſhould refuſe to accept, to depoſe them from the Function of the Miniſtery, and plant the Church with ſuch others as they ſhould think meet.

The providing of the Commiſſioners in the planting of *Edinburgh* allowed.

An Act defining the number of Commiſſioners from Presbyteries to Aſſemblies.

Meanwhile, becauſe of the number that came from *Lothian*, an Act was made, *That no Presbytery ſhould thereafter ſend above two or three Miniſters at moſt in Commiſſion to the Aſſembly, with one Baron of the bounds, and one Commiſſioner from every Burgh*, Edinburgh *excepted, who in all publick Meetings were allowed to have two.*

His Majeſty pleaſed to remit all offences paſt of the Miniſters.

About the end of the Aſſembly, a motion was made for removing all offences conceived by his Majeſty againſt any of the Miniſters, and particularly againſt the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*; whereupon the King was pleaſed to declare, 'That for 'any offences paſt he did freely remit them, and ſhould never at any time call the 'ſame to mind, in hope they would ſo behave themſelves in time coming, as they 'ſhould ſtill deſerve his good opinion. And ſo did this Meeting cloſe with the great content of all: Mr. *John Davidſon* only, a man given to contention, finding that things went not to his mind, eſpecially in the planting of *Edinburgh*, to the Miniſtery whereof he was always aſpiring, did proteſt in his own name and in the name of certain other brethren, 'That none of the Concluſions taken in that 'Aſſembly ſhould be of any force, in regard the ſame was not a free Aſſembly, but 'over-awed by the King. The Moderator enquiring if any of the Brethren would adhere to this Proteſtation, none was found, all condemning it, and the uncivil form he uſed in making the ſame. He himſelf, as his cuſtom was when he made any ſuch trouble, fled away, and lurked a while, till his peace was again made.

Mr. *John Davidſon* proteſteth againſt the Concluſions of the Aſſembly.

Queſtion moved for Mr. *Robert Bruce*, who refuſed the Impoſition of hands.

It was now thought that the planting of *Edinburgh* ſhould receive no more delay, yet a new impediment caſt in made no leſs ado than the former. Mr. *Robert Bruce* had preached ordinarily in the Town ſome ten years, but had not received Ordination to the Miniſtery; and being urged therewith, refuſed, pretending the Approbation of the General Aſſembly to be equivalent to an Ordination. It was replyed, *That the Approbation he had of the Church was a Licence only to preach; but being now to receive an Office, it concerned them to obſerve the form preſcribed by divers Acts.* But this not ſatisfying, he denied to yield a jot to that which might queſtion his former Calling. And albeit it was offered to be declared at his entry, *That the Ordination they uſed was not to queſtion his former Calling, but rather to allow and confirm the ſame*; he would not be content, except the Declaration was given him in writing. This alſo yielded unto, a new difference aroſe among them upon the form of the Declaration: the Commiſſioners offering *To declare the lawfulneſs of his Calling, and that the Impoſition of hands they were to uſe was not given him as a new intrance to the Miniſtery, but as one that was taken to be entred to the charge of a particular Flock*; he requiring to have it expreſly ſaid, *That they did acknowledge him a lawful Paſtor of* Edinburgh, *as being called by the General Aſſembly thereto.*

A Declaration made for his ſatisfaction.

Ten days and more were ſpent in the ſetting down this form; and after many alterations at laſt they came to agree on this, *That the Commiſſioners did acknowledge his calling to be a Paſtor in* Edinburgh *lawful, and that the Impoſition of hands was not uſed as a Ceremony of his Ordination to the Miniſtery, but of his Ordination to a particular Flock.* The Declaration thus formed, a day was appointed for his Admiſſion, and Mr. *Robert Pont*, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* and Mr. *James Nicolſon* choſen to perform the ſame. Mr. *Robert Pont* having preached, and beginning to ſhew what was the buſineſs they met for; Mr. *Robert Bruce* aroſe, and ſtepping into the Pulpit fell a complaining of the ſtrict forms wherewith the Commiſſioners had uſed him: which the people hearing, ſuch a tumult was raiſed, as to all appearance the Miniſtery that was to uſe the Impoſition of hands had been in danger, if the Commiſſioner Mr. *John Nicolſon*, a man well reſpected,

A Tumult in the Church at his admiſſion.

(being

(being there as one of the Elders, to teſtifie the Church's conſent to his Admiſſion) had not by his wiſe and grave ſpeeches reduced them to quietneſs. Always the buſineſs was put off for that day. *An.* 1598.

The King advertiſed of this was greatly offended, and commanded the Commiſſioners to cite Mr. *Robert Bruce*, and cenſure him for the trouble he had made. He compeiring excuſed himſelf, laying the blame on the people; and being charged under pain of Deprivation to give obedience, and accept the Charge after the form preſcribed, was upon the 9 of *May*, the day aſſigned for his acceptation, admitted by Mr. *David Lindeſay* and Mr. *Alexander Douglas* with Impoſition of hands. Thus ended that buſineſs, which made more noiſe than was needful, and was judged to proceed rather of wilfulneſs on his part than of any good zeal.

Mr. *Robert Bruce* cited before the Commiſſioners purgeth himſelf of the tumult.

He is admitted, and receives Impoſition of hands.

The day appointed of the Synod's drawing near, the King ſent *William Melvill* Commendator of *Tungland* and Sir *Patrick Murray* to attend the Aſſembly of *Fife*, where it was ſuppoſed ſome new Stirs ſhould be made. The Commiſſion given them was, not to ſuffer any of the Concluſions taken in the laſt General Aſſembly to be drawn in queſtion, and to ſee that in the other Heads left undecided nothing ſhould be concluded *definitive*. But they found the Synod more peaceable than was expected, and all things carried therein to the King's mind, Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Mr. *George Gladſtaves*, and Mr. *John Fairfoul* being choſen Commiſſioners for meeting with theſe that ſhould be ſent from the other Synods.

Commiſſioners directed to the Synod of *Fife*.

The report of this gave the King hopes of a good iſſue to the Conference intended; whereupon Letters were ſent, deſiring the Doctors of the Univerſities and Commiſſioners of the Synod to be at *Falkland* the 29 of *July*. There, after a long deliberation, it was with an unanime conſent agreed,

A meeting at *Falkland* for determining the Vote of Parliament.

1. Touching the manner of his Election who ſhould have Voice in Parliament, that the Church ſhould name for each Prelacy that was void ſix of their number, of whom the King ſhould take one; or if his Majeſty did not like any of thoſe ſix, that as many others ſhould be recommended by the Church, of which number he ſhould accept one, without any more refuſal.

2. That the Nomination ſhould be made by the General Aſſembly, with advice of the Synods and Presbyteries, who ſhould preſent the General Aſſembly in writing the names of the perſons as well without as within the bounds of their Juriſdiction: providing if there was any perſon within the bounds meet and qualified, he ſhould be preferred, *cæteris paribus*.

3. Concerning his Rent, that the Churches being ſufficiently planted, and no prejudice done to Schools, Colledges and Univerſities already erected, he ſhould be provided to all the reſt of the Prelacy whereunto he is preferred.

4. The Cautions to preſerve him ſhould be theſe.

Caveats for eſchewing of corruption.

1. That he ſhould not propone to Council, Convention or Parliament, in name of the Church, any thing without expreſs warrant and direction from the Church; neither ſhould he conſent nor keep ſilence in the ſaid Conventions, if any thing was moved prejudicial to the weal and liberty thereof, under pain of Depoſition from his Office.

2. Next, he ſhould be bound to give an account of his proceedings in the diſcharge of his Commiſſion to every General Aſſembly, and obtain their Ratification of the ſame; ſubmitting himſelf to their judgment, without making any Appeal, under the pain of infamy and Excommunication.

3. He ſhould content himſelf with that part of his Benefice which ſhould be given him for his living, and not hurt nor prejudice the reſt of the Miniſters within his Benefice, planted or to be planted, nor any other Miniſter in the Country whatſoever; and this Clauſe to be inſerted in his Proviſion.

4. He ſhould not dilapidate his Benefice in any ſort, nor make any ſet or diſpoſition thereof, without the ſpecial advice or conſent of his Majeſty and the General Aſſembly, and, for the greater warrant, ſhould interdict himſelf and be content that inhibition be raiſed againſt him to that effect.

5. He ſhould be bound to attend the Congregation faithfully at which he ſhould be

An. 1598. be appointed Miniſter, in all the Points of a Paſtor, and be ſubject to the trial and cenſure of his own Presbytery or Provincial Aſſembly, as any other of the Miniſters that bear no Commiſſion.

6. In the adminiſtration of Diſcipline, Collation of Benefices, Viſitation and other points of Eccleſiaſtical Government, he ſhould neither uſurp nor claim to himſelf any more power or Juriſdiction than any of his Brethren, except he be imployed, under pain of Deprivation; and in caſe he do uſurp any part of the Eccleſiaſtical Government, the Presbytery, Synod or General Aſſembly oppoſing and making impediment thereto, whatſoever he ſhould do thereafter ſhould be null *ipſo facto*, without any Declarator.

7. In Presbyteries, Provincial and General Aſſemblies, he ſhould behave himſelf in all things as one of the Brethren, and be ſubject to their cenſure.

8. At his admiſſion to the Office of Commiſſionary he ſhould ſwear and ſubſcrive all theſe and other Points neceſſary, otherwiſe he ſhould not be admitted.

9. If it ſhould happen him to be depoſed from the Miniſtery by the Presbytery, Synod or General Aſſembly, he ſhould loſe his place in Parliament, and the Benefice be void *ipſo facto*.

10. That he ſhould be called Commiſſioner of ſuch or ſuch a place, if ſo the Parliament be induced by his Majeſty to accept that title; otherwiſe the General Aſſembly ſhould conſider and determine the ſame; as alſo how long he ſhould continue in Office, whether *ad vitam*, except ſome offence make him unworthy, or for a ſhorter ſpace, at pleaſure of the Church.

His Majeſties purpoſe in giving way to theſe Concluſions.

It was neither the Kings intention nor the minds of the wiſer ſort to have theſe Cautions ſtand in force (for to ſubject the Decrees of Parliament to the Aſſembly, as in the Second Caution; or to interdict Churchmen, as in the Fourth, and ſerve Inhibitions upon them, were things abſurd) but to have matters peaceably ended, and the reformation of the Policy made without any noiſe, the King gave way to theſe conceits, knowing that with time the Utility of the Government which he purpoſed to have eſtabliſhed would appear, and truſting that they whom he ſhould place in theſe rooms would by their care for the Church, and their wiſe and good behaviour, purchaſe to themſelves the Authority which appertained.

Ambaſſadors directed to the Princes of *Germany*.

He had alſo matters of greater importance in hand, which made him deſire to be ſetled in ſome ſort with the Church: from *June* preceeding he had directed an Ambaſſage to the Princes of *Germany*, wherein *David* Biſhop of *Aberdene*, and Sir *Peter Young* his Elemoſynar, men of good abilities and learning, were employed. Their Commiſſion was, to inform the Princes of his Right and Title to the Crown of *England* after the death of the Queen *Elizabeth*, and to requeſt their aſſiſtence, if ſhe ſhould ſtand in need thereof. The Queen was then ſtricken in years, and divers Libels and Pamphlets divulged againſt his Title to that Crown, which made him careful to have his friends rightly informed, and to underſtand what aid he might expect if oppoſition ſhould be made. 'Not that he minded (this they were 'willed to declare) to wrong or offend the Queen in any ſort, whom he loved 'and honoured as his Mother, wiſhing her many and happy days, but only to 'ſtrengthen himſelf againſt injuſt Pretenders; and if in the mean time they ſhould 'be pleaſed by a common Ambaſſage to entreat the Queen to declare in her own 'time the Right Succeſſor, for preventing the Plots and practices of enemies, he 'would take it for a ſingular friendſhip at their hands.

The ſucceſs of that Ambaſſage.

It was a painful Ambaſſage, and by them faithfully diſcharged; for taking their journy by *Denmark*, as they were directed, and receiving Letters commendatory from that King to the Princes, they travelled to *Udalrick* Duke of *Mechlenburg*, *Maurice Lantgrave* of *Heſſe*, *Frederick* Duke of *Saxony* and Adminiſtrator of the Electorate, *Henry* Duke of *Brunſwick*, *John Adolph* Duke of *Sleſwick*, and *Joachim* Marqueſs of *Brandenburgh*, and having communicated their Meſſage to them all ſeverally, returned not before the end of the year. Of all the Princes they obtained one anſwer in ſubſtance, which was, *That albeit his Majeſties Right*

was

was not unknown unto them, they did eſteem it an Act of great wiſdom in him, to make his friends acquainted with the exceptions taken againſt his Title, that when occaſion required nothing might be wanting that lay in their power. But to move the Queen for declaring her Succeſſor, they held it dangerous, and feared it ſhould not ſo much promove the buſineſs as offend her. Always they ſhould adviſe, and take counſel with their Confederates and Allies, and follow the courſe which was moſt likely for his benefit. This was the ſum of the anſwer they returned. An. 1598.

The 24 of *December* the Queen was brought to bed of another Daughter, who was chriſtened in the Chappel of *Halirudhouſe* the 15 of *April*, by Mr. *David Lindeſay* Miniſter of *Leith*, and named *Margaret*. The Earl of *Montroſs* (created Chancellor in *January* preceeding) with the Lord *Hamilton* and Earl of *Huntly* aſſiſted as Witneſſes. Theſe laſt two were at the ſame time preferred to the honor and dignity of Marqueſſes. The Queen brought to bed of a Daughter. *Hamilton* and *Huntley* created Marqueſſes.

There died within the compaſs of this year divers worthy men, amongſt whom Mr. *John Lindeſay* of *Balcarres*, Secretary to the King, ſhall firſt be named; a man honorably deſcended, of exquiſite learning, and a ſound judgment, held worthy by all men of the place he had in the Senate, both for his wiſdom and integrity: he died of the Stone, wherewith he had been pained many years. Mr. *John Lindeſay* Secretary dieth.

Next to him Mr. *David Carnegy* of *Colluthy*, a wiſe, peaceable and ſober man, in good credit and eſtimation with the King, and taken into his Privy Council for his skill and knowledge in civil affairs. The Lord of *Colluthy* his death.

And in the Church Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, Provoſt of *Kirkheuch* and Miniſter of *Syres*; a man learned, wiſe, and a ſtrong defender of the Churches Rights: having attained to a good age, he died of a bruiſe which he received of a fall from his horſe. Mr. *Thomas Buchanan* his death.

David Ferguſon Miniſter of *Dunfermlin*, of the age of 65, departed alſo this life the ſame year; a good Preacher, wiſe, and of a jocund and pleaſant diſpoſition, which made him well regarded both in Court and Country. *David Ferguſon* his death.

But the death of Mr. *Robert Rollock*, taken away in the 43 year of his age, and in the time when the Church had greateſt need of his ſervice, was beyond all the reſt lamented. This man was born not far from *Striveling*, and trained up in Letters under Mr. *Thomas Buchanan*, who did then keep a famous School in that time. He paſſed his courſe in Philoſophy at S. *Andrews*, and no ſooner received the Degree of a Maſter in Arts, then he was choſen Regent of the Colledge of S. *Salvator*, where he had ſtudied. In the year 1583 he was removed to *Edinburgh*, and made Principal of a Colledge which the Town had there erected; where by his Lectures of Divinity in the Schools, and his Sermons to the people, (in both which he was aſſiduous) he came to be greatly eſteemed. But the 17 daies Tumult and troubles that followed thereupon withdrawing him againſt his mind to the keeping of Aſſemblies and other Commiſſions of the Church, he was thereby much weakened; for he was of an infirm body, and grievouſly pained with the Stone, whereof at laſt he died. In his ſickneſs being viſited by his brethren of the Miniſtry, amongſt other pious exhortations, he did earneſtly beſeech them, *to carry themſelves more dutifully towards the King, lamenting he ſhould be ſo ill uſed by ſome of their number:* and gave them a moſt comfortable farewel. His torments were extreme, yet was he not heard to uſe an impatient word, but was ſtill calling on God, with theſe and the like ſayings, *Haſte, Lord Jeſus, and tarry not, put in thy hand and take this Soul away to thy ſelf.* At other times, *Go out ſilly life, that the better life of God may enter in.* Drawing near his end, he repeated a part of the 6 Pſalm, and framing a moſt pithy Prayer out of the ſame, as one exulting after victory, he cried aloud, *Chriſt hath taken my yoak to bear, and now ſtrengthened by his grace I will follow:* with which words he yielded up his ſpirit. A rare example of Holineſs he was both in his life and death; albeit now dead, ſtill Preacheth by his learned works, which it is pity ſhould not be collected in one Volume, and preſerved to poſterity. He deceaſed the laſt of *February*, and had his corps honorably interred in the Burial-place, an innumerable multitude accompanying the ſame to the grave. The death of Mr. *Robert Rollock* moſt lamented. His behaviour in the time of his ſickneſs, and at his dying.

To

An. 1599. To return to the Eſtate: The neceſſities of the King by forein Ambaſſages, and other extraordinary employments daily encreaſing, he was forced to look the more narrowly to the adminiſtration of his Rents; for the ill managing whereof the Laird of *Wedderburn* was put from his place, and the Office of Controllery given to Sir *David Murray*, who was afterwards preferred to the Lordſhip of *Scone*. The Prior of *Blantire*, who was Treaſurer, for that he had offended the King by his partial behaviour in an action betwixt Mr. *Robert Bruce* and the Miniſters of *Angus*, was committed to the Caſtle, and forced to reſign his Office, which was conferred upon the Earl of *Caſſils* by his Ladies procurement. She was the Widow of the Lord *Thirlſtan*, and ſaid to be wealthy, which induced him to take her to Wife, againſt the counſel of all his friends, who could not away with the imparity of their age, he being a young Nobleman never matched to any, and ſhe a woman paſt childbirth. But the deſire he had to keep his Eſtate made him take that courſe; and ſhe loving to ſtay at Court and have her Husband a ruler of affairs, made offer to advance ſome monys, ſo as he might carry the place, which was readily accepted. Yet was it not long before they did both forthink the bargain, being preſſed with a multitude of precepts for the laying forth of mony, and ſo were glad to quit the Office, with the loſs, as was ſaid, of Forty thouſand Marks, which he did advance at his entry. In his place was the Lord *Elphinſton* choſen by the recommendation of his brother, then Secretary.

An. 1599. Alteration of ſome Officers of State.

The Earl of *Caſſils* made Treaſurer.

Lord *Elphinſton* ſucceedeth Treaſurer.

Sir *William Bowes* Ambaſſador from *England*.

Whileſt theſe things were a-doing in Court, Sir *William Bowes* came Ambaſſadour from *England*, upon ſome rumours that the King was declining to Popery, and had offered his obedience to the Biſhop of *Rome* by a Letter, the Copy whereof was brought by the Maſter of *Gray* from *Rome*, and ſhewed the Queen, of purpoſe to divide the two Princes, and diſſolve the Amity which was amongſt them.

The Queen, though ſhe did take the Letter to be feigned, and that the ſame was deviſed to breed a jealouſie between her and the King, thought meet to advertiſe what was rumoured, and to adviſe him not to build upon the friendſhip of *Rome*. The King did take the advertiſement well, and made the Ambaſſador very welcome, aſſuring him that they were falſe and feigned Calumnies, neither did the King think any other at that time. Such a Letter indeed was ſent to the Pope, and the King's hand ſurreptitiouſly gotten thereto, for which the Secretary Mr. *Elphinſton* was ſome years after, upon his own confeſſion, convicted, as we ſhall hear.

One *Aſhfield* conveighed privately to *Berwick* by two of the Ambaſſadors ſervants.

Whileſt this Ambaſſador remained in the Country, there fell out an accident which had almoſt wrought great trouble. An *Engliſh*-man called *Aſhfield*, who had brought ſome hunting-horſes to the King, and cunningly abuſed the *Engliſh* Warden, did make his abode at Court, and was there well entertained. The Ambaſſador, whether deſired by the Queen or the Warden it is uncertain, cauſed ſome of his ſervants keep company with the man; and allure him one day to *Leith*, where having drunk liberally, he was by Coach, inſtead of returning to Court, carried to *Berwick*. This being told the King he was greatly offended, and giving order to watch the Ambaſſador's lodging, ſent to *Berwick* to bring back the man. The Governor prayed the King to have him excuſed, for that the man being come within his charge, he could not dimit him without the Queen's knowledge.

The King receiving this anſwer, did challenge the Ambaſſador as not having carried himſelf dutifully, and wronged both him and the Country: but he denying the fact, affirmed the ſame to have been contrived by two of his ſervants without his knowledge and direction. This none did believe, neither did the King vouchſafe him any more countenance. Whereupon he parted in a great diſcontent.

A Viſitation of the Univerſity of S. *Andrews*.

Soon after the King went to S. *Andrews* for a new Viſit of the Univerſity, where it was ordained, *That there ſhould be yearly upon the* 3 *of* March *a Dean of faculty of Theologie elected by the Doctors, the Miniſters reſident within the City, and the principal Maſters of the Colledges; which Dean ſo choſen ſhould have the like privilege*

privilege and juriſdiction upon the Students and Profeſſors of Theologie, that the Deans of Philoſophy had by the Foundation over the Profeſſors thereof: with expreſs proviſion, that he who was elected Dean, ſhould not till after three years ſpace be received again into the Office. An. 1599. A Dean in faculty appointed in *Theologie.*

Other Concluſions were taken for diſtributing the Students of Theologie in Claſſes, and their yearly examination; but were ill obſerved.

At this time came forth ſundry Diſcourſes touching the ſucceſſion of the Crown of *England*, ſome oppugning, ſome maintaining the King's title: amongſt others Mr. *John Colvill* taking upon him one of the oppoſite Treatiſes, did publiſh a Recantation, wherein having confuted all the contrary Reaſons, he profeſſed, *that in malice in time of his Exile he had penned the Treatiſe, which then out of Conſcience he refuted.* This was believed of many, and helped greatly to diſcredit the adverſary writings; yet was he not the Author of that which he oppugned; only to merit favour at the Kings hands he did profeſs the Work that came forth without a name to be his: and indeed a more pithy and perſuaſive Diſcourſe was not penned all that time in that ſubject. Diſcourſe of his Majeſties Title to the Crown of *England.*

The ſame year did the King publiſh his *Doron Baſilicon* upon this occaſion. Sir *James Semple*, one of his Majeſties ſervants, (whoſe hand was uſed in tranſcribing that Treatiſe) upon an old familiarity with Mr. *Andrew Melvill*, did give it him to read, who offending with ſome paſſages that touched the Miniſtery and preſent Diſcipline, took copies thereof, and diſperſed the ſame amongſt the Miniſters: thereupon a Libel was formed, and caſt in before the Synod of S. *Andrews*, wherein the paſſages at which they excepted being firſt ſet down, it was asked, *What Cenſure ſhould be inflict upon him that had given ſuch Inſtructions to the Prince*, (for that Treatiſe was directed to Prince *Henry*) *and if he could be thought well-affected to religion, that had delivered ſuch Precepts of Government.* Sir *Patrick Murray* and Mr. *James Nicolſon* being preſent in the Synod as Commiſſioners for the King, and apprehending the Libel to concern his Majeſty, made diligent enquiry to find out the preſenters. The whole number pretending ignorance, the Commiſſioners commanded the doors to be ſhut, and the Roll of the Miniſters names to be called, who being put to their Oath one by one did purge themſelves; yet was it tried the very next day to be laid on the table by Mr. *John Dikes* Miniſter at *Anſtruther*, who being therefore cited before the Council was fugitive and denounced Rebel. The rumor by this occaſion diſperſed, that the King had left certain Directions to his Son prejudicial to the Church and Religion, he took purpoſe to publiſh the Work; which being come abroad, and carried to *England*, it cannot be ſaid how well the ſame was accepted, and what an admiration it raiſed in all mens hearts of him, and of his Piety and Wiſdom. Certain it is that all the Diſcourſes that came forth at that time (and thoſe were not a few) for maintaining his Right to the Crown of *England*, prevailed nothing ſo much as did the Treatiſe againſt which ſuch Exceptions had been taken. The King publiſheth *Baſilicon Doron* by occaſion of a Libel. Mr. *John Dikes* fugitive for the Libel. The Book well received in *England.*

In the end of the year happened ſome new jars betwixt the King and the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, becauſe of a Company of *Engliſh* Comedians whom the King had licenſed to play within the Burgh. The Miniſters offending with the liberty given them, did exclaim in their Sermons againſt Stage-players, their unruline ſs and immodeſt behaviour; and in their Seſſions made an Act *prohibiting people to reſort unto their Plays under pain of the Church-Cenſures.* The King taking this to be a diſcharge of his Licence, called the Seſſions before the Council, and ordained them to annul their Act, and not to reſtrain the people from going to theſe Comedies: which they promiſed, and accordingly performed; whereof publication was made the day after, and all that pleaſed permitted to repair unto the ſame, to the great offence of the Miniſters. A trouble for receiving ſome *Engliſh* Comedians.

The next year, which by publick Ordinance was appointed to have the beginning at the Calends of *January*, and from thenceforth ſo to continue (for before that time, the year with us was reckoned from the 25 of *March*) there was an Aſſembly kept at *Montroſſe* the 28 of *March*, where the King himſelf was preſent. Therein that great buſineſs of the Churches Voice in Parliament was determined; A General Aſſembly of the Church.

An. 1600. and first the Conclusions taken at *Falkland* in *July* 1598 were ratified. Then touching the continuance of those that should be chosen to give voice for the Church, it was after much debating concluded, *That he who was admitted should yearly render an account of his Commission to the General Assembly, and laying the same down at their foot, should be therein continued; or if his Majesty and the Assembly did think fit to employ another, he should give place to him that was appointed.* Two points more were adjoyned to the former. One was, *That they who had voice in Parliament should not have place in the General Assembly, unless they were authorised by a Commission from the Presbyters, whereof they were Members.* The other Caveat was, *That* crimen ambitus *should be a sufficient reason to deprive him both of his place and Office.* And now there rested no more but to nominate persons to the Bishopricks that were void. *Aberdene* and *Argile* had their own incumbents at the time, both actual Preachers; S. *Andrews* and *Glasgow* were in the hands of the Duke of *Lennox*; *Murray* possessed by the Lord *Spinie*; *Orkney* by the Earl of *Orkney*; *Dunkeld*, *Brichen* and *Dumblane*, had their own Titulars, but these were not ordinary Preachers; *Galloway* and *Isles* were so dilapidated, as scarce they were remembred to have been. Only in *Rosse* and *Cathnes* some provision was left, whereunto by consent of the Church Mr. *David Lindesay* and Mr. *George Gladstaves* were presented; the first to the Bishoprick of *Rosse*, the other to *Cathnes*; who nottheless continued still serving in their Churches at *Leith* and S. *Andrews*, for as yet they could not find any setling in their Dioceses. Besides the conclusion taken in this business, divers other good Acts were concluded at that time, as may be seen in the Book of Records.

The voice in Parliament determined.

Two Caveats more added.

The state of Bishopricks at that time.

Bishops appointed for *Rosse* and *Cathnes*.

John Dury Minister at *Montrosse* his death, with a short description of his life.

Some three weeks before this Convention *John Dury* Minister at *Montrosse* departed this life. He was born at *Machline* a little village in the Country of *Kyle*, and trained up a while in letters in the Town of *Aire*; after which he was sent to *George Dury* his Cousin, Abbot of *Dunfermlin*, and placed by him among the Monks of that Abbey, where he lived three years: then falling in some suspicion of that which they called Heresie, and delated thereof to the Abbot, after trial taken he was condemned to be immured, that is, to be shut up between two walls till he died. Yet by the means his friends made with the worthy Nobleman the Earl of *Arran*, he was delivered, and shortly after the Reformation admitted to the Ministery; in which he served first at *Hales* near to *Edinburgh*, then at *Leith*, and when the Civil Troubles ceased, translated to *Edinburgh*, where he continued Minister the space of 10 years. A man earnest and zealous in every thing he gave himself unto, but too credulous (a fault incident to the best natures) and easily abused by those he trusted; which bred him great trouble whilst he remained at *Edinburgh*. In *Montrosse*, where he was first confined, and whereof soon after he became Minister, he lived well respected and in great quietness, making it appear, that the many contests and strifes he had in former times proceeded not from his own disposition, so much as from the suggestion of others; For all the sixteen years he lived there, no man did carry himself with greater modesty, nor in a more dutiful obedience, and was therefore well beloved and esteemed by the King. He wished earnestly to have lived unto the meeting of the Assembly, that he might have declared his mind touching the matters then in hand; but when he perceived his sickness increasing, and that he should not continue so long, he intreated some Brethren to visit him, to shew the Assembly as from him, *That there was a necessity of restoring the ancient Government of the Church, because of the unrulines of young Ministers, that could not be advised by the elder sort nor kept in order; and since both the estate of the Church did require it, and that the King did labor to have the same received, he wished them to make no trouble therefore, and to insist only with the King, that the best Ministers and of greatest experience might be preferred to places.* This as he directed was reported to the Assembly, and of the greatest part well received: for he was certainly a sound-hearted man, and far from all dissimulation, ever professing what he thought, and following the course he thought most expedient for the Church. To the poor he was exceeding helpful, compassionate of those that were in any distress, and merciful even when

when he ſeemed moſt ſevere. He died the laſt of *February*, in the 63 year of his age. *An.* 1600.

It was in *Auguſt* this year that the Conſpiracy of *Gowry* fell forth; a Conſpiracy plotted by him alone, and only communicated to Mr. *Alexander* his Brother; two youths of great hope, at whoſe hands no man could have expected ſuch an attempt. Their Father had been taken away by form of Juſtice in the year 1584, whilſt the King was yet Minor, and forced he was unto it as unto many other things that agreed not with his mind. But the care he took of the Noblemans Children and kindneſs wherewith he uſed them, did ſhew how much he diſliked that proceeding; for he reſtored the eldeſt to his Fathers Honor and Living, his Brother *Alexander* he made one of his Bed-chamber, a Siſter of theirs he preferred to be chief Maid about his Queen, and had a purpoſe to advance the Earl himſelf to a principal Office of the Kingdom. Such and ſo great Benefits might have endeared the moſt barbarous and hard-hearted. But Benefits are no benefits to the malicious, and thoſe that are ſet for revenge. The device was, to allure the King to the Earls Houſe at *Perth*, and there to kill him. The King was then remaining in *Falkland*, and one day early in the morning (it was the fifth of *Auguſt*) as he was going to take his ſport in the Park, *Alexander* meets him and telleth that his Brother had intercepted a man, a *Jeſuite* as he ſuppoſed, with a great quantity of Gold, and that he kept the man faſt in his Houſe at *Perth*, and ſent him with the news, praying the King to make haſte, for that he doubted not he ſhould learn things worthy of his travel. The King moving ſome queſtions touching the mans ſtature and habit, and the place where he was taken, received no other anſwer, but that his Brother would ſatisfie all thoſe things at his coming; which put him in a ſuſpicion that the Gentleman was diſtracted, for he obſerved in him ſome perturbation: yet becauſe of the inſtance he made he yielded to go, willing him to ride back, and ſhew that he would be with his Brother before Dinner.

The conſpiracy of the Earl of *Gowry*.

The Kings kindneſs to his Brethren and Siſter.

The plot contrived for entrapping the King.

After a ſhort chace and a Buck killed the King made towards *Perth*, accompanied with the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earl of *Marre*, and a few Gentlemen more, all in their hunting-coats. By the way the King did ask the Duke of *Lennox*, if he had known Mr. *Alexander* (for the Duke had married his Siſter) at any time troubled or diſtempered in his wits. The Duke anſwering that he had never known any ſuch thing in him; the King inſiſted no farther. Being come to the Town the Earl did meet him, and was noted by all the company to be in ſome trouble of mind, the very imagination of the fact he went about perplexing his thoughts. But he coloured all with the want of entertainment, ſaying, that he did not expect the King, and that his Dinner was not prepared. The King wiſhing him not to trouble himſelf with thoſe thoughts, becauſe a little thing would content him, and for the Noblemen a part of his dinner would ſuffice them; they diſcourſed of hunting and other common matters till meat was dreſſed. How ſoon the King had taken a little refreſhment, and the Lords were placed at a Table in another room, Mr. *Alexander* did ſound in the Kings ear, that the time was fit whilſt the Lords were at dinner to go and examine the Stranger. At which word the King aroſe, and went up ſtairs, Mr. *Alexander* going before him. The King did call Sir *Thomas Areskin* (afterwards Earl of *Kelly*) to follow him; but Mr. *Alexander* turning at the door, after the King was entered, ſaid that the King willed him to ſtay below, whereupon Sir *Thomas* went back. Thus the door was ſhut, and Mr. *Alexander* guiding him to an inner room, the King did perceive a man ſtanding alone, whereupon he asked if that was the man. Nay, ſaid Mr. *Alexander*, there is another buſineſs in hand: and with that word covering his head, You remember, ſaid he, how you uſed my Father, and now muſt you anſwer for it. *Your Father?* anſwered the King, *I was not the cauſe of his death; it was done in my Minority by form of Juſtice. But is this your purpoſe, and have you trained me hither to murther me? Did you learn this leſſon of Mr.* Robert Rollock *your Maſter? or think you when you have done your will to go unpuniſhed?* Mr. *Alexander* ſtricken with the ſpeeches, and the man who was placed there to aſſiſt him, trembled for fear, deſired the King to be quiet, and make no noiſe, for that he would go ſpeak with his Brother, and pacifie him. This ſaid he went down a back way, as it ſeemed, to the Court below.

The King goeth to *Perth*.

Gowry meeting the King was much troubled.

Mr. *Alexander* did move the King to go with him.

Mr. *Alexander* profeſſeth what he was about.

An. 1600. Whether he did meet with his Brother at that time or not is unknown, but his ſtay was ſhort, and when he returned, he ſaid to the King, There is no remedy, you muſt die. Then making as though he would tie the Kings hands, they fell a wreſtling, and the King drawing him by force to a window in the corner that looked toward the ſtreet, as he eſpied the Earl of *Marre*, cried, *Help Earl of* Marre, *help*. The voice and words were diſcerned by all the Lords and Gentlemen, who thereupon ran to ſeek the King by the way that went up: but the doors being ſhut, there was no entry that way till the ſame was broke by force, which took up a large time. Upon the firſt cry Sir *Thomas Areskin* ſuſpecting Treaſon did flee upon *Gowry*, and taking him by the gorge ſaid, *Thou art the Traitor*: but they were quickly ſundered by his ſervants that ſtood by. The firſt that came to the King was a Page called *John Ramſey*, who falling upon a back paſſage by which the Traitors after the deed committed had purpoſed to eſcape, found the King and Mr. *Alexander* ſtrugling. The King calling to him and bidding him ſtrike the Traitor, he gave Mr. *Alexander* two or three wounds with his Dagger, and ſo parted him from the King. The man who was placed there to aſſiſt Mr. *Alexander* did ſteal away ſecretly; and he himſelf perceiving that the Treaſon was diſcovered made down the ſtairs, where being encountred by Sir *Thomas Areskin*, and ask'd how the King was, becauſe he gave no direct anſwer, and only ſaid, *that he took God to witneſs that he was not in the fault*, he thruſt him through the body, and killed him outright.

The Kings voice heard, and is diſcerned.

Sir *Thomas Areskin* challengeth *Gowry*.

John Ramſey doth firſt relieve the King.

Sir *Thomas* was followed by *Hugh Hereiſe* Doctor of Medicine, and a Foot-boy named *Wilſon*, who ſeeing the King ſafe were not a little joyed, and placing him in a little room, and ſhutting the door, they prepared to defend the entry. *Gowry* accompanied with three or four ſervants breaketh preſently into the Chamber, and with his two ſwords, one in each hand, puts them all to their ſhift, and had undoubtedly overthrown them, but that one of the company crying, *You have killed the King our Maſter, and will you alſo take our lives?* he became aſtoniſhed, and ſetting the points of his two ſwords to the earth, as if he minded to ceaſe from any more fight, he was inſtantly ſtricken by the Page with a Rapier which pierced the heart, ſo as he fell down dead. The ſervants ſeeing him fall made away; only Mr. *Thomas Cranſton* being ſore wounded, and not able to ſhift for himſelf, was apprehended. In this fight Sir *Thomas Areskin* and Doctor *Hereiſe* were both hurt, but nothing dangerouſly.

The Kings ſervants prepare to defend.

Gowry entereth, and after a little ſpace is killed.

By this time the doors of the other paſſage being made open, the Lords and a number with them entred into the room, who hearing what happened went all to their knees, and the King himſelf, conceiving a Prayer, gave thanks to God for his deliverance, and that the device of thoſe wicked Brothers was turned upon their own heads. The danger that enſued was not much leſs, for the people of the Town taking up arms did inviron the houſe, crying *to give them out their Provoſt, otherwiſe they ſhould blow them all up with powder*. The rage of the multitude was great (for they loved the Earl, as being their Provoſt, beyond all meaſure) and with great difficulty were they kept back from uſing violence: at laſt the Bayliffs and certain of the Citizens being admitted to enter and brought to the King, when they were informed of the truth of things, returned and pacified the people. After which the King took horſe and returned to *Falkland*, where he was welcomed (the rumour of the danger having prevented his coming) with great acclamations of joy.

The Lords come to the King.

The danger by the people of the Town.

It was obſerved, not without ſome wondering, that after *Gowry* was killed there iſſued no bloud for a good ſpace from his body, till his Girdle being looſed and taken from him the ſame guſhed from him in abundance: this was ſuppoſed to be the effect of ſome characters that he did alway carry in a little bag at his Girdle, which being viewed, were found to be certain ſpells of Necromancers, and added much to the infamy of his death.

The Characters found at the Earls girdle.

A diligent ſearch was made the days following for the man the King ſaw ſtanding in the room, and large rewards promiſed to thoſe that ſhould find him out. In this ſearch one of the Earls ſervants, called *Henry Younger*, hiding himſelf out of an idle

Some ſervants of *Gowry* executed.

idle fear among ſome growing corns, was killed, and for ſome daies was ſuppoſed to have been the man; till *Andrew Henderſon*, Chamberlain to *Gowry*, diſcovering himſelf to the Controller, did offer upon promiſe of his life to enter and ſhew all that he knew in that buſineſs. Another of *Gowries* ſervants ſurnamed *Craigengelt* was ſome 2 days after apprehended, and both he and Mr. *Tho. Cranſton* executed at *Perth*; though at their dying they declared that they knew nothing of the Earls purpoſe, and had only followed him as being their Maſter unto that room, where if they had known the King to have been, they would have ſtood for him againſt their Maſter and all others. *An.* 1600.

Andrew Henderſon his Confeſſion.

Henderſon at his Examination declared, That the night preceding the attempt the Earl had directed him to attend his Brother Mr. *Alexander*, and do what he commanded. That accordingly he accompanied him the next morning to *Falkland*; and when they were returned, being commanded by Mr. *Alexander* to dreſs himſelf in armour, and go wait till he came unto him in an upper room, he obeyed. But that he could not imagine any purpoſe againſt the King, either in him or in the Earl, nor would have believed it unleſs he had ſeen the ſame with his eyes. Being demanded why he did not take the Kings part when he did ſee them fall a wreſtling, he excuſed himſelf by a ſudden fear that overtook him in the time; and indeed he looked ever after that time as one half diſtracted. It was much marvelled that in ſo high an attempt the Earl ſhould have made choice of ſuch a one: but the man was of a ſervile ſpirit, and apt enough to do miſchief; and many have conjectured that if the Treaſon had taken effect, it was in the Earls purpoſe to have made away both his Brother and him, that he might not be ſuppoſed to have had any knowledge thereof. I remember my ſelf that meeting with Mr. *William Couper* then Miniſter at *Perth* the third day after in *Falkland*, he ſhewed me that not many days before that accident, viſiting by occaſion the Earl at his own Houſe, he found him reading a Book entituled, *De conjurationibus adverſus Principes:* and having asked him what a Book it was, he anſwered, 'That it was a Collection of the Con-'ſpiracies made againſt Princes, which he ſaid were fooliſhly contrived all of them, 'and faulty either in one point or other; for he that goeth about ſuch a buſineſs 'ſhould not (ſaid he) put any man on his counſel. And he not liking ſuch diſcourſes, deſired him to lay away ſuch Books, and read others of a better ſubject. I verily think he was then ſtudying how to go beyond all Conſpirators recorded in any Hiſtory; but it pleaſed God *who giveth ſalvation to Kings*, as the Pſalm ſpeaketh, to infatuate his counſels, and by his enſample to admoniſh all diſloyal and traiterous ſubjects to beware of attempting againſt their Sovereigns.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* required by the Council to give thanks for his Majeſties deliverance.

Their excuſe, and refuſing to obey.

The Biſhop of *Roſs* giveth thanks at the Market-croſs.

Advertiſement ſent the next day to the Council, which then remained at *Edinburgh*, the Miniſters of the Town were called and deſired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for his Majeſties deliverance. They excuſing themſelves, *as not being acquainted with the particulars, nor how thoſe things had fallen out*; it was anſwered, that they were only to ſignifie how the King had eſcaped a great danger, and to ſtir up the people to thankſgiving. They replied, *That nothing ought to be delivered in Pulpit but that whereof the truth was known, and that all which is uttered in that place ſhould be ſpoken in faith.* When by no perſuaſion they could be moved to perform that duty, it was reſolved that the Council ſhould go together to the Market-croſs, and that the Biſhop of *Roſſe* ſhould after a narration of the Kings danger and deliverance conceive a publick Thankſgiving, which was done, the multitude applauding and expreſſing a great joy.

The King cometh to *Edinburgh*.

Maſter *Patrick Galloway* his preaching at the Croſs.

The *Munday* following the King came to *Edinburgh*, accompanied with divers Noblemen and Barons, and heard a Sermon preached at the Croſs by Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, who chuſing the 124 Pſalm for his Theme, did take occaſion to diſcourſe of all the particulars of that Conſpiracy, and gave the people great ſatisfaction: for many doubted that there had been any ſuch Conſpiracy, *The condition of Princes being*, as the Emperor *Domitian* ſaid, *herein miſerable, that even when Conſpiracies made againſt their perſons are diſcovered, yet they are not credited, unleſs they be ſlain.* The next day the King in a ſolemn Council kept at *Halirudhouſe*, to teſtifie his thankfulneſs for his Deliverance, and to perpetuate the memory thereof,

An. 1600.

1000 l. mortified to the poor at *Scone.*

did mortifie for the entertainment of ſome poor men the rent of 1000 pounds yearly to be taken of the readieſt fruits of the Abbacy of *Scone*, and ordained an honourable reward to be given to the three Gentlemen that had been the inſtruments of his Preſervation, and the cauſe of the reward to be ſpecified in their Patents.

A ſolemn Thankſgiving appointed for the Kings Deliverance.

After this order was taken for a publick and ſolemn Thankſgiving to be made in all the Churches of the Kingdom, and the laſt *Tueſday* of *September* with the *Sunday* following appointed for that exerciſe.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* removed from their places.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, who gave the refuſe, were commanded to remove themſelves out of the Town within 48 hours, and inhibited to Preach within his Majeſties Dominions under pain of death. Mr. *Walter Balcanquell*, Mr. *William Watſon*, and Mr. *John Hall*, three of that number, compeiring at *Striveling* the 10 of *September*, and declaring, *That they were throughly reſolved of the truth of* Gowries *Conſpiracy, and willing to amend their former fault*, were pardoned upon condition *that before their return to* Edinburgh *they ſhould in the Churches appointed to them publickly preach, and declare their perſuaſion of the truth of that Treaſon, craving God and his Majeſty forgiveneſs for the queſtion they made thereof, and rebuking all ſuch as continued in that doubtfulneſs.* The Churches deſigned to them were *Tranent*, *Muſſilburgh* and *Dalkeith* for Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*; *Dunbar* and *Duns* for Mr. *William Watſon*; and for Mr. *John Hall*, *Dunfermlin*, S. *Andrews* and *Perth.*

Three of the number acknowledging their fault, are pardoned.

Mr. *James Balfour* remitted.

Mr. *James Balfour*, the day following, upon the like confeſſion was remitted, and ordained to publiſh his reſolution in the Churches of *Dundee*, *Montroſs*, *Aberbrothock* and *Brichen.*

Mr. *Robert Bruce* baniſhed.

But Mr. *Robert Bruce*, taking a courſe by himſelf, and ſaying, *He would reverence his Majeſties reports of that accident, but could not ſay he was perſuaded of the truth of it*, was baniſhed the Kings Dominions, and went into *France.*

A Parliament wherein *Gowry* and his Brother are forfeited.

The 15 of *November* a Parliament was held at *Edinburgh*, wherein ſentence of Forfeiture was pronounced againſt *Gowry* and Mr. *Alexander* his Brother, their Poſterity diſinherited, and, in deteſtation of the Parricide attempted, the whole Surname of *Ruthven* aboliſhed. But this laſt was afterwards diſpenſed with, and ſuch of that name as were known to be innocent tolerated by the Kings clemency to enjoy their ſurnames and titles as in former times. The bodies of the two brothers being brought to the Parliament-houſe were after Sentence given hanged upon a Gibbet in the publick ſtreet, and then diſmembred, their heads cut off and affixed upon the top of the Priſon-houſe. This done, the Eſtates, in acknowledgment of the favors and grace they all had received of God, by the miraculous and extraordinary Preſervation of his Majeſty from that treaſonable attempt, did ordain, *That in all times and ages to come the fifth of* Auguſt *ſhould be ſolemnly kept with Prayers, Preachings and Thanksgiving for that benefit, diſcharging all work, labor and other occupations upon the ſaid day, which might diſtract the people in any ſort from thoſe Pious exerciſes.*

The fifth of *Auguſt* to be kept yearly in remembrance of his Majeſties delivery.

Acts concluded in this Parliament.

Divers other good and profitable Acts, as well for the Church as kingdom were concluded in this Parliament: as the Act decerning *all Marriages contracted betwixt perſons divorced for Adultery to be null, and the children begotten by ſuch unlawful conjunction incapable of ſucceſſion to their parents inheritance*; as alſo the Act made for *removing and extinguiſhing of deadly Feuds*, which the King had ever ſtriven to aboliſh, was in that time confirmed by the whole Eſtates.

The King goeth to *Dunfermlin* to viſit the Queen.

Prince *Charles* born at *Dunfermlin.*

Upon the cloſe of the Parliament the King went to *Dunfermlin* to viſit the Queen, who was brought to bed of a Son. The Chriſtening was haſtned becauſe of the weakneſs of the Child, and that his death was much feared. He was named *Charles*, and, contrary to the expectation of moſt men, grew unto years and ſtrength, and ſurvived Prince *Henry* his elder Brother, reigns happily this day over theſe Kingdoms; which that he may long do is the deſire and wiſh of all good ſubjects.

The death of Mr. *John Craig*, with a deſcription of his life.

In the end of the year Mr. *John Craig*, through age was compelled to quit the Charge, departed this life. This man whilſt he lived was held in great eſteem, a great Divine and excellent Preacher,

of

of a grave behavior, ſincere, inclining to no Faction, and, which increaſed his reputation, living honeſtly, without oſtentation or deſire of outward glory. Many toſſings and troubles he endured in his time: for being left young and his Father killed at *Flowdon*, after that he had got an entrance in Letters, and paſſed his courſe in Philoſophy in S. *Andrews*, he went to *England*, and waited as Pedagogue on the Lord *Dacres* his children the ſpace of two years. Wars then ariſing betwixt the two kingdoms, he returned home, and became one of the *Dominican* Order; but had not lived long among them when, upon ſuſpicion of Hereſie, he was put in priſon. Being cleared of that imputation, he went back again into *England*, and thinking by the Lord *Dacres* means to have got a place in *Cambridge*, becauſe that failed, he went to *France*, and from thence to *Rome*. There he won ſuch favor with Cardinal *Pole*, as by his recommendation he was received among the *Dominicans* of *Bononia*, and by them firſt appointed to inſtruct the Novices of the Cloiſter: afterwards, when they perceived his diligence and dexterity in buſineſſes, he was employed in all their affairs throughout *Italy*, and ſent in Commiſſion to *Chios*, an Iſle ſituated in the *Ionick* Sea, to redreſs things that were amiſs amongſt thoſe of their Order. *An.* 1600.

Therein he diſcharged himſelf ſo well, that at his return he was made Rector of the School, and thereby had acceſs to the Libraries, eſpecially to that of the Inquiſition; where falling on the *Inſtitutions* of *John Calvin*, he was taken with a great liking thereof; and one day conferring with a reverend old man of the Monaſtery, was by him confirmed in the opinion he had taken, but withal warned in any caſe not to utter himſelf, or make his mind known, becauſe the times were perillous: yet he neglecting the counſel of the aged man, and venting his Opinions too freely was delated of Hereſie, and being ſent to *Rome*, after examination impriſoned nine months, he lay there in great miſery; at the end whereof, being brought before the Judge of the Inquiſition, and giving a clear Confeſſion of his Faith, he was condemned to be burnt the next day, which was the 19 of *Auguſt*.

It happened the ſame night Pope *Paul* the Fourth to depart this life; upon the noiſe of whoſe death the people came in a tumult to the place where his Statue in marble had been erected, and pulling it down, did for the ſpace of three days drag the ſame through the ſtreets, and in the end threw it in the River of *Tiber*. During the tumult all the Priſons were broke open, the Priſoners ſet free, and among thoſe Mr. *Craig* had his liberty. As he ſought to eſcape (for he held it not ſafe to ſtay in the City) two things happened unto him not unworthy of relation. Firſt, in the Suburbs, as he was paſſing, he did meet a ſort of looſe men, whom they called *Banditi*: one of the company, taking him aſide, demanded if he had been at any time in *Bononia*. He anſwered that he had been ſome time there. Do ye not then remember, ſaid he, that walking on a time in the fields with ſome young Noblemen, there came unto you a poor maimed Soldier, entreating ſome relief? Mr. *Craig* replying that he did not well remember. But I do, ſaid he, and I am the man to whom ye ſhewed kindneſs at that time: be not afraid of us, ye ſhall incur no danger. And ſo conveying him through the Suburbs, and ſhewing what was his ſafeſt courſe, he gave him ſo much money as might make his charge to *Bononia*; for he intended to go thither, truſting to find ſome kindneſs with thoſe of his acquaintance: yet at his coming he found them look ſtrange, and fearing to be of new trapped, he ſlipped away ſecretly, taking his courſe to *Millain*. Accidents that befel Mr. *Craig* in his flight.

By the way another accident befel him, which I ſhould ſcarce relate, ſo incredible it ſeemeth, if to many of good place he himſelf had not often repeated it as a ſingular teſtimony of Gods care of him; and this it was. When he had travelled ſome days, declining the high-ways out of fear, he came into a Foreſt, a wild and deſert place, and being ſore wearied lay down among ſome buſhes on the ſide of a little brook to refreſh himſelf: lying there penſive and full of thoughts (for neither knew he in what part he was, nor had he any means to bear him out the way) a Dog cometh fawning with a purſe in his teeth, and lays it down before him. He ſtricken with a fear riſeth up, and conſtruing the ſame to proceed from Gods favorable providence towards him, followed his way till he came to a little Village, where he A ſtrange accident and ſingular teſtimony of Gods care over him.

An. 1601. he met with ſome that were travelling to *Vienna* in *Auſtria*, and changing his intended courſe went in their company thither.

He preacheth to *Maximilian* the Emperor, but is forced to leave thoſe parts.

Being there, and profeſſing himſelf to be one of the *Dominican* Order, he was brought to preach before *Maximilian* the ſecond, who, liking the man and his manner of Teaching, would have retained him, if by Letters from Pope *Pius* the Third he had not been required to ſend him back to *Rome*, as one that was condemned for Hereſie. The Emperor not liking to deliver him, and on the other part not willing to fall out with the Pope, did quietly dimit him with Letters of ſafe-conduct. So travelling through *Germany* he came to *England*, and being there informed of the Reformation begun at home, he returned into *Scotland*, and made offer of his ſervice to the Church: but his long diſſuetude of the Country-language (which was not to be marvelled, conſidering that he had lived abroad the ſpace of 24 years) made him unuſeful at firſt; now and then to the Learned ſort he preached in Latine in *Magdalens* Chappel at *Edinburgh*, and in the year 1561, after he had recovered the Language, was appointed Miniſter at *Halirudhouſe*. The next year he was taken to *Edinburgh*, and ſerved as Collegue with Mr. *Knox* the ſpace of nine years; then by the ordinance of the Aſſembly he was tranſlated to *Montroſs*, where he continued two years, and upon the death of *Adam Heriot* was removed to *Aberdene*, having the inſpection of the Churches of *Marre* and *Buqhan* committed to his care. In the year 1579 he was called to be the Kings Miniſter, and ſerved in that charge till born down with the weight of years he was forced to retire himſelf: After which time forbearing all publick exerciſes he lived private at home, comforting himſelf with the remembrance of the mercies of God that he had taſted in his life paſt; and his year, on the 12 of *December*, without all pain died peaceably at *Edinburgh* in the 88 year of his age.

He cometh to *Scotland* and is appointed Miniſter at *Halirudhouſe*.

A Trouble in the Court of *England*.

In the beginning of the next year there happened a great Stir in the Court of *England*, which concerning the King in ſome ſort I muſt needs touch. The Earl of *Eſſex*, who had been a long time in ſpecial favour with the Queen, and was then upon ſome diſpleaſure kept from the Court, not enduring to be thruſt down (as he complain'd) by his adverſaries into a private life, did reſolve to make his way unto the Queen by force, to ſeiſe upon her Perſon, and remove from her company thoſe he judged to be his adverſaries. But the purpoſe failing, he was taken himſelf and committed to the Tower. A little before he had written Letters to the King full of reſpect, informing that they who had the managing of all affairs under the Queen were inclining to the Infanta of *Spain*, and adviſing him to ſend Ambaſſadors into *England*, and urge the declaration of his Title of Succeſſion. The King, though he could have wiſhed his Title to be declared, did not think that time fitting for ſuch Propoſitions; yet upon the report of his Apprehenſion he reſolved to employ ſome in Commiſſion to the Queen. And to this effect made choice of the Earl of *Marre*, joyning with him the Abbot of *Kinloſſe*; who coming to the Court ſome days after the Execution of *Eſſex*, and having acceſs to the Queen, did congratulate her good ſucceſs in repreſſing that audacious attempt. This ſhe took well, and was glad to hear ſo much from them, becauſe of the rumors which were then diſperſed, *That* Eſſex *was made away for favoring the King of Scots Title, and that if the Ambaſſadors had come in time they would have dealt for him.* A good Anſwer was hereupon given to all their Inſtructions: and whereas, among other points of their Commiſſion, they were willed to ſeek an aſſignment of ſome portion of land in recompence of the lands belonging to the Lady *Lennox*, the King being her lawful Heir; the Queen excuſing her ſelf touching the lands, was content to add to the annuity formerly paid the ſum of 2000 pounds yearly, as long as he kept faſt and held one courſe with her. Beſides this ſatisfaction obtained of the Queen, they did ſo work with the principal Noblemen and Counſellors, as they won them to be the Kings friends, and at their return gave his Majeſty aſſurance of a peaceable Reception of that Crown after the deceaſe of the Queen, which was ſome two years after really performed.

The Earl of *Marre* ſent Ambaſſador to *England*.

Much about this time had Pope *Clement* the eighth ſent his *Breves* (as they call them) into *England*, warning all the Clergy and Layety that profeſſed the *Roman* Faith,

Pope *Clement* ſends his *Breves* to *England* for excluding the King.

Faith, not to admit after the Queens death any man, how near ſoever in blood, to be King, unleſs he ſhould bind himſelf by Oath to promove the Catholick *Roman* Religion at his power. And at the ſame time came Mr. *John Hamilton* and Mr. *Edmond Hay*, Jeſuites, into *Scotland*, two factious and working ſpirits, and therefore much ſuſpected by the King; the firſt eſpecially, for that he was known to have been a chief inſtrument of the Seditions raiſed in the City of *Paris* in the time of the League. *An.* 1601.

A Proclamation againſt ſome Jeſuites.

How ſoon the King underſtood of their repairing into the Country, a Proclamation was given out inhibiting their reſort under the pain of Treaſon. In this Proclamation, to make them the more odious, they were compared to *Bothwel* and *Gowry*, the King declaring that he would judge no otherwiſe of their receptors than of thoſe that did treaſonably purſue his own life. This notwithſtanding, they found lurking-holes amongſt the Papiſts in the North, and kept the Country till, after ſome years, that Mr. *John Hamilton* was apprehended and carried to the Tower of *London*, where he died.

An Aſſembly at *Brunt-Iſland.*

The Church of *Edinburgh* remained all this while deſtitute of a number of their Miniſters, the Conditions preſcribed unto them when they were pardoned not being performed: of the four only Mr. *John Hall*, having given obedience, was licenced to return to his Charge; the other three, upon I know not what pretext, deferred to make their declaration, as was appointed, and were thereupon in the Aſſembly convened at *Brunt-Iſland* the 12 of *May* ordained to be tranſported from the Miniſtery of *Edinburgh*, and placed in ſuch parts of the Country as the Commiſſioners of the Country ſhould think meet. This Aſſemby was called by his Majeſties Proclamation, partly for taking order with the Church of *Edinburgh*, partly for repreſſing the growth of Popery, which was then increaſing; and where it ſhould have held at S. *Andrews*, was, in regard of the Kings indiſpoſition, brought to *Brunt-Iſland.*

Mr. *John Hall* elected Moderator.

Mr. *John Hall* being elected to moderate the meeting, did begin with a regrate of the general defection from the purity and practice of true Religion, which he ſaid *was ſo great, that it muſt of neceſſity at laſt conclude either in Popery or Atheiſm, except a ſubſtantious remedy were in time provided. And becauſe the ill could not be well cured unleſs the cauſes and occaſions thereof ſhould be ript up; he exhorteth thoſe that were aſſembled, to conſider ſeriouſly both of the Cauſes of the Defection, and the Remedies that were fitteſt to be applied.*

The Defection in Religion complained of and the Cauſes ſearched.

After long conference, the Cauſes were condeſcended to be, The wrath of God kindled againſt the Land for the unreverent eſtimation of the Goſpel, and the Sins in all Eſtates, to the diſhonor of their profeſſion; Lack of care in the Miniſtery to diſcover Apoſtates; Too haſty admiſſion of men unto the Miniſtery, Miniſters framing themſelves to the humors of people; The deſolation of the Churches of *Edinburgh*; The advancing of men to places of credit that were ill-affected to Religion; The Education of his Majeſties Children in the company of Papiſts; The training up of Noblemens children under ſuſpect Pedagogues; The decay of Schools; and the not urging of the reconciled Lords to perform their Conditions.

The Remedy of the evils.

For Remedy of the foreſaid evils it was ordained, *That a publick Humiliation ſhould be kept throughout the Realm the laſt two* Sundays *of* June, *with Faſting and Prayer, for appeaſing the wrath of God kindled againſt the Land; That the Miniſters of every Presbytery ſhould after the diſſolving of the Aſſembly take up the names of the Recuſants within their bounds, and ſend them to the Kings Miniſters; That places of greateſt need ſhould be furniſhed with learned and wiſe Preachers, and in the mean time, till that might take effect by a conſtant proviſion of Miniſters to thoſe places, that the meeteſt for that purpoſe ſhould be appointed to attend for a certain time in the families of the reconciled Lords, for their better confirmation in the Truth.* The reſt of the remedies reſolved all in Petitions to his Majeſty, *for the planting of Churches, the not permitting of thoſe who were under proceſs for Popery to have acceſs to Court, and a care to be taken of the good education of the children of Noblemen.* To all which the King gave favorable anſwers; and for the removing of the Princeſs his Daughter from the Lady *Levingſton*, which was earneſtly entreated by the whole Aſſembly, his Majeſty did promiſe to bring her to his own Houſe before the Term of *Martinmas* next.

Whilſt

An. 1601.

Mr. *John Davidſon* his Letter to the Aſſembly.

Whilſt matters were thus proceeding, there was delivered a Letter ſent by Mr. *John Davidſon* to the Aſſembly, wherein, as if he would awake his Brethren fallen aſleep, he began with a ſtrong cry, *How long ſhall we fear or favor fleſh and blood, and follow the counſel and command thereof? Should our meetings be in the name of man? Are we not yet to take up our ſelves, and to acknowledge our former errors, and feebleneſs in the Work of the Lord?* And a little after, *Is it time for us now, when ſo many of our worthy Brethren are thruſt out of their Callings without all order of juſt proceeding, and Jeſuites, Atheiſts and Papiſts are ſuffered, countenanced and advanced to great rooms in the Realm, for the bringing in of Idolatry, and Captivity more than* Babylonical, *with an high hand, and that in our chief City; Is it time for us, I ſay, of the Miniſtery to be inveigled and blind-folded with pretence of Preferment of ſome ſmall number of our Brethren to have voice in Parliament, and have Titles of Prelacy? Shall we with* Samſon *ſleep ſtill on* Dalilahs *knees, till ſhe ſay,* The Philiſtines be upon thee, *Samſon?* Then ſcoffing at the Kings doings, he ſaid, *But* Bonyton *is executed, an infamous Thief in the higheſt degree: what is that to the cauſe of Religion, whereof no queſtion was moved? Is there no Papiſt, nor favorer of Papiſts in* Scotland *but* Bonyton? *But the King is ſound in Religion, what can the adverſaries do? Being ſound, the danger were the leſs; but there is nothing either in Church or King according to our calling,* &c. In Poſtſcript to the ſame Letter he wiſhed them to be wary of determining any thing touching the planting of *Edinburgh*, in reſpect of any promiſes againſt Papiſts, and to remember that *Melius & optabilius eſt bellum pace impia, & à Deo diſtrahente.*

The Letter offended greatly the wiſer ſort.

This Letter laughed at by ſome did greatly offend the wiſer ſort, who would have proceeded to cenſure the man as he had deſerved, but that the King interceded, willing to leave the puniſhment to him, and go on with their own affairs as they had begun. So the Letter being caſt by, the planting of *Edinburgh* was next handled; and after ſome reaſoning it was concluded, that the three Miniſters, Mr. *Walter Balcanquel*, Mr. *James Balfour* and Mr. *William Watſon* ſhould be tranſported, and others placed in their rooms. The care of this among other things was entruſted to certain Commiſſioners deputed by the Aſſembly, who had power given them for all matters that concerned the Church unto the next General Meeting.

A Combuſtion touching the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*.

A Propoſition was made for a new Tranſlation of the Bible, and correcting the Pſalms.

After this a Propoſition was made for a new Tranſlation of the Bible, and the correcting of the Pſalms in Metre: his Majeſty did urge it earneſtly, and with many Reaſons did perſuade the undertaking of the Work, ſhewing the neceſſity and the profit of it, and what a glory the performing thereof ſhould bring to this Church: ſpeaking of the neceſſity, he did mention ſundry eſcapes in the common Tranſlation, and made it ſeem that he was no leſs converſant in the Scriptures than they whoſe profeſſion it was; and when he came to ſpeak of the Pſalms, did recite whole verſes of the ſame, ſhewing both the faults of the metre and the diſcrepance from the Text. It was the joy of all that were preſent to hear it, and bred not little admiration in the whole Aſſembly, who approving the motion did recommend the Tranſlation to ſuch of the Brethren as were moſt skill'd in the Languages, and the reviſing of the Pſalms particularly to Mr. *Robert Pont*; but nothing was done in the one or the other: yet did not the King let this his intention fall to the ground, but after his happy coming to the Crown of *England* ſet the moſt learned Divines of that Church a work for the Tranſlation of the Bible; which with great pains and the ſingular profit of the Church they perfected. The reviſing of the Pſalms he made his own labor, and at ſuch hours as he might ſpare from the publick cares went through a number of them, commending the reſt to a faithful and learned ſervant, who hath therein anſwered his Majeſties expectation.

The liberty of Application reſtrained.

The Act for reſtraining the liberty of Application in Exerciſes was of new ratified, and an Ordinance made againſt the Preaching of young men not admitted to the Miniſtery in the chief places of the Country; which done, and the next Aſſembly being appointed to be held at S. *Andrews* the laſt *Tueſday* of *July Anno* 1602, the meeting diſſolved.

The Miniſters of *Edinburgh* received in favour.

Soon after the King, by the advice of the Commiſſioners of the Church, received in favor the three Miniſters of *Edinburgh* that were ordained to be tranſlated

to

to other places, and licenſed them to return to their Charges. Mr. *John Dikes* alſo, who had lurked all this time, having compoſed ſome Euchariſtick Sonnets (as he called them) for his Majeſties preſervation, was pardoned, and permitted to return to his place. But Mr. *John Davidſon* preſuming to find the like favour, and appearing in publick without warrant, was taken and committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained ſome months, till by the interceſſion of the Kings Miniſters he was alſo put to liberty. *An.* 1601.

In the State the Lord *Maxwel* began to make new Troubles, and notwithſtanding he was prohibited to repair within the bounds of *Nidiſdale* and *Galloway*, he went home without licence, having contrived the death of Sir *James Johnſton* then Warden; but the purpoſe failing, he made an Incurſion upon *Annandale*, raiſing fire, and committing ſlaughter: whereupon, great Stirs were moved in theſe parts, which were not pacified till the *February* after; at which time the King, going in perſon to *Dumfreis*, made him leave the Country, and put in Sureties for his remaining within the bounds of *Cluidſdale*. New troubles by the Lord *Maxwel*.

In *July* thereafter *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox* was ſent in an Ambaſſage to *France*; rather for confirming the old Amity and friendſhip, than for any buſineſs elſe. There went with him Sir *Thomas Ereskin* and Sir *William Levinſton* of *Kilſithe*, two of his Majeſties privy Council; Mr. *John Spotſwood*, then Parſon of *Calder*, was directed to attend him as his Chaplain or Preacher. The Duke taking his journy by Sea arrived at *Diep* the 24 of that month, and upon the 10 day after entered into *Paris*, accompanied by *James* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* and a great train of Scotiſhmen, who did meet him at S. *Denis*: he had preſence of the French King at S. *Germans* ſome ſeven leagues from *Paris*, and was very kindly accepted. A few daies after the King went to *Fountain-bleau*, where the Queen was to lie of Child-birth. Thither the Duke did follow him, and was entertained with hunting and the like ſports unto the Queens delivery, which fell out the 17 of *September*. Going then unto the Country to ſalute his Mother Madam *D' Aubigney* and other his friends, whilſt he was about theſe offices of kindneſs, the King went by poſt to *Calais* upon ſome intelligence, as it was ſaid, from *England*, that the Queen was fallen ſick: he himſelf gave out that the affairs of *Flanders* did occaſion his journy, for as then the Archduke was beſieging *Oſtend*. But whatſoever the buſineſs was, no man doubted but that he had an eye upon the Succeſſion of *England*; and if he could have found a Faction, would have foiſted in another *Baſtard* of *Normandy*, which oftentimes in a merriment and gallantry he ſpared not to utter. The Duke of *Lennox* directed Ambaſſador to *France*. The Queen of *France* lying of her firſt-born.

The Duke after his return to *Paris* made no long ſtay, but taking his leave of the *French* King, who was then come back from *Calais*, took journy towards *England*, and came to *London* in the beginning of *November*. A Parliament was then ſitting at *Weſtminſter* (the laſt that Queen *Elizabeth* held) which with his coming upon that inſtant gave many to think that he was come to urge a Declaration of the Kings Right of Succeſſion; and not a few they were, nor of ſmall note, that offered to aſſiſt, if he ſhould move any ſuch buſineſs: but he told them, that neither had he any ſuch Commiſſion, nor would the King ever agree to any thing that might breed a jealouſie in the Queen. And his Commiſſion indeed was no other but to ſalute the Queen in the Kings name, and let her know the kind and filial affection he carried unto her, whereof he ſhould be willing to give proof at all occaſions. And for that he was given to underſtand that the *Iriſh* Rebels had drawn in ſome *Spaniſh* forces into *Ireland*, to fortifie themſelves in their Rebellion, he would, if his aid ſhould be thought neceſſary, employ the ſame for their expulſion. The Queen giving the King many thanks, ſaid, That if thoſe Troubles continued, ſhe would take his help, and hire ſome of his High-landers and Iſles-men; but ſhe truſted to hear other news ſhortly, and not be vexed long with thoſe ſtrangers. As alſo it came to paſs, for the very next month the Lord *Montjoy* her Deputy did, in a Battel fought near *Kinſail*, defeat the *Iriſh* utterly, and afterwards forced the *Spaniards* that had taken the Town to render upon condition of their lives ſaved, and that they might be tranſported again into their Country.

The Duke after three weeks ſtay, being feaſted by the Queen and entertained with The Duke returneth to *Edinburgh*.

An. 1602. with all complements of amity, returned home, and came to *Edinburgh* in the end of *December*; where having related his proceedings in Council, they were all approved. The Lord *Elphinſton* had in his abſence reſigned the Office of Treaſury upon an offence, as was thought, he conceived for adjoyning ſome others unto him in the componing of Signators; and now was Sir *George Hume*, one of the Maſters of the Quirie, preferred to the Office, which he diſcharged by his Deputy, Sir *John Arnot*, both to his Majeſty and the Countries content.

An. 1602. Certain Undertakers conquer the Iſles.

The next Summer the King having reſolved to plant Lowland-men in the Iſles, and tranſport the Inhabitants into the main land, where they might learn civility, made a beginning at the Iſle of *Lewis*. The Undertakers were *Patrick* Abbot of *Lundors*, Colonel *William Stewart*, Captain *William Murray*, Mr. *James Lermouth* of *Balcomy*, Mr. *James Spence* of *Wormeſton*, Sir *James Anſtruther* of that ilke, and *James Forret* of *Fingaske*. Theſe Gentlemen furniſhing themſelves with arms and ſhipping, and having conduced a number of ſouldiers, took ſea, and in the third or fourth day arrived in the Lake of *Sternoway* within the ſame Iſle. *Murdach Macklowd*, baſe ſon to old *Macklowd*, who carried himſelf as Lord of the Iſle, made at the firſt ſome reſiſtence; but after a little conflict diſtruſting the people, for he had uſed them with great tyranny, he fled and forſook the Iſle, leaving the Indwellers to the diſcretion of the Invaders: they, how ſoon he was gone, did all ſubmit themſelves, and accept ſuch Conditions as were offered by the Undertakers.

The Laird of *Balcomy* taken priſoner, and dieth in *Orkney*.

Being thus peaceably poſſeſſed, the Laird of *Balcomy*, either ſent by the reſt to ſignifie their good ſucceſs, and to make preparation againſt the Winter, or for ſome private buſineſs of his own, took purpoſe to return home, and being lanched a little from the coaſt, and by reaſon of the Calm forced to caſt anchor, was ſuddenly invaded by the ſaid *Murdach Macklowd* with a number of Birlings (ſo they call the little veſſels thoſe Iſles-men uſe) the ſhip boarded, the marriners killed, and himſelf made priſoner. The Gentleman being detained ſome days, and hourly threatned with death, was afterwards ranſomed by one of his friends, and conveyed to *Orkney*, where contracting a Feaver he died. The reſt of the Gentlemen, to repair this injury, conduced *Neill Macklowd*, Brother to the ſaid *Murdach*, to betray and deliver him in their hands; which he performed ſhortly after, having by an Ambuſh laid for his Brother apprehended him, and ſome twelve more that were in his company. The twelve he preſently beheaded, *Murdach* he delivered to the Gentlemen, as he had promiſed, who was afterwards tranſported to S. *Andrews*, and there executed.

Neill betrayeth his Brother *Murdach*.

The *Lewis* loſt by the Undertakers ſecurity.

The Undertakers thinking themſelves now ſecured, began to build, and made a partition of lands, letting the ſame to the Country-people, who did all ſwear fidelity to them: but whilſt they expected no trouble, *Norman Macklowd* Son to old *Macklowd* did on the ſudden beſet them, put fire to their lodgings, and force them to the Conditions following.

Firſt, that they ſhould purchaſe to them a Remiſſion from the King of all crimes and offences paſt.

Next, that they ſhould reſign to *Norman* all the right that they had acquired of the Iſle of *Lewis*.

And thirdly, that Sir *James Spence*, with his Son-in-law *Thomas Monypenny* of *Kinkell*, ſhould remain as Pledges until the Remiſſion was brought unto him, and ſuch a Surety given of the Iſle as he could deviſe.

This condeſcended unto, Sir *James Anſtruther* departed with the whole company that was left (for many were killed before their yielding) and for relief of the Pledges obtained of the King both the Remiſſion and Security of the Iſle that was deſired, which was ſent to *Norman* by *James Lermouth* ſon to the Laird of *Darcie*. By this mean were the Pledges freed, and for that time the whole enterpriſe defeated. Some three years after the ſame was of new attempted, with what ſucceſs we ſhall hear in the own place.

Mr. *Rob. Bruce* licenſed to return upon promiſe of ſatisfaction.

Maſter *Robert Bruce*, who as we ſhewed before was exiled in *France*, obtained licence to return in the beginning of this Summer by the interceſſion of the Earl of *Marre*, whom he had intreated to mediate his peace, upon promiſe at his return

to

to satisfie the King, and declare his resolution in that matter of *Gowries*. The King, who never shewed himself difficile (especially to Ministers that professed penitency for their errors) gave warrant to recal him; and he appearing before the Commissioners of the Church at *Perth* the 25 of *June*, where his Majesty was present, acknowledged his error, professed his resolution touching the guiltiness of those unhappy Brothers, and promised, if his Majesty should licence him to return to his place, to declare the same publickly in the first Sermon he should have to the people. The King doubting his performance (for he had often in other matters tried his inconstancy) caused the same to be set down in writing upon the back of the Letter he had sent to the Earl of *Marre*, and after he had subscribed the same, made all the Commissioners that were present (eleven in number) to set their hands thereto as Witnesses. This done, he was admitted to kiss his Majesties hand, and licenced to return to his place. But as the King had conjectured, so it fell out; for coming to *Edinburgh*, where it was expected he should have done what he had both promised and subscribed, he left the Town, pretending that his Ministery should thereby be discredited, and he esteemed to Preach by Injunction. The General Assembly of the Church meeting in *November* following, the King, to remove this pretext, after he had shewed all the particulars of his proceeding with Mr. *Robert*, and produced the Letter sent by him to the Earl of *Marre*, together with his Subscription in the meeting of *Perth*, desired the voices of the Assembly, whether or not he ought to utter his resolution in Pulpit as he had promised. They all, not one gainsaying, declared, *That he was bound both in duty and conscience to fulfil his promise, so much the rather, that by his distrust and disobedience to the Councils charge he had confirmed ill-disposed people in their suspicions.* Yet this Ordinance did not content him, and so delaying to give satisfaction, he was by the Commissioners of the Church discharged from the Ministery of *Edinburgh* the year following.

An. 1602.

Mr. *Rob. Bruce* his inconstancy.

A General Assembly in the Chappel of *Halirudhouse*.

In this Assembly Mr. *Patrick Galloway* being chosen to preside, he made a Speech to the King, wherein he shewed, 'That the Church was oppugned by two sorts 'of enemies, to wit, Papists and Sacrilegious persons; and therefore in the name 'of the whole Church entreated his Majesty, that as he had with great travel and 'happy success made the principals of the Popish profession to conform themselves 'in outward obedience, so he would use his Princely Authority towards the other 'sort, and compel them, if not to restore all, at least to grant a competent allow-'ance to Ministers forth of the Tithes they possessed. The King accepting the Petition graciously, said, *That it should not be well with the Church so long as Ministers were drawn from their Charges to attend the yearly modfication of Stipends, and that he held it fittest once to condescend upon a competent provision for every Church, and deal with those that possessed the Tithes to bestow a part thereof to the foresaid uses: and seeing that business would require a longer time than they could well continue together, that they should do well to make some overtures to those that had the Commission for Stipends, promising for himself that he should stand for the Church, and be an advocate for the Ministers.*

Petitions to his Majesty in name of the Church.

After a long deliberation these Overtures were proponed. 'First, That the Ministers having Stipends assigned to them forth of the Tithes of the Churches 'where they served, a perpetual security should be made to the Takesmen, and a 'certainer gressome condescended on for every chalder of victual, which should 'be paied for nineteen years lease; at the expiring whereof, another lease upon 'the like conditions should be renewed for as many years, the principal Takesmen 'being obliged to grant the like security for his Subtakesmen. 2. That the Prelacies should be disponed to actual Ministers, the Churches annexed thereto being sufficiently provided, and the tenth of the superplus paid to the King; or 'otherwise, that all the great Benefices should be dissolved, the Prelate enjoying 'the principal Church and temporal lands, and the Churches annexed disponed to Ministers, both they and the Prelate paying a yearly duty to the King. 'And 3. that all inferior Benefices should be provided to the Ministers serving 'the Cure.

Overtures for provision of the Ministers.

The First of these Overtures the King held reasonable and most advantageous to

The Overtures deferred to another time.

An. 1602. to the Church; but the Assembly esteeming it dangerous to make Tithes heritable, deferred to give their consent, so as nothing at that time was concluded, and the Overtures remitted to a more deep consideration.

Grievances of the Synod of *Fife.*

The Synod of *Fife* did after this present some Grievances, complaining, 'That 'the General Assemblies were not kept at the ordinary times, and both places and 'days altered, without the knowledge of Presbyters and Synods. That Ministers 'were called before the Council *in prima instantia*, for matters of Doctrine and 'Discipline. That the Government of the Church continued in the hands of a few 'Ministers under the name of a *Commission*, to the prejudice of the Liberty of the 'Church. That Doctors, being an ordinary calling in the Church, were debarred 'from coming to Assemblies. That no trial was taken concerning the observation 'of Caveats. That the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, being the principal Watch-tower 'of the Church, were not permitted to attend their Charge. That the land was 'polluted with the *French* Ambassadors Mass, and Excommunicates suffered to 'abide in the Country. And lastly, that the Letters and practices of Papists 'were kept secret, and not communicated to the Watchmen.

An Answer to the Grievances.

These Complaints, being known to proceed from the private discontents of such as grieved to see the affairs of the Church carried by others than themselves, were not much regarded; yet to shew that they had no just cause to complain, a particular Answer was made to every one of them. And first it was said, 'That the As-'semblies both were and should be kept according to the Act of Parliament. 'That Ministers should not be called before the Council but upon just grounds. 'That Commissions given by the Assembly and rightly discharged were lawful. 'That Doctors authorised with a Commission from the University, where they 'lived, were not denied a voice in Assemblies; and that if the Caveats were not 'observed, they might instance the point, and have the person after trial censured. To the rest of the Heads his Majesty by himself made this reply: 'That the *French* 'Ambassadors Masse was private, and could not be refused to him, considering 'that the Minister directed with his own Ambassadors the year before was per-'mitted to Preach within the City of *Paris*. And for the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, 'they had received all the favor they desired. As to him that lay back, it was his 'own fault, and no mans else. But where, saith he, it is craved that the Letters 'and practices of Papists should be communicate to Ministers; as that were the 'ready way to procure the escape, and no punishment of the practices, so the pro-'poners would remember, that Secrets must be imparted at the Kings pleasure, 'and not otherwise.

Acts concluded in the Assembly.

Some other Acts were concluded in the same Assembly: as *That in memory of his Majesties Deliverance there should be Sermons in all the Burghs every Tuesday, and the fifth of* August *solemnly kept as the Parliament had prescribed in all the Churches of the Kingdom. That Ministers should not refuse the Sacrament of Baptism to Infants, nor delay the same upon what soever pretext, the same being required by the parents, or others in their name*: for as then, except at ordinary hours of Preaching, Ministers denied to baptize. And because they had taken a custom not to celebrate Marriage upon the Sunday, pretending that the day was profaned by Feasting, Dancing, and the like; it was ordained, *They should hereafter at the parties desire celebrate the same either on the Sunday or Week-day.* These things concluded, and Commissioners chosen to attend the common affairs of the Church, the Assembly dissolved, having appointed the next meeting at *Aberdene* the last Tuesday of *July*, *Anno* 1604.

The business of Jesuites in *England.*

All this time were the enemies of our Religion, the Jesuites, especially busied to stir up a party against the King and his Title to *England.* They had lost all hope of gaining his affection, or obtaining any promise of Toleration when he should come to that Crown; and had found their Writings and Pamphlets for the *Infanta* of *Spain* her Right to move few or none. Thereupon they fell to treat of a marriage betwixt Lady *Arabella* and *Robert* Prince of *Savoy*: and that not succeeding, to speak of a match betwixt her and a Grandchild of the Earl of *Hartfords*, judging that their Pretensions being conjoyned, many would befriend them, to the excluding of the King of *Scots*. But the Queen, who truly favoured his Right, though

though ſhe would not openly profeſs ſo much, daſhed all thoſe projects, and cauſed an eye to be kept upon that Lady and ſuch as reſorted unto her. *An.* 1602.

The ſtory of *Francis Mowbray* and an *Italian.*

About the ſame time the King had intelligence given him, that one *Francis Mowbray* Son to the Laird of *Barnebowgall*, who had lived a while in the *Infants Court* at *Bruxells*, had undertaken to kill him. This brake out firſt at *London* by an *Italian* a Fencer, whoſe name was *Daniel*; which coming to the Queens ears, ſhe commanded Sir *Robert Cecill* her Secretary to call the perſons (for they were both in the City) and examine them. The *Italian* abode by his ſpeeches; *Mowbray* denied, and offered to prove him a Liar in combat; which the other accepted. Both being ſent into *Scotland*, they were tried firſt ſeverally, then confronted before certain of the Council. The *Italian* produced Witneſſes, who verified all that he had deponed: whereupon *Mowbray* was committed to the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where ſeeking to eſcape by night at a window of the chamber where he was detained, the ſheets proving too ſhort by which he thought to deſcend, he fell from a great precipice, and was found the next morning dead at the foot of the rock. The Corps was the ſame day, being the laſt of *January*, preſented to the Juſtice, and ſentence of Forfeiture pronounced againſt him; his body hanged for a ſpace upon the Gibbet, and afterwards quartered and affixed on the Gates and moſt open places of the Town. His friends (for he was well born, and a proper young Gentleman) gave out that he had been ſtrangled, and his corps thrown down at the window. But this carried no appearance, and was believed of few.

The Queen of *England* groweth ſick.

The Queen of *England* in the Winter being perceived to wax heavy and dull, and the rumor thereof diſperſed (as there is nothing that can be worſe concealed than the Sickneſs or Death of a Prince) there was much buſineſs every where, and ſhe held for the moſt part dead. The *French* King had ſent the Summer preceding two Ambaſſadors, one to reſide in *England* and another in *Scotland*, under colour of impeaching the courſes of *Spain*, but in effect to obſerve the ſtrength and affection of both people. He that was ſent into *England* brought a Letter from the *French* King to Secretary *Cecill* of infinite kindneſs; and breaking with him one day upon the Miſeries of the Kingdom when it ſhould pleaſe God to tranſlate the Queen, fell to ſpeak of the loſs he ſhould ſuſtain by the exchange, and the caſe wherein he would be if the *Scotiſh* King did ſucceed; which to his apprehenſion ſhould be more hard and miſerable than any others, being likely to undergo the revenge of faults laid upon his Father about matters concerning the Kings Mother, and other courſes that he was eſteemed to have run himſelf ſince the death of his Father. The Secretary, that was no child, knowing that the Ambaſſador did but ſound him, for making ſome other project, anſwered, *That this was the reward of unſpotted duty, when Miniſters did only regard the ſervice of their Sovereigns, without reſpect of their own particular; and that for himſelf he ſhould never grieve to endure trouble for ſo juſt a cauſe, the ſame being to a man that valued his credit more than his ſecurity a kind of Martyrdom: notwithſtanding he ſuppoſed that things paſſed would not be called to mind; or if ſo were, and that he ſaw his caſe deſperate, he ſhould flee to another City, and take the benefit of the Kings royal offer.*

A Conference betwixt the *French* Ambaſſador and Secretary *Cecil.*

The King adverтiſed of this Conference.

The Ambaſſador being ſo anſwered, made a fair retreat, ſaying, *That in caſe the King of* Scots *did carry himſelf towards the King of* France *with the reſpect which was due, he was not purpoſed to impeach his Intereſt.* The Secretary replying, *That it was a wiſe reſolution his Maſter had taken.* The Ambaſſador ceaſed to tempt him any farther in that buſineſs. Hereof the King was advertiſed by Letters from the Secretary, who therein did aſſure him of his true and honeſt ſervice when occaſion required; howbeit he would not, as ſome others had done, needleſly hazard his fortune and reputation before the time.

His Majeſties Letter to the Secretary.

It ſhall not be amiſs to hear what was the Kings anſwer to the Secretary. *As I do heartily thank you,* ſaid he, *for your plain and honeſt offer; ſo may you aſſure your ſelf, that it would do me no pleaſure that you ſhould hazard either your fortune or reputation, ſince the loſs of either of theſe would make you the leſs vailable to me. No, I love not to feed upon ſuch fantaſtical humors, although I cannot let buſie-bodies to*

An. 1603. *live upon their own imaginations. But for my part I hold it the office of a King, as ſitting on the throne of God, to imitate the* Primum mobile, *and by his ſteady and ever-conſtant courſe to govern all the other changeable and uncertain motions of the inferior Planets. And I proteſt in Gods preſence, that for your conſtant and honeſt behavior in your Sovereigns ſervice, I loved your Vertues long before I could be certain that you would deſerve at my hand the love of your Perſon: wherefore go on, and ſerve Her truly that reigneth, as you have done; for he that is falſe to the preſent, will never be true to the future.*

A Letter from the King to the Earl of *Northumberland.*

In another Letter directed to the Earl of *Northumberland* (that we way know the wiſdom and piety of the King) who had ſent him advertiſement of the Queens weakneſs, and adviſed him to make ſure his Title by apprehending poſſeſſion in time, he ſaid, *That man can neither be Religious nor Juſt, that dealeth worſe with his Neighbor than he would be dealt withal; and in a man of quality it can be no wiſdom to leap hedge and ditch, and adventure the breaking of his neck for gathering forbidden fruit before it be ripe; whenas by attending the due time, he may be ſure to find all the Gates of the Orchard open, and with free ſcope enter, take and taſte at liberty. Sure it were a great weakneſs and unworthineſs in me to come in as an Uſurper, with offence and ſcandal to the Laws and preſent eſtate of Government, when I may in the right time claim the Crown as neareſt Heir to the Prince deceaſed, and poſſeſs with equity. Should I out of untimely ambition fall to break the long-continued and faithfully preſerved Amity, that by the proof of many kind offices hath taken root among us, it were an error inexcuſable. And howbeit I do acknowledge your kind affection in the offers you make of aſſiſtence, I muſt tell you freely, that no Prince can preſume of any Subjects Loyalty to himſelf, that hath been unſound and unfaithful to his own Sovereign; nor would I ever look to be ſecured in a Kingdom ſo traiterouſly diſpoſed.* In end, he adviſed the Earl to forbear ſuch writing, and when he wrote (which he wiſhed him to do rarely, and not but upon great occaſions) to beware of any thing that might juſtly offend the Queen, leſt by interception or other miſadventure he might be diſabled to ſerve him another day.

The Queen of *England* her Death.

This was the Kings reſolution, which God ſo bleſſed as it brought him within a ſhort time after, againſt the opinions and deſires of many, to the quiet and peaceable poſſeſſion of his Right and Inheritance; for in the Spring the Queens Diſeaſe encreaſing (which was judged to be a Melancholy incorrigible, and by ſome conceived to proceed from a ſorrow for *Eſſex*; others aſcribed it to the accepting of the Rebel *Tyrone* to peace) and all apprehending it to be deadly, the hearts of people did ſo incline to the King, as a great many in that State did write unto him, *That all* England *was grown to be* Scotiſh. The Queen her ſelf continuing conſtant in her affection, when ſhe was ask'd a little before her death by the Lord Keeper and Secretary (who were directed by the Council to underſtand her will touching her Succeſſor) anſwered, *None but my Couſin, the King of* Scots. After which words ſhe ſpake not much: only being deſired by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (whom ſhe would not ſuffer to go from her all that time) to fix her thoughts upon God, ſhe ſaid, *So I do, neither doth my mind wander from him:* and then commending her Soul to God in devout manner, died moſt patiently and willingly. A Queen incomparable for wiſdom and fidelity of Government; ſhe departed this life the 24 of *March*, in the 70 year of her age, and 44 of her Reign. The ſame day in the forenoon the King of *Scots* was proclaimed King firſt at the Palace of *Whitehal*, next at the Croſs in *Cheapſide* within the City of *London*, with an infinite applauſe of all ſorts of people.

The End of the Sixth Book.

An. 1603.

THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

The Seventh BOOK.

The Contents.

The Proceedings after his Majesties going into England, *unto his Death.*

THE news of the Queens Death were brought the third day after by Sir *Robert Cary*, a Son of the Lord *Hunsdon*; after whom Sir *Charles Piercy*, Brother to the Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Thomas Somerset* Son to the Earl of *Worcester*, were directed from the Council of *England* with the Letter following. The King advised of the Queens Death.

A Letter from the Council and Nobility of *England* to the King.

Right High, Right Excellent and Mighty Prince, and our Dread Sovereign Lord; As we cannot but confess unto Your Majesty, that the Grief we have conceived by the Loss of our late Sovereign Lady, whose Soul in Your Palace of Richmond *passed from Her earthly Body to the Joys of Heaven betwixt two and three of the clock this morning, was nothing less than our Loyalty and Love to her whilest She lived, being a Princess adorned with Virtues meet for Government, prosperous in the success of her affairs, and under whose Obedience we have lived in greater Tranquillity these many years than commonly happeneth to Princes; so we must acknowledge that our sorrow is extinguished by the impression we have of those Heroical Virtues of wisdom, Piety and Magnanimity, which we know to be in Your Majesties Person, to whose Right the lineal and lawful Succession of all our late Sovereigns Dominions doth justly and only appertain: wherein we presume to profess this much, as well for the honor which will thereby remain to our posterity, as for Your Majesties Security of a peaceable possession of your Kingdoms, that we have never found, either of those of the Nobility, or of any other of the Estates of this Realm, any divided humor about the receiving and acknowledging Your Majesty to be the only Head that must give life to the present maimed Body of this Kingdom, which is so happy, as with an universal consent to have received one sole, uniform and constant impression of bright Blood, as next of kin to our Sovereign deceased, and consequently by the Laws of this Realm true and next Heir to her Kingdoms and Dominions; whereof we have made outward demonstration by publick Proclamation this very day afore noon, first in the City of* Westminster, *at Your Majesties Palace-gate at* White-Hall, *and next at the Cross of* Cheap-side, *within Your Majesties City of* London, *with an infinite applause of Your people, and with such Solemnity as the shortness of time would permit. Of all which we have thought it our Duty immediately to advertise Your Majesty by*

An. 1603. *these two Gentlemen, Sir* Charles Piercy, *Brother to the Earl of* Northumberland, *and* Thomas Somerſet *Eſquire, Son to the Earl of* Worceſter, *of whom we have made choice to be the bearers of our Letters; humbly beſeeching your Highneſs to accept the ſame as the firſt-fruits and offering of our tender and Loyal affections towards you our Gracious Sovereign, and to reſt aſſured that the ſame ſhall be ever hereafter ſeconded with all Faith, Obedience and humble Service, which ſhall be in our power to perform, for maintaining that which we have begun with the ſacrifice of our Lives, Lands and Goods, which we with all our other means do here humbly preſent at Your Majeſties feet: craving of your Highneſs, that ſeeing hereby you may perceive in what eſtate we remain, as Body without a Head, or rather without that Spirit here amongſt us, which from the Head might give vigor to every Member to exerciſe the duty to it belonging, thereby to keep the whole Body from confuſion, you will be pleaſed to enter into conſideration, how ſoon and in what manner it ſhall ſeem beſt to your Majeſties Excellent Wiſdom, to inſpire a new Life into this languiſhing Body, the circumſtances whereof are wholly to be left to your Majeſty, holding it enough for us humbly to acknowledge our ſelves your true Subjects, ready to obey all your Commandments; aſſuring you withall, that as we have hereby, as many of us as have underwritten this Letter, declared our Recognition and humble Submiſſion to your Majeſties Sovereign Power and Right, ſo we do know by all good proofs, that the mind of the reſt of the Nobility, and all others who are abſent, in their ſeveral qualities, places and charges, whom the time permitted not without the prejudice of your affairs to aſſemble ſo ſoon as we were deſirous this ſhould be performed, are wholly and abſolutely with us in all Zeal and Duty for all things that ſhall be impoſed upon them by your Royal Will and pleaſure.*

Farther we have thought meet and neceſſary to advertiſe your Highneſs, that Sir Robert Cary *this morning departed from hence towards Your Majeſty, not only without the conſent of any of us who were preſent at* Richmond *at the time of our late Sovereigns Deceaſe, but alſo contrary to ſuch commandment as we had power to lay upon him, and to all decency and good manners and reſpect, which he ought to ſo many perſons of our Degree, whereby it may be that your Majeſty hearing by a bare report only of the Death of the late Queen, and not of our care and diligence in eſtabliſhment of Your Majeſties Right here, in ſuch manner as is above ſpecified, may conceive doubts of other nature than (God be thanked) there is cauſe you ſhould; which we would have clearly prevented, if he had born ſo much reſpect to us as to have ſtayed for a common relation of our proceedings, and not thought it better to anticipate the ſame: for we would have been loth that any Perſon of quality ſhould have gone from hence, who ſhould not with the report of her Death have been able to declare the firſt effects of our aſſured Loyalties.*

And laſtly, it may pleaſe Your Majeſty to receive this Advertiſement, that of late there was made ready by the commandment of the Queen our Miſtreſs a good Fleet of eight or ten of her Ships well manned and furniſhed under the charge of Sir Richard Lawſon, *Knight, to have been employed upon the coaſt of* Spain; *which employment by her Deceaſe is ceaſed for want of Commiſſion to exerciſe the ſame, and now is kept together in the narrow Seas to prevent any ſudden attempt againſt the* Low-Countries; *and that now there is nothing either of Land or Sea that is not Yours, it may pleaſe Your Majeſty to ſignifie Your pleaſure concerning that Fleet, and whether you will have it or any part thereof reſort to your coaſt of* Scotland, *where it may ſerve you either for the ſafe convoy of your Perſon to this Realm, if there ſhall be cauſe to uſe it in this manner, or to tranſport any of Yours, whileſt You come by Land, or any other ſervice. In which point we humbly beſeech you to make known under whoſe charge it ſhall be Your pleaſure the whole Fleet or any part thereof ſhall come unto you. And this being all that for the preſent doth occurr to be advertiſed to Your Majeſty by us whoſe minds are occupied about the conſervation of this your Realm in Peace, as far forth as, by any power your Majeſties ſervice only aſſumed, the interruption thereof may be prevented, ſaving that we have ſent a Copy of the Proclamation made here to your Majeſties Deputy*

of

of Ireland, *to be publiſhed in that Kingdom, we will, and with our humble prayers to Almighty God, that we may be ſo happy as ſpeedily to enjoy the comfortable preſence of Your Highneſs Royal Perſon amongſt us, the only object of that glory and thoſe Felicities which in the Earth we have proponed to our ſelves. Written in Your Majeſties City of* London, *the* 24 *of* March 1603, *at ten hours of the clock at night.* An. 1603.

This Letter was ſubſcribed by

Robert Leigh, *Mayor.*	Pembroke.	R. Riche.
John Canterbury.	Clanrickard.	Lumley.
Thomas Egerton.	G. Hunſdon.	Chandois.
Thomas Buckhurſt.	Tho. Howard.	W. Compton.
Nottingham.	Richard London.	W. Knolles.
Northumberland.	Robert Hartford.	Edward Wotton.
Gilbert Shrewsbury.	John Norwich.	John Stanhop.
William Darby.	Morley.	Raleigh.
Edward Worceſter.	Henry Cobham.	John Forteſcue.
Geo. Cumberland.	Thomas Laware.	*and* John Popham.
R. Suſſex.	Gray.	
Henry Lincoln.	Edward Cromwell.	

The Contents of the Letter publiſhed.

The King having imparted this Letter to the Council, it was thought meet that the Contents thereof ſhould be publiſhed, for begetting a greater kindneſs betwixt the people and the two Kingdoms: whereupon a Proclamation was made, ſhewing, 'That the Queen before her Death, continuing in that loving 'affection which ſhe profeſſed to his Majeſty all the courſe of her life, had de-'clared him her only true Heir and Succeſſor in the Imperial Crowns of *Eng-'land*, *France* and *Ireland*, and that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal aſſiſt-'ed by the Lord Mayor of *London*, and others of the Gentry of good quality, 'had upon the 24 of *March* laſt proclaimed him their only liege Lord and un-'doubted Sovereign; which being the moſt clear demonſtration that a people 'could give of their Affection, and a ſure pledge of their future Obedience, ought 'to move all true-hearted ſubjects to account of them no otherwiſe than as their 'brethren and friends, and to forget and bury all quarrels and grounds of former 'diſſenſions: That therefore none ſhould pretend ignorance, nor carry them-'ſelves in any unkind ſort towards the inhabitants of *England*, his Majeſty, with 'the advice of the Lords of Council, had ordained Proclamation to be made of 'the premiſes, aſſuring them that ſhould ſo apply themſelves of his gracious fa-'vor when occaſion preſented, and certifying ſuch as did in the contrary, that 'they ſhould incur his wrath and extreme diſpleaſure.

The Borders make Incurſions upon the report of the Queens death.

This notwithſtanding, the word no ſooner came of the Queens Death, than the looſe and broken men in the Borders aſſembling in companies made Incurſions upon *England*, doing what in them lay to divide the two Kingdoms; which the year following was ſeverely puniſhed, the principals that were tried to have been partners in that buſineſs being all executed to the death.

The King giveth order for his Journy.

The King in the mean time giving order for his Journey, did appoint the Queen to follow him ſome twenty days after; and for his Children, ordained the Prince to remain at *Striveling*, the Duke of *Albany* his Brother to abide with the Lord *Fyvie* Preſident of the Seſſion, and the Princeſs *Elizabeth* their Siſter with *Alexander* Earl of *Linlithgow*. To the Lords of Council an ample Commiſſion was given for the Adminiſtration of all affairs, receiving Reſignations, hearing the Accounts of the Exchequer, continuing days of Law, adjoyning Aſſeſſors to the Juſtice, granting of Licences to depart forth of the Realm, altering the place of their reſidence as they ſhould find it convenient, repreſſing the Troubles of the Borders, and for creating Lieutenants, one or more, upon occaſions.

The

An. 1603. The Perſons he chuſed to attend him in the Journey were, the Duke of *Lennox*, the Earls of *Marre*, *Murray* and *Argile*, the Lord *Hume*, Sir *George Hume* Treaſurer, Mr. *James Elphinſton* Secretary, Sir *David Murray* Comptroller, Sir *Robert Ker* of *Cesford*, with the ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber; and of the Clergy, *David* Biſhop of *Roſſe*, *Peter* Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, Mr. *Patrick Galloway*, Mr. *Andrew Lamb*, Mr. *John Spotſwood*, Mr. *Gawen Hamilton*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Miniſters.

The Perſons chuſed to attend the King in his Journy.

He goeth to S. *Giles* to hear a Sermon.

Things thus ordered, the King went the next morning to S. *Giles* to hear a Sermon; Mr. *John Hall* (whoſe courſe it was) preaching, took occaſion to remember the great mercies of God towards his Majeſty, reckoning the peaceable Succeſſion to the Crown of *England* none of the leaſt. *This*, he ſaid, *was Gods own proper work, for who could elſe have directed the hearts of ſo numerous a people with ſuch an unanime conſent to follow the way of right?* Thereupon he did exhort his Majeſty *to thankfulneſs, to the maintenance of Gods Truth, and that he would ſend home ſome of thoſe commendable orders he would find whither he was going.*

The King makes a Speech to the people which is followed with a great Lamentation of the hearers.

The King, accepting his Exhortation in good part, did upon the end of the Sermon make a Speech to the people, which at the time were frequently convened, and promiſing to have care of them and their good, gave them a moſt loving and kind farewel. This was followed with ſuch a Mourning and Lamentation of all ſorts, as cannot be well expreſſed. For albeit they joyed not a little at firſt to hear of that acceſſion of Honor to their King; yet conſidering they ſhould be deprived of his Preſence, and have no more a reſident King among them, they were grieved out of all meaſure. This affection of the people moved alſo the King greatly: therefore when the Magiſtrates, Miniſters, and others of the better ſort came to receive his Commandments, he ſpake graciouſly unto them; willing them *not to be troubled with his departing, for that they ſhould find the fruits of his Government as well afar off, as when he was near at hand; and as his Power was now encreaſed and made greater, ſo his Love towards them ſhould not be a whit diminiſhed.*

The King cometh to *Berwick*.

In this ſort did he part, and beginning his Journy on Wedneſday the fourth of *April*, came the day to *Berwick*, there he was welcomed with a moſt eloquent Sermon by *Toby Matthew* Biſhop of *Durham* (for he went firſt to the Church;) which finiſhed he was conveyed to the Palace by the Governor and Garriſon, the Munition playing from the walls, and the Citizens with ſhouts and acclamations teſtifying their gladneſs. The ninth of that month he went to *Newcaſtle*, where he abode ſome few daies; and becauſe multitudes of people from all quarters were daily coming to ſee the King, and offer their ſervice, order was taken that no Strangers ſhould have acceſs granted, till the Chamberlain or maſter of the Guard was acquainted with their buſineſs. At *York* he was met with the Councellors, and from thence, by eaſie journys, travelled to *London*. How his Majeſty was there received, and what other things happened in the time, I remit to the *Engliſh* Hiſtory, my purpoſe being only to relate the things paſſed in *Scotland*, or that had ſome reference to matters of that Church and Kingdom.

The Councellors meet him at *York*.

The death of Mr. *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.

Being at *Burleigh-houſe* near unto *Stamford*, the King was advertiſed of the death of *James Beaton* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who deceaſed at *Paris* in the ſame month. This man was deſcended of the houſe of *Balfoure* in *Fife*, and conſecrate Biſhop at *Rome* in the year 1552, and at the time of Reformation forſook the Country out of the hatred he bare to thoſe that had hand in that Work, and carried with him all the Writs and Evidents of the Sea of *Glaſgow*, with the Veſſels and Ornaments of the Cathedral Church, things of exceeding great worth: for beſides thoſe of ordinary uſe, there belonged to that Church the Image of our Saviour in beaten Gold, and the pourtraits of the twelve Apoſtles in Silver. The Queen returning from *France* did eſtabliſh him Ambaſſador in theſe parts for her affairs: under the Government of the Regents he was forfeited, and deprived of his living, which, as we ſhewed before, was conferred upon Mr. *James Boyd* of *Trochrig*, and after him went through divers hands, till the King

King at his Majority did reſtore him to his dignity, honour, and living, employing him likewiſe for his Ambaſſador in *France*. A man honorably diſpoſed, faithful to the Queen while ſhe lived, and to the King her Son, a lover of his Country, and liberal according to his means to all his Countrymen. In his laſt Will he bequeathed all his means to pious uſes, leaving as was ſaid ten thouſand Crowns for the education of poor Scholars, being *Scotiſh*-men born. The evidents, Veſſels and ornaments of the See of *Glaſgow* he conſigned in the hands of the *Carthuſians* of *Paris*, appointing the ſame to be re-delivered how ſoon *Glaſgow* ſhould become Catholick; and this year, being the 66 of his age, departed peaceably this life. *An.* 1603.

The King having deſtinated Mr. *John Spotſwood* for his Succeſſor, ſent him back to attend the Queen in her Journy, and ſerve her for Elemoſynar. Soon after his coming her Majeſty went to *Striveling*, of mind to bring away the Prince her Son, and carry him along with her ſelf to *England*; but being denied by the friends of the Houſe of *Marre* ſhe became ſo incenſed, as falling into a Fever ſhe made a pitiful Abortion. The Queen falleth ſick at *Striveling*.

Advertiſement of this being ſent unto the King, he cauſed the Earl of *Marre* to return; and after him ſending the Duke of *Lennox* with a Warrant to receive the Prince, and deliver him to the Queen, he was brought unto her at *Halirudhouſe*, about the end of *May*: yet ſhe not ſatisfied herewith complained bitterly of the diſhonour ſhe had received, and by a Letter written to the King, full of paſſion and anger, which ſhe gave her Elemoſynar to carry, required a publick reparation, by the puniſhment of the Earl of *Marre* and his ſervants. The King, who knew the Earl himſelf to be blameleſs, and deſired not to be troubled with ſuch buſineſs, eſpecially at that time, returned this Anſwer, 'That ſhe ſhould do wiſely to 'forget the grudges ſhe carried to the Earl of *Marre*, and thank God of the peace-'able poſſeſſion they had obtained of theſe Kingdoms, which next unto God his 'goodneſs he aſcribed to the laſt negotiation of the Earl of *Marre* in *England*. This reported to the Queen (for the Meſſenger was commanded to ſpeak ſo much) ſhe in a great choler replied, 'That ſhe rather would have wiſhed never ſee *Eng-'land*, than to be in any ſort beholden to him for the ſame. Yet as ſhe was a moſt mild Princeſs, and very careful to pleaſe the King in every thing, at her coming to *Windſor*, which was about the end of *June*, ſhe was reconciled to the Earl of *Marre*, and he by Act of Council declared to have done nothing in that accident at *Striveling* that might touch her in Honour. The Prince delivered to the Queen.

At the ſame time was the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, who was brought alongſt with the Queen, taken from the Earl of *Linlithgow*, and given to the cuſtody of the Lady *Harrington*; the Earl his ſervice in her education being by act of Council approved.

All this Summer the Sickneſs was reigning at *London*, which made the Coronation to be deferred unto *July*, on the 27 day whereof the King and Queen were ſolemnly inaugurated in the Church of *Weſtminiſter*, *John Whitgift* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* performing the Ceremonies. There had been few days before a Conſpiracy detected againſt the King, plotted by two Prieſts, the one called *William Watſon*, the other *William Gray*, and *George Brook* Eſquire. The King and Queen inaugurated at *Weſtminſter*. A Conſpiracy detected againſt the King.

There joyned with them upon ſome diſcontents the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Gray*, Sir *Griffin Markham*, and Sir *Walter Raleigh*. This laſt had ſerved the late Queen a long time, as Captain of her Guard; and being put from the place, and the ſame beſtowed upon Sir *Thomas Areskin* Lord *Fenton* in *Scotland*, he grudged exceedingly. The Treaſon being diſcovered (which came by this occaſion; *Raleigh* parting with his Siſter at *London* had commended himſelf to her prayers, ſaying, *That he was going whence he thought not to return*; which ſhe did interpret of ſome Combat he had undertaken, and breaking the ſame to her neighbours, the words were carried to Court, where they received another conſtruction) they were all apprehended, and committed to ſeveral Priſons. Being brought to their Trial in *Wincheſter* about the beginning of *December*, they were found guilty, and condemned to die. *George Brook* and the two Prieſts were executed as Traitors; *George Brook*, and two Prieſts executed.

An. 1604. Traitors; the reſt, while they expected nothing but death (for they were brought all, one after another, to the place of Execution, and their Heads laid under the Axe to be cut off) were ſpared, and the Execution of the ſentence pronounced ſuſpended.

The Noblemen and others ſpared.

The people that were aſſembled in great numbers hearing the Mandate read, (which was publiſhed by the Sheriff, and was to this effect, 'That his Majeſty unwilling to have the beginning of his Reign ſtained with the blood of Noblemen, 'though convicted of a moſt hainous crime, was pleaſed to extend his Clemency 'towards them; and having ſpared the L. *Cobham* and *Grey*, becauſe in the diſpencing of mercy regard muſt be taken of inferiors, had beſtowed the ſame favour on the other two) did greatly extol his Majeſties Clemency, promiſing to themſelves much happineſs under his Government, that could ſo temper his Juſtice and Mercy. *Cobham* and *Grey*, lifting up their hands to Heaven, 'did thank 'God, who had thus inclined his Majeſties heart, profeſſing they were unworthy 'of life, and that they ſhould be aſhamed ever to ſhew their faces amongſt men, 'having wronged ſo good and gracious a King.

An. 1604. The Conference at *Hampton-Court.*

The next year began with a Conference of the Clergy at *Hampton Court.* Divers Petitions had been exhibited to his Majeſty for reformation of Abuſes in the Church: whereupon he took purpoſe to call certain of the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors together, and with them ſome of the moſt grave and modeſt among the Complainers. The Biſhops were, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, S. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carlile*, and *Peterborough*; the Deans of the Chappel, *Chriſts-Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Pauls*, *Cheſter*, *Windſor*, Dr. *Field*, and Dr. *King*: for the Petitioners, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spark*, Mr. *Knewſtubb*, and Mr. *Chatterton* were preſent.

His Majeſties Propoſition at the meeting.

Theſe being called into the Privy-Chamber, the King ſpake unto them to this effect; *That following the enſample of all Chriſtian Princes, who in the Commencement of their Reign do uſually begin with the Eſtabliſhment of the Church, he had now at his entrance to the Crown taken courſe to aſſemble them, for ſetling an Uniform order in the ſame, for planting Unity, removing Diſſenſions, and reforming Abuſes which*, he ſaid, *were naturally incident to all Politick Bodies. And yet that he ſhould not be miſtaken, and his purpoſe in aſſembling them miſconſtrued, he declared that his meaning was not to make any Innovation of the Government eſtabliſhed, which he knew was approved of God, but to hear and examine the Complaints that were made, and remove the occaſions thereof; whereof he willed the Petitioners to begin, and ſhew what the things were that grieved them.*

Doctor *Reynolds* Speech in behalf of the Petitioners.

Doctor *Reynolds* with the other three, falling upon their knees, after a ſhort gratulatory preamble, reduced the matters queſtioned to two Heads; ſome he ſaid concerned the matters of the Church, and others the Government.

Touching the Doctrine, that in the Book of Articles of Religion ſome things were obſcure, and ſome things defective, which they wiſhed to be ſupplied and explained. Being deſired to name the particulars, he condeſcended upon ſome Articles; whereof after they had conferred a while, and he profeſſed to have received ſatisfaction, the King ſaid, *That if theſe were the greateſt matters that grieved them, ſuch importunity needed not as was uſed to him, and that a more private courſe had been better.* Then falling to ſpeak of the Government of the Church, the want and ſcarcity of ſufficient Miniſters in every Pariſh was much complained of, with the Subſcription urged to the Communion-book, the Cenſures inflicted by Lay Chancellors, and other moe points, which are to be ſeen in the Conference imprinted. After ſome three hours debating, they were commanded to meet again in the ſame place the 18 of *January*, at which time they ſhould know his Majeſties pleaſure in theſe matters.

The particulars complained of.

The Meeting continued to 18 of *January*.

The effects of the Meeting, and his Majeſties Exhortation to the Clergy.

At the day the Biſhops, Deans and Doctors of the Arches being firſt called, the Archbiſhop preſented certain notes of explanation of the Liturgy, which the King had commended to the Biſhops care: and thereafter his Majeſty queſtioning them touching the exerciſe of the High Commiſſion, the Oath *Ex officio*, the cenſure of Excommunication, and the matter of Subſcription; whenas they had anſwered

ſwered in all theſe points to his Majeſties content, Doctor *Reynolds* and the others were deſired to come into the Chamber, and the foreſaid Explanations read unto them, wherewith they profeſſed to be ſatisfied. The King upon this expreſſing a great contentment with that which had paſſed among them, did ſeriouſly exhort them to the preſervation of Unity, willing the Biſhops to uſe their inferiors with all lenity, and take the faireſt ways for reclaiming thoſe that were otherwiſe minded; warning theſe others alſo to beware of obſtinancy in their Opinions, and diſobedience to the Orders of the Church: *Obedience*, ſaid he, *and Humility are the marks of good and honeſt men; ſuch I believe you to be, but it feareth me that many of your ſort are humorous, and too buſie in the perverting of others. The Exceptions taken againſt the Communion-book, as I perceive, are matters of meer weakneſs, and they who are diſcreet will be gained with time, by gentle perſuaſions; or if they be undiſcreet better it is to remove them, than to have the Church troubled with their Contentions. For the Biſhops I will anſwer, that it is not their purpoſe preſently and out of hand to enforce Obedience, but by Fatherly Admonitions and Conferences to induce ſuch as are diſaffected. But if any be of an oppoſite and turbulent ſpirit, I will have them inforced to a Conformity. Neither tell me, that the wearing of a Surplice or uſing the Croſs in Baptiſm will diminiſh the credit of Miniſters that have formerly diſallowed the ſame; for that is juſt the* Scotiſh *Argument, when any thing was concluded that ſorted not with their humor, the only reaſon why they would not obey was, that it ſtood not with their credit to yield, having been ſo long of a contrary opinion. I will none of that, but that a time be limited by the Biſhops of every Dioceſe to ſuch, and they that will not yield, whatſoever they are, let them be removed; for we muſt not preſer the credit of a few private men to the general Peace of the Church.* An. 1604.

Throughout all this Conference in every point that was moved, or came to be talked of, the King did ſhew ſuch knowledge and readineſs, as bred not a ſmall admiration in the hearers. Chancellor *Egerton*, wondering to ſee him ſo expedite and perfect in all ſorts of Divinity, ſaid, *That he had often heard and read that* Rex eſt mixta perſona cum Sacerdote; *but that he ſaw never the truth of it until that day.* Let me add that which I was afterward told by *Richard Bancroft*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (for *Whitgift* died the next month after the Conference, one of the great glories of the *Engliſh* Church) that when the Rolls were brought in of thoſe that ſtood out and were depoſed, which was ſome years after, they were found to be forty nine in all *England*, whenas the Miniſters of that Kingdom are reckoned nine thouſand and above: ſuch a noiſe will a few diſturbers cauſe in any Society where they are tolerated. The Chancellor of *England* his judgment of the King. The number depoſed for Diſconformity.

In the *March* thereafter a Parliament was kept in *England*, where the King, after he had given thanks to the State for the general applauſe they ſhewed in receiving him to the place which God by birthright and lineal deſcent had provided for him, did earneſtly move the *Union of the two Kingdoms*, that *as they were made one in the Head, ſo among themſelves they might be inſeparably conjoyned, and all memory of by paſt Diviſions extinguiſhed.* A motion that took well at firſt, and ſeemed to be generally deſired of both Nations, but did not ſucceed as was wiſhed. The Parliament always at his Majeſties deſire, and for a demonſtration of their obedience, did nominate *Thomas Elleſmore* Lord Chancellor of *England*, *Thomas* Earl of *Dorſet* Theſaurer, *Charles* Earl of *Nottingham* Lord high-Admiral, *Henry* Earl of *Southampton*, *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, *Henry* Earl of *Northampton*, *Richard* Biſhop of *London*, *Toby* Biſhop of *Durham*, *Anthony* Biſhop of Saint *Davids*, *Robert* Lord *Cecill* principal Secretary to his Majeſty, *Edward* Lord *Souch* Lord Preſident of *Wales*, *William* Lord *Monteagle*, *Ralph* Lord *Eure*, *Edmond* Lord *Sheffeild* Lord Preſident of the Council of the North, Lords of the Higher Houſe; And *Thomas* Lord *Clinton*, *Robert* Lord *Buckhurſt*, Sir *Francis Haſtings* Knight, Sir *John Stanhop* Knight, Vice-chamberlain to the Kings Majeſty, Sir *George Carew* Knight, Vice-chamberlain to the Queens Majeſty, Sir *John Herbert* Knight, ſecond Secretary to his Majeſty, Sir *Thomas Strickland* Knight, Sir *Edward Stafford* Knight, Sir *Henry Nevil* of *Bark-* A Parliament in *England* for the Union. The *Engliſh* Commiſſioners

An. 1604. *Barkſhire* Knight, Sir *Richard Buckly* Knight, Sir *Henry Billingſly* Knight, Sir *Daniel Dunne* Knight, Dean of the Arches, Sir *Edward Hobby* Knight, Sir *John Savile* Knight, Sir *Robert Wroth* Knight, Sir *Thomas Challoner* Knight, Sir *Robert Manſel* Knight, Sir *Thomas Ridgway* Knight, Sir *Thomas Holcroft* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hasketh* Knight, his Majeſties Attorney of the Court of Wards and Liveries, Sir *Francis Bacon* Knight, Sir *Lawrence Cawfield* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *Henry Hobart* Knight, Serjeant at Law, Sir *John Bennet* Knight, Doctor of the Laws, Sir *Henry Witherington*, Sir *Ralph Grey*, and Sir *Thomas Lake* Knights, *Robert Aſhwith*, *Thomas James*, and *Henry Chapman*, Merchants, Knights and Burgeſſes of the houſe of Commons: 'Giving them, or any eight or more of the 'ſaid Lords of the Higher Houſe, and any twenty of the ſaid Knights and Burgeſſes of the ſaid Houſe of Commons, full power, liberty and Commiſſion to aſ-'ſemble and meet, at any time or times before the next Seſſion of Parliament, for 'treating and conſulting with certain ſelected Commiſſioners, to be nominated 'and authorized by authority of the Parliament of the Realm of *Scotland*, of 'and concerning ſuch an Union of the ſaid Realms of *England* and *Scotland*, and 'of and concerning ſuch other matters, cauſes and things whatſoever as upon ma-'ture deliberation and conſideration the greateſt part of the ſaid Lords, Knights, 'Citizens and Burgeſſes, being aſſembled with the Commiſſioners to be nominated 'by the Parliament of *Scotland*, ſhall in their wiſdom think and deem convenient 'and neceſſary for the Honor of his Majeſty and the weal and common good of 'both the ſaid Realms, during his Majeſties life, and under all his progeny and 'Royal poſterity for ever; which Commiſſioners of both the ſaid Realms ſhall, ac-'cording to the tenor of their ſaid Commiſſions, reduce their doings and pro-'ceedings into Writings, or Inſtruments tripartite, every part to be ſubſcribed 'and ſealed by them, to the end that one part thereof may in all humility be pre-'ſented to his moſt Excellent Majeſty, the ſecond part to be offered to the con-'ſideration of the next Seſſion of Parliament for the Realm of *England*, and the 'third to be offered to the conſideration of the next Parliament for the Realm of '*Scotland*; that thereupon ſuch farther proceeding may be had, as by both the ſaid 'Parliaments may be thought fit and neceſſary for the weal and common good of 'both the ſaid Realms.

The power given them by the Parliament.

A Parliament in *Scotland* for the ſame purpoſe was indicted to the tenth of *April*, and thereafter prorogated to the eleventh of *July*; at which time the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, aſſembled by virtue of his Majeſties Commiſſion, did ordain the perſons following; they are to ſay, *John* Earl of *Montroſſe* Chancellor of *Scotland*, *Francis* Earl of *Arrol* High-Conſtable of *Scotland*, *James* Earl of *Glencarn*, *Alexander* Earl of *Linlithgow*, *John* Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, *David* Biſhop of *Roſs*, *George* Biſhop of *Cathnes*, *Walter* Prior of *Blantire*, *Patrick* Lord *Glammis*, *Alexander* Lord *Elphinſton*, *Alexander* Lord *Fyvie* Preſident of the Seſſion of *Scotland*, *Robert* Lord *Roxbrough*, *James* Lord *Abircorn*, *James* Lord *Balmerino* Principal Secretary of *Scotland*, *David* Lord of *Scoon*, Sir *James Scrimgeour* of *Dudop* Knight, Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormſton* Knight, Sir *John Hume* of *Couldenknowes* Knight, Sir *David Carnegie* of *Kinnard* Knight, Sir *Robert Melvil* elder of *Murdocarny* Knight, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* of *Binnie* Knight, Sir *John Lermouth* of *Balcomy*, Knight, Sir *Alexander Straton* of *Lawriſton* Knight, Sir *John Skeen* of *Curry-hill* Knight, Mr. *John Sharp* of *Howſton* Lawyer, Mr. *Thomas Craig* Lawyer, *Henry Nisbit*, *George Bruce*, *Alexander Rutherford*, and Mr. *Alexander Wedderburn*, Merchants, or any twelve of them, to aſſemble and con-'vene themſelves, after the ending of the preſent Seſſion of Parliament, and 'before the next Seſſion thereof, at ſuch time and in ſuch place as it ſhould 'pleaſe his Majeſty to appoint, with certain ſelected Commiſſioners nomina-'ted and anthorized by the Parliament of *England*, according to the tenour 'of their Commiſſions in that behalf, to conſer, treat, and conſult upon a 'perfect Union of the Realms of *Scotland* and *England*, and concerning ſuch other 'matters, things and cauſes whatſoever, tending to his Majeſties Honour and 'contentment, and to the weal and tranquillity of both the Kingdoms, during 'his

A Parliament in *Scotland* to that purpoſe.

The Scottiſh Commiſſioners.

The power granted them.

'his Majeſties life, and his Royal poſterity for ever as upon mature deliberation 'the greater part of the ſaid Commiſſioners, aſſembled, as is aforeſaid, with the 'Commiſſioners authorized by the Parliament of *England*, ſhall in their wiſ- 'dom think moſt expedient and neceſſary, not derogating from any fundamental 'Laws, ancient Priviledges and Rights, Offices, Dignities and Liberties of the 'Kingdom. This laſt clauſe was added becauſe of the Narrative of the *Engliſh* Act, wherein it was ſaid, *That it was not his Majeſties mind to alter or innovate the Fundamental Laws, Privileges and good Cuſtoms of the Kingdom of* England; by the aboliſhing or alteration whereof it was impoſſible but that a preſent Confuſion ſhould fall upon the whole ſtate and frame of that Kingdom. In all other things the Statute in ſubſtance was the ſame with the *Engliſh*. *An.* 1604.

Soon after this the King reſolving to have *Weſtminſter* at *London* the place of the Meeting, Letters were directed to the Noblemen and others nominated for *Scotland*, willing them to addreſs themſelves to the journy, and to be ready to meet with the other Commiſſioners the 20 of *October*; and leſt any diſorder ſhould fall out in the abſence of the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord *Newbottle* was appointed to attend and reſide in Council unto their return. *Weſtminſter* appointed for the place of meeting.

The day and place of meeting was preciſely obſerved by the Commiſſioners of both Kingdoms, who after many daies Conferences agreed unto certain Articles to be preſented to his Majeſty and to the Courts of Parliament of both Kingdoms, there to receive ſuch ſtrength and approbation as in their wiſdoms ſhould ſeem expedient. The Articles were as followeth. Articles of the Union.

'It is agreed by the Commiſſioners of *England* and *Scotland* to be mutually 'proponed to the Parliament of both Realms at the next Seſſions, That all Ho- 'ſtile Laws made and conceived expreſly, either by *England* againſt *Scotland*, or '*Scotland* againſt *England*, ſhall in the next Seſſions be abrogated and utterly ex- 'tinguiſhed. Hoſtile Laws extinguiſhed.

'It is alſo agreed, that all Laws, Cuſtomes, and Treaties of the Borders betwixt '*England* and *Scotland* ſhall be declared by a general Act to be abrogated and 'aboliſhed, and that the ſubjects on either part ſhall be governed by the Laws 'and Statutes of the Kingdoms where they dwell, and the name of the Borders ex- 'tinguiſhed. The name of Borders aboliſhed.

'And becauſe by aboliſhing the Border-Laws and Cuſtoms it may be doubted, 'that the Executions ſhall ceaſe upon thoſe Sentences that have heretofore been 'given by the oppoſite Officers of thoſe Borders, upon wrongs committed before 'the death of the late Queen of happy memory; it is thought fit that in caſe 'the Commiſſioners or Officers to be appointed by his Majeſty before the time 'of the next Seſſions of Parliament ſhall not procure ſufficient redreſs of ſuch 'filed Bills and Sentences, that then the ſaid Parliaments may be moved to 'take ſuch order as to their wiſdoms ſhall ſeem convenient, for ſatisfaction of 'that which hath been decerned by ſome Officers; as alſo how diſorders and in- 'ſolencies may be hereafter repreſſed, and the Country which was lately of the 'Borders kept in peace and quietneſs in time to come. As likewiſe to preſcribe 'ſome order, how the purſuits of former wrongs, preceding the death of the late 'Queen and ſince the laſt Treatiſe of the Borders in the years 1596 and 1597, 'which have never as yet been moved, may be continued and proſecuted to a de- 'finitive Sentence. Order for Sentences not ſatisfied.

'And foraſmuch as the next degree to the abolition of all memory of Hoſtility 'is the participation of mutual Commodities and Commerce; It is agreed, Firſt, 'concerning importation of Merchandiſe into either Realm from forein parts, 'that whereas certain Commodities are wholly prohibited by the ſeveral Laws of 'both Realms to be brought into either of them by the Natives themſelves or by 'any other, the ſaid Prohibitions ſhall now be made mutual to both, and neither 'an *Engliſh* man bring into *Scotland*, or a *Scotch*-man into *England*, any of theſe 'prohibited Wares and Commodities: Nevertheleſs if the ſaid Commodities 'be made in *Scotland*, it ſhall be lawful to bring them out of *Scotland* to *England*; Participation of Commodities to be mutual.

An. 1604. 'and ſo reciprocally of the Commodities made in *England*, and carried to *Scot-*
'*land*.

Inequality of Privileges to be tried.

'Whereas a doubt hath been conceived againſt the equal Communication of 'Trade betwixt *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* ſubjects in matter of Importation, grounded 'upon ſome Inequarity of Privileges which the *Scots* are reported to have in 'forein parts, and namely in *France*, above the *Engliſh*, whereby the *Engliſh* 'might be prejudged; and that after a very deliberate conſideration had of the 'ſaid ſuppoſed Inequalities, both private and publick examination of divers 'Merchants of either ſide touching all Liberties, Immunities, Privileges, Impoſts 'and payments on the part of the *Engliſh*, and on the part of the *Scottiſh*, either 'at *Bordeaux* for their trade of Wines, or in *Normandy* or any other part of '*France* for other Commodities, it appeared that in the Trade of *Bordeaux* 'there was and is ſo little difference, in any advantage of privileges or immuni-'ties, or in the impoſts and payments, all being reckoned and well weighed on ei-'ther ſide, as it could not juſtly hinder the communication of Trade; in the trade 'of *Normandy* likewiſe, or any other parts of *France*, the advantage that the *Scot-*'*tiſh* ſubjects by their privilege is acknowledged to have is ſuch, as without 'much difficulty may be reconciled and reduced to an equality with the *Engliſh*, 'by ſuch means as is hereafter declared; It is agreed that the *Scottiſh*-men ſhall be 'free for the tranſporting of Wine from *Bordeaux* into *England*, paying the ſame 'Cuſtoms and duties that the *Engliſh*-men do pay, and the *Engliſh*-men ſhall be 'likewiſe free for tranſporting of Wine or other Commodities from *Bordeaux* in-'to *Scotland*, paying the ſame Cuſtomes and duties that the *Scottiſh*-men do pay 'there.

Importation to be free to both people.

'And likewiſe for clearing and reſolving the doubts touching the advantage 'that the *Scots* are ſuppoſed to have above the *Engliſh* in buying and tranſporting 'the Commodities of *Normandy*, and of otherparts of the Kingdom of *France*, '(excepting the buying of Wine in *Bordeaux*, which is already determined,) 'It is agreed that there ſhall be ſent ſome meet and diſcreet perſons into *France*, 'two for either ſide, to take perfect notice of any ſuch advantage as either the '*Engliſh* have above the *Scots*, or the *Scots* above the *Engliſh*, in the buying or 'tranſporting of any Commodities of *Normandy* or any parts of *France*, (ex-'cepting the Wine of *Bordeaux*) and as the ſaid perſons ſhall find the advantage 'to be, ſo for making the Trade equal, the Cuſtom ſhall be advanced to the 'King in *England* and *Scotland*. And for the part of thoſe that have the advan-'tage, and according to the proportion of the ſaid advantage, the advancement 'of the Cuſtom to continue no longer than the privilege having ſuch advantage 'ſhall continue; and that generally for all other Trade from any parts the *Engliſh* 'and *Scottiſh* ſubjects, each in others Country, ſhall have liberty of Impor-'tation as freely as any of the native ſubjects themſelves having ſpecial Privi-'lege.

Exportation of Goods prohibited made unlawful to both.

'Next concerning Exportation, It is agreed that all ſuch Goods as are prohi-'bited and forbidden to *Engliſh*-men themſelves to be tranſported forth of *England* 'to any forein part, the ſame ſhall be unlawful for any *Scottiſh*-men or any other 'to tranſport to any forein Nation beyond ſea, under the ſame penalties and for-'feitures that the *Engliſh* are ſubject unto; and reciprocally that forth of *Scotland* 'no *Engliſh*-men ſhall tranſport to any forein part the Goods or Commodities that 'are prohibited in *Scotland* to *Scottiſh*-men themſelves: Nevertheleſs ſuch Goods 'and Commodities and Merchandiſes as are licenſed to *Engliſh*-men to tranſport 'out of *England* to any forein part, the ſame may be likewiſe tranſported by *Scot-*'*tiſh*-men thither, they certifying their going into forein parts, and taking a 'Cocquet accordingly, and paying the ordinary Cuſtom that *Engliſh*-men do pay 'themſelves at the exporting of ſuch Wares: The like liberty to be for *Engliſh*-'men in *Scotland*.

Order for Native Commodities.

'As for the Native Commodities which either of the Countrys do yield, and 'may ſerve for the uſe and benefit of the other, It is agreed that mutually there 'may be tranſported forth of *England* to *Scotland*, and forth of *Scotland* to *Eng-*
'*land*,

'*land*, all ſuch Wares as are neither of the growth or handy-work of either of *An.* 1604.
'the ſaid Realms, without payment of any impoſt, cuſtom or exaction, and
'as freely in all reſpects as any Wares may be tranſported either in *England*
'from part to part, or in *Scotland* from part to part; excepting ſuch particular
'ſorts of Goods and Merchandiſes as are hereafter mentioned, being reſtrained
'for the proper and inward uſe of each Country. And for that purpoſe it is de-
'clared, That both in this communication of benefit and participation of the
'native Commodities of the one Country with the other, there ſhall be ſpeci-
'ally reſerved and excepted the ſorts hereafter ſpecified; That is to ſay, Wool,
'Sheep, Sheepfell, Cattel, Leather, Hides and Linnen-yarn, which are ſpeci-
'ally reſtrained within each Countrey, not to be tranſported from the one to the
'other; excepting alſo and reſerving to the *Scottiſh*-men their trade of Fiſhing
'within their Loches, Forthes and Bayes, within land, and in the Seas within
'fourteen miles of the Coaſts of the Realm of *Scotland*, where neither *Engliſh*-
'men nor any Strangers have uſed to fiſh; and ſo reciprocally in the point of Fiſh-
'ing on the behalf of *England*. All which exceptions and reſtrictions are not to
'be underſtood or mentioned in any ſort for a mark or note of ſeparation or diſu-
'nion, but only as matters of policy and conveniency for the ſeveral eſtate of
'each Country.

'Furthermore it is agreed that all forein Wares to be tranſported forth of Order for Cu-
'*Scotland* to *England*, or out of *England* to *Scotland*, by any of the Kings ſubjects ſtom.
'of either Kingdoms, having at their firſt entry once paid cuſtom in either of the
'Kingdoms, ſhall not pay outward cuſtom therein afterwards, ſave only inward
'cuſtom at that Port whereunto they ſhall be tranſported: But the owner of the
'Goods, or the Factor or Maſter of the ſhip, ſhall give Bond not to tranſport the
'ſame into any forein part.

'It is alſo agreed that *Scottiſh*-men ſhall not be debarred from being aſſociates *Scots* may be
'unto any *Engliſh* company of Merchants, as Merchant-venturers or others, upon aſſociated in
'ſuch conditions as any *Engliſh*-man may be admitted; and ſo reciprocally for *Engliſh* Com-
'*Engliſh*-men in *Scotland*. panies.

'It is nevertheleſs agreed by mutual conſent, and ſo to be underſtood, that the Order for
'mutual liberty aforeſaid of Exportation and Trade in each part from the one to tranſportation.
'the other ſhall ſerve for the inward uſe only of either Realm; and order taken
'for reſtraining and prohibiting the tranſportation of the ſaid Commodities in-
'to forein parts, and for due puniſhment of thoſe that ſhall tranſgreſs in that be-
'half.

'And for the better aſſurance and caution herein, it is agreed that every Puniſhment of
'Merchant ſo offending ſhall forfeit his Goods; the ſhips wherein the ſaid Goods ſuch as ſhall
'ſhall be tranſported, confiſcated; the Cuſtomers, Searchers, and other Officers tranſgreſs.
'of the Cuſtom whatſoever, in caſe of conſent or knowledge on their part, to
'loſe their Offices and Goods, and their bodies to be impriſoned at his Majeſties
'pleaſure. Of which Eſcheats and Forfeitures two parts ſhall appertain to his
'Majeſty, if the Cuſtoms be unfarmed, and the third to the Informer: and if the
'Cuſtoms be farmed, one third of the Forfeiture ſhall belong to his Majeſty, a
'third to the Farmers of the Cuſtoms, and the other third to the Informer. The
'trial of the offence to be ſummar in either Country in the Exchequer Chamber
'by Writ, ſufficient Witneſſes, or Oath of party, or before the Juſtice by Jury or
'Aſſize; and his Majeſties Officers in either Country to convene with the Com-
'plainers that intereſt in the purſuit.

'As alſo for the more ſurety that there ſhall be no tranſportation of ſuch Caution to be
'Goods it is agreed that at the ſhipping of all ſuch native Commodities there be given by the
'taken by the Cuſtomer of the Port where the Goods or Wares are imbarked, a owners and
'Bond or Obligation ſubſcribed by the Owner of the ſaid Goods, and Maſter of Maſters of
'the Ship; by the Owner, if he be preſent, and in caſe of his abſence, by the ſhips.
'Maſter of the Ship, and Factor or party that ladeth the ſame: which Bond ſhall
'contain a ſum of mony anſwerable to the value of the Goods, with condition
'of relieving the party obliged, and diſcharging him of the ſaid Bond in caſe

An. 1604. 'return be made of a due certificate to the Cuſtom where the Goods were laden, 'from any part within *England* or *Scotland*: The Certificate to be ſubſcribed and 'ſealed by the Officers of the Cuſtoms of the part where the ſaid Goods ſhall 'arrive, and be unladen; or if there be no ſuch Officers there, by the chief 'Magiſtrate and Town-Clerk of that Harbor or Town, under their hand and 'Seal.

Indifferency of Fraighting. 'It is farther agreed touching the indifferent fraighting of Commodities either 'in *Engliſh* or *Scottiſh* Bottoms, that Engliſh-men and Scottiſh-men fraight and lade 'their goods each in others Ships and Bottoms indifferently, paying only *Engliſh* 'and *Scottiſh* cuſtom, notwithſtanding any contrary laws or prohibitions. And that 'a Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *England* for eſtabliſhing ſome good or-'ders for upholding and maintaining the great Fiſhing of *England*; as likewiſe 'that a Propoſition be made to the Parliament of *Scotland* for the making of their 'Shipping more proportionable in burthen to the ſhipping of *England*, the bet-'ter to ſerve for equality of trade, and a common defence for the whole Iſle.

Poſtnati declared free. 'And becauſe it is requiſite that the mutual communication aforeſaid be not 'only extended to matter of Commerce, but to all other benefits and privileges of 'natural born ſubjects; It is agreed that an Act be proponed to be paſſed in man-'ner following: That all the ſubjects of both Realms born ſince the deceaſe of the 'late Queen, and that ſhall be born hereafter under the obedience of his Majeſty 'and of his Royal Progeny, are by the common Laws of both Realms and ſhall be 'for ever enabled to obtain, ſucceed, inherit and poſſeſs all goods, lands and cat-'tels, honors, dignities, offices, liberties, privileges and benefices Eccleſiaſtical or 'Civil, in Parliament and all other places of the Kingdoms, and every one of the 'ſame, in all reſpects and without any exception whatſoever, as fully and amply 'as the ſubjects of either Realm reſpectively might have done, or may do in any 'ſort within the Kingdom where they are born.

Exception for Offices of the Crown. 'Farther, whereas his Majeſty out of his great judgment and providence hath not 'only profeſſed in publick and private ſpeech to the Nobility and Council of both, 'but hath alſo vouchſafed to be contented that, for a more full ſatisfaction & com-'fort of all his loving ſubjects, it may be compriſed in the ſaid Act, that his Majeſty 'meaneth not to confer any Office of the Crown, any Office of Judicature, place, 'voice, or Office in Parliament of either Kingdom upon the ſubjects of the other, 'born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, until time and converſation have en-'creaſed & accompliſhed an Union of the ſaid Kingdoms, as well in the hearts of all 'the people and in the Conformity of Laws and Policies in theſe Kingdoms, as in the 'knowledge and ſufficiency of particular men, who being untimely imployed in 'ſuch authorities could no way be able, much leſs acceptable, to diſcharge ſuch du-'ties belonging to them; It is therefore reſolved by us the Commiſſioners afore-'ſaid, not only in regard of our deſires and endeavors to farther the ſpeedy con-'cluſion of this happy work intended, but alſo as teſtimony of our love and 'thankfulneſs for his gracious promiſe, on whoſe ſincerity and benignity we build 'our full aſſurance, even according to the inward ſenſe and feeling of our own loyal 'and hearty affections, to obey and pleaſe him in all things worthy the ſubjects of 'ſo worthy a Sovereign, that it ſhall be deſired of both the Parliaments, to be en-'acted by their Authority, that all the ſubjects of both Realms, born before the de-'ceaſe of the late Queen, may be enabled and capable to acquire, purchaſe, inherit, 'ſucceed, uſe and diſpoſe of all lands, goods, inheritances, offices, honours, digni-'ties, liberties, privileges, immunities, benefices and preferments whatſoever, each 'ſubject in either Kingdom, with the ſame freedom and as lawfully and peaceably 'as the very natural and born ſubjects of either Realm, where the ſaid rights, 'eſtates or profits are eſtabliſhed, notwithſtanding whatſoever Law, Statute, or 'former Conſtitutions heretofore in force to the contrary; other than to acquire, 'poſſeſs, ſucceed or inherit any Office of the Crown, Office of Judicatory, or any 'voice, place or Office in Parliament, all which ſhall remain free from being 'claimed, held or enjoyed by the ſubjects of the one Kingdom within the other, 'born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, notwithſtanding any words, ſenſe or

'intercep-

'interception of the Act, or any circumſtance thereupon depending, until there 'be ſuch a perfect and full accompliſhment of the Union as is deſired mutually by 'both the Realms. In all which points of reſervation, either in recital of the words 'of his *Majeſties* ſacred promiſe, or in any clauſe or ſentence before ſpecified from 'enabling them to any of the aforeſaid places or dignities, it hath been and ever 'ſhall be ſo far from the thoughts of any of us, to preſume to alter or impair his *Ma*-'jeſties Prerogative Royal (who contrariwiſe do all with comfort and confidence 'depend herein upon the gracious aſſurance which his *Majeſty* is pleaſed to give in 'the declaration of his ſo juſt and Princely care and favor to all his people) as for 'a farther laying open of our clear and dutiful intentions towards his *Majeſty* in 'this and all in things elſe which may concern his Prerogative, we do alſo herein 'profeſs and declare, that we think it fit there be inſerted in the Act to be propo-'ned and paſſed, in expreſs terms, a ſufficient reſervation of his *Majeſties* Prero-'gative Royal to denizate, enable and prefer to ſuch offices, honors, dignities and 'benefices whatſoever in both the ſaid Kingdoms, and either of them, as are here-'tofore excepted in the preceding reſervation of all *Engliſh* and *Scottiſh* ſubjects 'born before the deceaſe of the late Queen, as freely, ſovereignly and abſolutely, 'as any of his *Majeſties* moſt noble progenitors or predeceſſors, Kings of *England* 'or *Scotland*, might have done at any time heretofore, and to all other intents 'and purpoſes in as ample manner as no ſuch Act had ever been thought of or 'mentioned.

An. 1604.

Reſervation of his Majeſties Prerogative.

'And foraſmuch as the ſeveral Juriſdictions and Adminiſtrations of either 'Realm may be abuſed by *Malefactors*, by their own impunity, if they ſhall com-'mit any offence in the one Realm, and afterwards remove their perſons and abode 'unto the other; it is agreed, that there may be ſome fit courſe adviſed of by the 'wiſdoms of the Parliaments for trial and proceeding againſt the perſons of offen-'ders remaining in the one Realm, for and concerning the crimes and faults com-'mitted in the other Realm: And yet nevertheleſs that it may be lawful for the Ju-'ſtice of the Realm where the fact is committed, to remand the offender remain-'ing in the other Realm to be anſwerable unto Juſtice in the ſame Realm where 'the fact was committed, and that upon ſuch remand made the offender ſhall be 'accordingly delivered, and all farther proceeding, if any be, in the other Realm 'ſhall ceaſe, ſo as it may be done without prejudice to his Majeſty or other Lords 'in their Eſcheats and Forfeitures. With proviſion nevertheleſs, that this be not 'thought neceſſary to be made for all criminal offences, but in ſpecial caſes only; 'as namely in the caſes of wilful Murther, falſifying of Monys, and forging of 'Deeds, Inſtruments and Writings, and ſuch other like caſes as upon farther ad-'vice in the ſaid Parliament may be thought fit to be added.

Remanding of Malefactors.

Theſe were the Articles agreed upon, which written in their ſeveral Scrolls of Parchment were ſubſcribed and ſealed at *Weſtminſter* the ſixth of *December* by the Commiſſioners of both Parliaments, and one thereof preſented the ſame evening to his Majeſty by the Earl of *Salisbury*, who, in name of the whole number there preſent, having ſhewed what pains they had taken in that buſineſs, and how after many Conferences they were grown to the reſolution contained in that Scroll, beſought his Majeſty to accept graciouſly that which was done, and made offer of their beſt ſervice in perfecting that Work as they ſhould be imployed.

A Scrol of the Articles preſented to the King.

The King profeſſing a great content did ſpecially thank them for reſerving his *Prerogative* in the *preferment of men to Offices and Honors*, in either Kingdom; *For inequality*, ſaid he, *of Liberties and Privileges is not the way to effect the Union I deſire; capacity of Offices ought to be equal to both people: but the moderation of that Equality muſt be left to me; neither you to ſuſpect that I will offer any manner of grievance to either of the Countrys, or do any thing that may kindle emulation among them, conſidering the deſire I have to ſee you united in a faſt and indiſſolveable amity.* This ſaid, he recommended the proſecution of that buſineſs in the ſeveral Parliaments to their fidelity and truſt; wiſhing them to lay aſide all jealouſies, needleſs fears and other worſe paſſions, in a matter that ſo nearly concerned the good and benefit of both Kingdoms.

The Kings ſpeech to the Commiſſioners.

An. 1605. The title of Great *Britain* assumed.

Some months before the King had assumed by virtue of his Prerogative the Title of *THE KING OF GREAT BRITAIN*, commanding the same to be used from thenceforth in all Proclamations, Missives and Treaties, and the names of *England* and *Scotland* to be discontinued (except in Instruments of private parties, and where legality of Process would not admit the same.) This same in both Kingdoms took ill; but his Majesty esteeming those names whereby they had been called no better than names of Hostility, would needs have the ancient name of *Britain* received, and these of *Scotland* and *England* abolished. In like manner he did prohibit the name of the *Borders* to be used, and ordained all places of strength in these parts (the Houses of Noblemen and Barons excepted) to be demolished, their Iron gates to be turned into Plow Irons, and the inhabitants to betake themselves to labour and the exercises of Peace; for the same purpose he did break the Garrisons at *Berwick* and *Carlile*. And in memory of the Union so happily begun made divers pieces of Gold and Silver to be coined, upon some whereof were engraven these Inscriptions; *Quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*; and, *Tueatur unita Deus*: on others, *Faciam eos in gentem unam*; and, *Henricus rosas, Regna Jacobus*.

Pieces of Gold and Silver coined.

The Earl of *Montross* made Commissioner of the Kingdom.

During this Conference the Lord *Fyvie* President of the Session supplied the place of the *Scottish* Chancellor, and was shortly after preferred to the same Office by the Earl of *Montross* his dismission, who in stead thereof was made Commissioner and Deputy of *Scotland* during life: Secretary *Elphinston* was chosen President of the Session, and all affairs trusted by his Majesty to the Chancellor and him; with a special direction, that they should be assisting to the Church, and maintain those whom his Majesty had preferred in the places of Bishops in the same. How they answered the trust committed to them in this particular, we shall hear.

The Lord *Fyvy* received Chancellor.

An. 1605. The General Assembly continued.

But leaving the matter of State let us now see how things went at that time in the Church. The General Assembly, that should have kept at *Aberdene* in *July* 1604, was continued, because of the Union, to the same month in the year following. The King being informed of a great preparation that the Ministers made for keeping that Meeting, and that they intended to call in question all the Conclusions taken in former Assemblies for the Episcopal Government, directed the Commissioners of the Church to desert the Diet, and make no Indiction of another till he should be advertised. They accordingly did intimate his Majesties pleasure to all the Presbyters, and therewith, as they were desired, declared that his Majesty did purpose to call a number of the Bishops and disaffected Ministers to Court, and, for preventing such disorderly meeting, hear the differences that were among them debated in his own person.

A number convene notwithstanding the discharge.

The greater part resolved to obey; Nine Presbyteries only of Fifty (so many there are reckoned in the whole Kingdom) sent their Commissioners to keep the meeting. The chief leaders of this Stir were Mr. *John Forbes* Minister of *Awford*, and Mr. *John Welch* Minister at *Aire*. These two having encouragement given them in private by some principally in the State, used all means to bring the Ministers together, and were in expectation of a frequent Assembly; yet, when the day appointed came, there convened 13 only, and after some 2 or 3 days 7 or 8 more.

The names of them convened.

The names of the Ministers that convened were, Mr. *Charles Farum* Minister of *Fraserburgh*, Mr. *Robert Youngson* Minister at *Clat*, Mr. *James Mill* Minister at *Innerury*, Mr. *Alexander Straughan* Minister at *Creich*, Mr. *David Robertson* Minister at *Feterangus*, Mr. *Robert Rid* Minister at *Banchory*, Mr. *James Irwyn* Minister at *Towch*, Mr. *John Monro* Subdean at *Ross*, Mr. *William Forbes* Minister at *Kinbethock*, Mr. *William Davidson* Minister at *Ruthven*, Mr. *Thomas Abernethy* Minister at *Hawick*, Mr. *James Grey* Minister at *Lowdon*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis* Minister at *Cragy*, Mr. *James Ross* and Mr. *Archbald Blackburn* Ministers at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Ross* Minister at *Blare*, Mr. *John Sharp* Minister at *Kilmeny*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan* Minister at *Craill*, Mr. *Robert Dury* Minister at *Anstruther*, with the said Mr. *John Forbes* and Mr. *John Welch*. Sir *Alexander Straiton* of *Lowreston*, Commissioner for his Majesty in Church affairs, upon a rumour he heard of a meeting to be kept, lest any imputation of negligence should be laid on him, prevented the same, and by Letters he had obtained from the secret Council caused discharge the Assembly

The Kings Commissioner dischargeth the Meeting.

ſembly at the *Market*-Croſs of *Aberdene*. They nevertheleſs convened the next day, which being reported to the Commiſſioner, he went to the place, and in his *Majeſties* name commanded to diſſolve. They replying, 'That they were warranted by the Laws of the Country, and that they could not betray the Liberties of the Church by giving way to ſuch unlawful Prohibitions; he ſhewed them 'that the liberty granted for keeping Aſſemblies could not annul his *Majeſties* 'Power, nor denude him of his Prerogative in the continuing or diſcharging theſe 'meetings, when he ſhould find cauſe: For even the Parliament, which is the high-'eſt Court of the Kingdom, ſaid he, is diſpoſed as the King thinketh meet, at his 'pleaſure it is called, prorogued, diſmiſſed and deſerted, as he judgeth moſt con-'venient. And you will not, I truſt, equal your Aſſemblies to the Parliament of 'the three Eſtates. Beſides, you are not a number, you want the ordinary Clerk; 'neither is the *Moderator* of the laſt Aſſembly preſent, and can do nothing or-'derly. After a little debating they, requeſt him to remove, till they ſhould deliberate among themſelves what were beſt for them to do; but he was no ſooner gone, but then they choſe *Mr. John Forbes Moderator*, and that done continued the Aſſembly to the laſt day of *September*, thinking by this means to preſerve their Liberty. *An.* 1605.

Lowreſton finding himſelf in this abuſed, cauſed to execute the Letters, and denounced them Rebels. And, leſt they ſhould make a new buſineſs in *September*, complained to the Council of the diſobedience given to their charge. Order was taken hereupon to ſummon them before the Council, and a beginning made with the two Leaders of the reſt, Mr. *Forbes* and Mr. *Welch* being charged to a certain day of the ſame month. They appeared, and ſtanding to the defence of that which they had done, were committed to the Caſtle of *Blackneſs*; direction was likewiſe given for citing the reſt to the third of *October*. The Miniſters denounced and cited by the Council for their diſobedience.

At the day all appeared, and being charged for diſobeying his Majeſties Letter, thirteen of the number acknowledging their offence, and proteſting that what they did was not out of diſobedience, intreating the Lords to intercede with his Majeſty for their Pardon. The reſt taking contrary courſe, and maintaining their proceedings, were committed to ſeveral Priſons: their names were, Mr. *Charles Farum*, *Mr. John Monro*, *Mr. James Irwyn*, *Mr. William Forbes*, *Mr. Nathaniel Inglis*, *Mr. Andrew Duncan*, *Mr. James Grey*, and *Mr. John Sharp*. Some of theſe being ſent to *Dunbarton*, others to *Blackneſs*, and ſome to the Caſtle of *Down*; the others that had confeſſed their offence were dimitted, and ſuffered to return to their Charges. Some confeſs their fault, and are pardoned. Others maintain their Meeting, and are committed

Theſe proceedings of the Council were openly condemned by divers Preachers; and to make them more odious, it was every where given out that the ſuppreſſing of Aſſemblies and preſent Diſcipline, with the introduction of the Rites of *England*, were the matters intended to be eſtabliſhed: whereupon the Declaration following was by his *Majeſties* command publiſhed. The proceeding of the Council condemned by the Miniſtery.

His Majeſties Declaration touching ſome rumors diſperſed.

'Whereas we have ever ſince it pleaſed God to eſtabliſh us in the Imperial 'Crown of Great *Britain* equally regarded the good of both Kingdoms, now happily united in our Royal Perſon in one *Monarchy*, ever minding to maintain and 'continue the good and laudable Cuſtoms and Laws whereby each of them hath 'been theſe many Ages ſo worthily governed; nevertheleſs ſome malicious ſpirits, 'enemies to common tranquillity, have laboured to poſſeſs the minds of our well-affected ſubjects with an opinion that we do preſently intend a change of the authorized Diſcipline of the Church, and by a ſudden and unſeaſonable laying on of 'the Rites, Ceremonies and whole Eccleſiaſtical Order eſtabliſhed in this part of 'our Kingdom of *Britain*, to overturn the former Government received in theſe 'parts; which none of our good ſubjects we truſt will be ſo credulous to believe, 'knowing how careful we have been to maintain both Religion and Juſtice, and to 'reform the evils that did in any ſort prejudice the integrity of either of the two, 'whereby Juſtice hath attained under our Government to a greater perfection and 'ſplendor than in any of our predeceſſors times, and many abuſes and corruptions

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An. 1605. 'in the Diſcipline of the Church amended, that otherwiſe might have brought the 'purity of Religion in extreme danger, neither of which was done by our ſove-'reign and abſolute Authority (although we enjoy the ſame as freely as any King 'or Monarch of the world) but as the diſeaſe of the Civil Body ever was cured by 'the advice of our Three Eſtates, ſo were the defects of the Church by the help 'and counſel of thoſe that had greateſt intereſt therein.

The King his reſolution in making no ſudden change in the Church Policy.

'And however in rule of policy we cannot but judge it convenient that two 'Eſtates ſo miſerably disjoyned ſhould be drawn to as great Conformity in all 'things as the good of both may permit; and that no Monarchy either in Civil 'or Eccleſiaſtical Policy hath yet obtained to that perfection that it needs no Re-'formation, or that infinite occaſions may not ariſe whereupon wiſe Princes will 'foreſee for the benefit of their eſtates juſt cauſe of alteration; yet are we, and ever 'have been, reſolved not to make any ſudden and haſty change in the Government 'of that part of our Kingdom either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, but with grave advice 'and conſent of our Eſtates, and the wiſeſt and beſt ſort of them whom it moſt 'properly concerns, much leſs to trouble them with an unneceſſary alteration of 'indifferent and ceremonial matters; but to do it upon ſuch foreſeen advantages 'and prevention of Confuſion and evil to come, as the greateſt enemies to peace 'and obedience to Princes ſhall not obtrude any inconvenient to the contrary. 'And as by Gods holy aſſiſtence we have drawn that part of our Kingdom out of 'infinite Troubles, Factions and Barbarities, reducing the utmoſt Borders and 'Confines thereof to Gods obedience and acknowledging of our Laws; (a condi-'tion never heard of ſince this Iſle was firſt inhabited) ſo by the ſame Divine Pro-'vidence and our Fatherly care over the whole Iſland, we intend to tranſmit the 'ſame in good order, happy quietneſs and flouriſhing Policy to the poſterity where-'with God hath bleſſed us, and after them to the worlds end. Like as for the more 'verification of our own honourable intention, and to ſtop the mouths of thoſe 'unquiet ſpirits, raiſers of that falſe ſcandal of Alteration, we have appointed a 'General Aſſembly to be holden at *Dundee* the laſt *Tueſday* of *July*, whereat we 'expect a reparation of theſe Diſorders in as far as belongeth to their cenſure, and 'to be freed in time coming of all ſuch calumnies. Given at our Honor of *Hamp-'ton-Court* the 26 of *September* 1605, and in the third year of our reign of *Great 'Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*.

The Copies of this Declaration were ſent to the Miniſters remaining in Ward, that they might ſee the vanity of theſe rumors, and be induced to acknowledge their offence: but they ſtill continuing in their obſtinacy, and ſhewing no tokens of penitency, were again called before the Council the 24 of *October*, to receive their cenſure for the diſobedience of his Majeſties commandments. At which time being enquired what they had to ſay for themſelves, and how they could excuſe the contempt of his Majeſties directions; after ſome ſpeeches tending to juſtifie their doings, they preſented in writing a Declaration formed in this ſort.

The form of their Declinator.

Pleaſe your Lordſhips, the approbation or diſallowance of a General Aſſembly hath been, and ſhould be, a matter Spiritual, and always cognoſced and judged by the Church as Judge competent within this Realm: and ſeeing we are called before your Lordſhips to hear and ſee it found and declared, that we have contemptuouſly and ſeditiouſly convened and aſſembled our ſelves in a General Aſſembly at Aberdene *the firſt* Tueſday *of* July *laſt, and the ſaid Aſſembly to be declared unlawful, as at more length is contained in the Summons executed againſt us; We, in conſideration of the premiſſes and other Reaſons to be given by us, have juſt cauſe to decline your Lordſhips judgment, as no ways competent in the cauſe above ſpecified, and by theſe preſents we* ſimpliciter *decline the ſame, ſeeing we are moſt willing to ſubmit our ſelves to a trial of a General Aſſembly, that is only the Judge competent. Subſcribed with our hands the* 24 *of* October, 1605.

The Subſcribers were, Mr. *John Forbes*, Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *John Monro*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *Alexander Straughan*, Mr. *James Grey*, Mr. *William Forbes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis*, Mr. *Charles Farum*, Mr. *James Irwyn*, Mr. *John Sharp*, Mr. *Robert Dury*, Mr. *John Roſſe*, and Mr. *Robert Youngſon*.

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The laſt of theſe was one that had acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon, yet at this Diet compeired with theſe others, profeſſing, *That he was troubled in conſcience for the Confeſſion he had made, and that he would now take part with the Brethren who ſtood to the defence of the good cauſe*, as he termed it. The Council repelling the Declinator, declared the Aſſembly to have been unlawful, and thoſe that met in the ſame contrary to his *Majeſties* command puniſhable. But becauſe they had added to their former fault the crime of Treaſon, it was thought meet to defer the Cenſure till the King ſhould be acquainted therewith, and his pleaſure known. *An.* 1605. The Aſſembly declared unlawful.

No ſooner was his Majeſty advertiſed of the Declinator, than direction was ſent to the Council for proceeding againſt them according to the Laws: whereupon the ſix that were impriſoned in *Blackneſſe* (that is to ſay) Mr. *John Forbes*, Mr. *John Welch*, Mr. *Andrew Duncan*, Mr. *John Sharp*, Mr. *Robert Dury*, and Mr. *Alexander Straughan*, were upon the tenth of *January* thereafter brought to the Town of *Linlithgow*, and preſented upon Pannel before the Juſtice, who was aſſiſted by a number of Noblemen and others of the Privy Council. Some of the Miniſters purſued criminally.

The Indictment made, which was grounded upon the Statute of Parliament holden in *May* 1584, touching *his Majeſties Royal Power over all Eſtates*, and the preſumptuous fact committed by them in declining the judgment of the Council; certain of their brethren did ſupplicate the Juſtice for licence to confer with them apart, that they might perſuade them to an humble ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment of their offence. This obtained, they were moſt earneſtly dealt with (as well by their Brethren as by the Advocates that came to plead for them) to relinquiſh their wilfulneſs, and not to exaſperate the King by ſtanding to the defence of their Declinator: but no perſuaſions could avail. So returning to the Bar they were deſired to anſwer, and ſhew a reaſon (if any they had) why the matter ſhould not paſs the trial of a Jury. The Advocates that ſtayed with them (for the two principals refuſed to plead becauſe of their obſtinacy) excepting againſt the Indictment, and ſaying, that the Statute 1592, having only declared, *That the Act made againſt declining of the Councils judgment ſhould not derogate any thing from the privileges which God had given to the Spiritual Office-bearers in the Church, concerning Heads of Religion, in matters of Hereſie, Collation and Deprivation of Miniſters, or any ſuch eſſential Cenſures, having warrant of the Word of God*; *they thereupon inferred that their meeting at the time libelled in* Aberdene *being an eſſential cenſure warranted by Gods word, they might lawfully have declined the Councils judgment from taking cognition therein.* The Indictment. Exception proponed by the Advocates.

It was anſwered by his Majeſties Advocate, 'That the Exception was naught, 'becauſe the keeping of an Aſſembly at a certain time and place, and the appoint-'ing of another contrary to his *Majeſties* direction and the charge of the Council, 'was neither a *Head of Religion*, nor *matter of Hereſie*, nor *Excommunication*, nor 'an *eſſential Cenſure*; and ſo being no ways comprehended under that limitation, 'their declining of the Council, whenas they were called to anſwer for the keep-'ing of that Conventicle in the Town of *Aberdene*, muſt of neceſſity come under 'the generality of the Statute 1584, and bring them under the puniſhment of 'Treaſon. The Reply to the Exception.

The matter after ſome diſpute being put to trial of an Aſſize, all the ſix were found guilty of Treaſon, and returned to their ſeveral Priſons, till his *Majeſties* pleaſure concerning their puniſhment ſhould be certified: what this was, in the ſtory of the next year ſhall be declared. *Meanwhile* a Proclamation went out, 'diſcharging all the ſubjects of what rank, place, calling, function or condition ſo-'ever, either in publick or private, to call in queſtion his *Majeſties* Authority 'Royal, or the lawfulneſs of the proceeding againſt the ſaid *Miniſters*, or to make 'any other conſtruction of the Statute concerning the declining of his *Majeſties* 'and the Councils judgment than made in that deciſion of the Juſtice; with cer-'tification of thoſe that contravened, that they ſhould be called and ſeverely pu-'niſhed as Seditious perſons and wilful contemners of his *Majeſties* moſt juſt and 'lawful Government. The Miniſters found guilty of Treaſon. A Proclamation that none ſhould oppoſe the deciſion of the Juſtice.

Before

An. 1605. A Convention of Eſtates. His Majeſties Letter directed to the Eſtates.

Before theſe Stirs in the Church, a Convention of the Eſtates was kept the ſixth of *June* at *Edinburgh*, where a Letter was preſented by his Majeſty to the Eſtates full of affection. The Letter was to this effect; *That his Majeſties love being nothing diminiſhed through his abſence towards that his native and ancient Kingdom, he did wiſh them to contend in a laudable emulation who ſhould live moſt vertuouſly, and be moſt obedient to the Laws: That the Nobility ſhould give aſſiſtence to the execution of Juſtice, and be in all things a good enſample to their inferiors; the Barons ſhould ſet themſelves to procure the good of the Kingdom; and the Burgeſſes apply their minds to the increaſe of Trade, eſpecially the trade of Fiſhing, which had been long neglected, and to the working of Cloth, that had made their neighbor Country ſo famous. To them all he recommended the rooting forth of Barbarity, the planting of Colonies in the Iſles, and peopling the ſame with civil and induſtrious perſons: aſſuring them that, they ſo behaving themſelves, their Liberty ſhould be as dear to him as either his Life or Eſtate.*

The Act paſſed in the Convention.

This was the ſubſtance of the Letter, which the Chancellor having reſumed, and thereunto added many perſuaſions for the following of thoſe wholeſome and profitable counſels, the Eſtates did expreſs a great forwardneſs that way, and after a long deliberation condeſcended upon divers good Acts, which if they had been all carefully put in practice, as they were wiſely deviſed, the Kingdom had long before this time tried the benefit thereof. Amongſt other directions, the removing of the barbarous *Feuds* was recommended to the Council, whereof they were deſired to make a Roll, and urge the parties to reconcile; and if they refuſed, then to aſſure them to the peace, and commit them to Ward till the ſame was ſecured. And whereas the cuſtom had been to cauſe parties Aſſure one another, the King did prohibit the ſame as a thing diſhonourable, and arguing too great preſumption in the ſubject, ſeeing the Law ſhould be to every man a ſufficient aſſurance. The Council, reverencing his Majeſties direction, did ordain that courſe from thenceforth to be obſerved, and all Aſſurances to be taken for the Peace thereafter, and not of one party to another: beginning being made with the Lord *Maxwel* and the Lord of *Johnſton*, they were moved to joyn hands and reconcile in preſence of the Council.

The enterpriſe of the *Lewis* defeated.

This Summer the enterpriſe of the *Lewis* was again ſet on foot by *Robert Lummiſdale* of *Ardrie* and Sir *George Hay* of *Netherliffe*, to whom ſome of the firſt Undertakers had made over their right. In *Auguſt* they took journy thither, and by the aſſiſtence of *Macky*, *Mackenzie*, and *Donold Gorum* forced the Inhabitants to remove forth of the Iſle, and give ſurety not to return.

Ardrie and his Copartners thinking all made ſure, and that there was no more danger, returned South about *Martinmas*, leaving ſome Companies to maintain their poſſeſſion; which they made good all that Winter, though now and then they were aſſaulted by the Iſles-men. In the Spring *Ardrie* went back, taking with him freſh proviſion, and fell to build and manure the lands. But this continued not long; for monys failing, the work-men went away, and the Companies diminiſhing daily, the Natives having aſſociated a number of Iſles-men made a new Invaſion about the end of Harveſt, and by continual Incurſions ſo outwearied the new poſſeſſors, as they gave over the enterpriſe, and were contented for a little ſum of mony to make away their rights to the Laird of *Mackenzie*. This turned to the ruine of divers of the Undertakers, who were exhauſted in means before they took the enterpriſe in hand, and had not the power which was required in a buſineſs of that importance.

The Hiſtory of the Powder-Treaſon.

In the end of the year a horrible Conſpiracy was detected againſt the King and the whole body of the State of *England*. The names of the Conſpirators were, *Robert Catesby*, *Thomas Piercy*, *Thomas Winter*, *John Wright*, and *Guido Faux*, *Engliſh*-men all, and Papiſts by profeſſion. Theſe five meeting together, and conſulting by what mean they might beſt relieve the *Catholick Cauſe* (ſo they ſpeak) *Thomas Piercy* proponed the killing of the King, and at his own peril made offer to perform the ſame. *Catesby*, who had another plot in his head, anſwered, 'That they 'would not hazard him ſo; and that albeit it ſhould ſucceed, the caſe of the Ca-

'tholick

'tholick Cauſe would be no better, the Prince and Duke of *York* being left alive; 'yea if both theſe were caſt away, yet the Counſellors, Nobility, Judges, Knights, 'and a great many others addicted to Religion, would be remaining, who ſhould 'be able enough to reſtore the Eſtate, and croſs all their purpoſes: That therefore 'he had bethought himſelf of a better and more ſafe way, which was at one time 'and with one blow to cut off all their enemies. This (he ſaid) was by blowing 'up the Parliament-houſe with Gun-powder at the time when the King and Eſtates 'were aſſembled. The advice pleaſed them all: but firſt it was thought meet to ask the opinion of their ghoſtly Fathers, and be informed of the Lawfulneſs of the fact; as of *Henry Garnet*, *Oſwold Teſmond alias Greenwall* and *John Gerard* Jeſuites; who being conſulted commended the enterpriſe, aſſuring them they might go on with a good Conſcience and perform the deed, ſeeing they were Hereticks, and perſons *ipſo jure* excommunicated againſt whom they were ſet. *An.* 1605.

The Jeſuites approve of the enterpriſe.

This reſolution ſatisfying their Conſciences, for their great ſecurity they took an Oath of Secrecy, 'ſwearing each to other by the Sacred Trinity and the Bleſſed 'Sacrament they were at that time to receive, that neither directly nor indirectly, 'by word or circumſtances, they ſhould diſcover the purpoſe they had taken to 'any whomſoever, nor ſhould deſert from performing the ſame without licence 'of their aſſociates. This Oath was given upon a Primer in the preſence of *Gerard* the Jeſuite: and having heard Maſs and received the Sacrament, *Thomas Piercy* was appointed to hire a houſe nigh-adjoyning to the Parliament, for the more ſafe and ſecret working of the Mine.

The Conſpirers ſwear Secrecy.

This being obtained, yet with difficulty enough, they entred to work, and after divers intermiſſions, becauſe of proroguing the Parliament, when they had brought the Mine to the midſt of the Wall, they found the opportunity of a Cellar under the Parliament-houſe to be let, and leaving the Mine, for that the Wall was hard to be digged through, they hired the Cellar, and put in it 36 barrels of Powder, a number of Billets, Faggots, and a great quantity of Coles, wherewith they covered the Barrels. They had called in *Chriſtopher Wright*, *Robert Winter*, *John Graunt*, and *Thomas Bates*, *Catesby*'s ſervant, and communicated the matter to them. This laſt was troubled at firſt with the Cruelty of the Plot, and had forſaken them, if he had not been confirmed and encouraged by *Teſmond* the Jeſuite to go with the reſt. After theſe *Ambroſe Rookwood* and *Robert Keyes* were made of the Counſel, all taking the Oath of Secrecy, and receiving the Sacrament upon the ſame. And becauſe the charge in buying Powder, Billets, and hiring of Houſes had been a burthen heavy for *Thomas Piercy*, it was thought meet to bring in ſome mo; whereupon Sir *Everard Digby* and *Francis Treſham* were aſſumed.

A Cellar hired for the Mine.

All things being now, as they judged, made ſure, they began to think what courſe was fitteſt to take after the deed was performed. The firſt Doubt was made touching the Prince and ſurpriſe of his Perſon; or if he ſhould accompany his Father to the Parliament, how they might ſeiſe upon the Duke of *York* his Brother. But this *Piercy* undertook to do by reaſon of his acquaintance in the Houſe, into which he could enter without ſuſpicion, and how ſoon the Blow was given carry him away by the help of ſuch as he ſhould have in a readineſs to aſſiſt. Of the Lady *Elizabeth* they made ſmall queſtion, for that ſhe was kept in the Country by the Lady *Harrington* near to *Aſhby*, *Catesbys* dwelling-houſe.

A deliberation for the Kings Children.

The next Doubt they proponed, where they ſhould have mony and horſes: and for this *Digby* made offer of fifteen hundred pounds *Engliſh*, *Treſham* two hundred, and *Piercy* promiſed to bring all he could gather of *Northumberland* Rents, which he thought would extend to four thouſand pounds, and to provide ten horſes for his part. Neither doubted they but having the Heir apparent in their hands they ſhould find means ſufficient.

Contribution for the enterpriſe.

A third Queſtion they made, what Lords they ſhould ſave from going to the Parliament: which they agreed to be as many Catholicks as conveniently they might.

Catholicks to be ſtopped from coming to the Parliament.

Fourthly, it was moved among them what forein Princes they ſhould acquaint with the purpoſe, and whoſe aid they ſhould ſeek. Concerning which it was agreed,

No forein Princes to be acquainted therewith.

An. 1605. agreed, that none of them ſhould be made privy to the Plot; fearing they could not enjoyn ſecrecy to Princes; and for aid after the deed performed there would be time enough to intreat the ſame either of *Spain* or *France*, or the Country of *Flanders*.

Intention to proclaim Lady *Elizabeth* Queen.

Laſtly, becauſe they ſaw no way to aſſure the Duke of *York* his perſon (for *Piercy* his undertaking they held unſure) they reſolved to ſerve their turn with the Lady *Elizabeth*, and to proclaim her Queen: to which purpoſe they had a Proclamation formed, wherein no mention was made of altering Religion, becauſe they had no forces ſufficient, and till they might make good their party, they would not avow the deed to be theirs, but lay it ſo far as they could upon the Puritans.

The Conſpiracy detected.

Now there remained nothing, all dangers being foreſeen, and every thing provided, but the laſt Act of the intended Tragedy to be performed, whenas that which was ſo ſecretly hatched came to be diſcovered after a wonderful manner. The Lord *Monteagle*, Son and Heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his lodging at ſeven of the clock at night, had a Letter given him by one of his footmen, who received the ſame upon the ſtreet from a perſon unknown, with a charge to put it in his Maſters hand. The tenor whereof was as followeth.

My Lord,

The letter ſent to the Lord *Monteagle*.

OUT of the love I bear to ſome of your friends, I have a care of your preſervation; therefore would I adviſe you, as you tender your life, to deviſe ſome excuſe to ſhift off your attendance at this Parliament: for God and man have concurred to puniſh the wickedneſs of this time. Think not ſlightly of this advertiſement, but retire your ſelf into your Country, where you may expect the event in ſafety: for though there be no appearance of any Stir, yet I ſay they ſhall receive a terrible blow in this Parliament, and ſhall not ſee who hurteth them. This counſel is not to be contemned, becauſe it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is paſſed as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good uſe of it, in whoſe holy protection I commit you.

The Secrecy of ſo many very ſtrange.

It was ſome ten daies only before the Parliament that *Monteagle* received this Letter, and but twelve hours before the meeting of the Eſtates that the Plot was found out. Where it is a ſort of wonder to think that ſo many being made privy to the Conſpiracy, the ſame ſhould not have burſt out one way or other in ſo long a time: For it was the eleventh of *December* 1604 when they began to work at the Mine, and ſo the ſpace of a year and more the Conſpiracy went concealed. Some advertiſements were ſent to the King and divers of his Majeſties Council from beyond ſea, *That the Papiſts were preparing to preſent a Petition for Toleration of Religion at the meeting of the Parliament, which ſhould be ſo well backed as the King would be loth to refuſe it.* But theſe advertiſements were contemned, and thought to be invented for putting the King in fear.

Yea and the Nobleman, when he received the Letter, not knowing what conſtruction to make of it, doubted much that it had been a device to ſcare him from attending the Parliament. Nottheleſs out of his care of the Kings preſervation he reſolved to communicate the ſame with the Earl of *Salisbury* his Majeſties principal Secretary, and going the ſame night to *White-hall*, delivered the Letter to him. The Secretary acquainting the Chamberlain, Admiral, and ſome others of the Council therewith, and examining every line thereof, reſolved to ſhew the ſame to the King at his return (for he was then at hunting at *Royſton*) and not to ſearch farther in the matter till they ſhould hear what was his judgment.

The King returning to *London* the *Thurſday* after, which was *Alhallows* evening, the Letter was ſhewed him the next day in the afternoon; who having read the ſame once or twice, ſaid, *That it was not to be contemned, and that the ſtyle ſeemed more quick and pithy than is uſed in Libels, Paſquils, and the like.* The Secretary perceiving the King to apprehend the matter more deeply than he expected, told him that the Letter ſeemed to be written by a Fool or Mad-man; and pointing at the paſſage, *the danger is paſt as ſoon as you have burnt the Letter*, ſaid, that

'that the warning was to little purpoſe, if the burning of the Letter might make 'the danger eſchewed. *An.* 1605.

But the King willed him to conſider the former ſentence, wherein it was ſaid that *they ſhould receive a terrible Blow at the Parliament, and not ſee who did hurt them*, and when he ſhould joyn that with the other, he ſhould find it to be *ſudden danger*, as by blowing up by Powder, that was thereby meant. Therefore willed all the rooms in the Parliament-houſe to be ſearched, both above and below, to prevent the danger, if any there was.

This belonging to the Chamberlain his office, he was deſired to make the ſearch, and for ſtaying the idle rumours, to delay his going to Monday in the afternoon, the day before the firſt Seſſion of Parliament. At which time the Chamberlain taking with him the Lord *Monteagle*, who was careful to ſee what the warning given would prove, went and viewed all the rooms, where he perceived in the Vault under the Upper Houſe great ſtore of Fagots, Billets and Coals; and asking the keeper of the Guardrobe, named *Whinyard*, to what uſe he had put thoſe low Cellars (for they appertained to him) he anſwered, that *Thomas Piercy* had hired the Houſe and Cellar, and the Billets and the Coals were the Gentlemans proviſion for Winter. The Chamberlain caſting his eye aſide, and eſpying a fellow in the corner of the Vault, asked who he was, and received anſwer that he was *Piercies* man, who kept the houſe for his Maſter.

Thus having look'd upon all things in a careleſs manner as it appeared, he returned to the King, and made report of that he had ſeen; which encreaſed his Majeſties firſt apprehenſion: and thereupon was order given for turning up thoſe Billets and Coals even to the bottom. If nothing ſhould be found, it was deviſed that *Whinyard* ſhould pretend the ſtealing of ſome of the Kings ſtuff which he had in his keeping, and that made the colour of ſearch. Sir *Thomas Knevet*, Gentlemen of his Majeſties Privy Chamber and Juſtice of Peace within *Weſtminſter*, being appointed for this buſineſs, went thither with ſome few in company about midnight, and finding a man ſtanding without doors in his cloaths and boots, cauſed him to be apprehended. This was *Guido Faux*, whoſe hand ſhould have fired the train, and gave himſelf out for *Piercies* man. Thereafter entering into the Houſe he made the Coals and Billets to be turned up, under which they found 36 barrels of Powder more and leſs. Then turning to the fellow they had apprehended, and queſtioning him touching the Powder, he did inſtantly confeſs, ſwearing, *That if he had been within the Houſe when they took him, he ſhould have blown them up with the Houſe and all.*

Sir *Thomas* taking the man along went immediately to the place, and ſhewed the Chamberlain and Secretary how he had ſped. They making themſelves ready, and warning the Counſellors that lay within the Palace, went all together to his Majeſties Bed-chamber. The King awake, the Chamberlain, not able to conceal his joy cried aloud, that the treaſon was diſcovered and the traitor in hands. Then command was given to command the Council to examine the Priſoner touching his partakers. He, nothing dejected nor moved a whit with ſo honorable a preſence, did boldly avow the fact, repenting only that he had failed in the execution, and ſaying, *The devil envying the ſucceſs of ſo good a work had diſcovered the ſame.* All that day nothing could be drawn from him touching his Complices, taking all the blame upon himſelf, and profeſſing he had done it for Religion and Conſcience ſake. Speaking of the King, he denied him to be his Soveregin, or Anointed of God, in regard he was an Heretick, and that it was no ſin to cut him off. This was his behavior at firſt; but being conveyed to the Tower, and the Rack preſented, he laid open the whole matter of Conſpiracy, and confeſſed the truth. There were in the City at that time *Catesby*, *Piercy*, *Tho. Winter*, *Francis Treſham* and the younger *Wright*, who hearing that all was diſcloſed made away to the Country, appointing to meet the next morning at *Dunchurch* in *Warwickſhire*, *Dighys* lodging. *John Grant*, with ſome Recuſants that he had aſſociated to himſelf, had broke up the ſame night a ſtable of *Bourch* a Rider of great Horſes, and carried away ſeven or eight belonging to certain Noblemen of the Country; for he did think the Conſpiracy had taken effect, and was preparing to ſurpriſe the Lady *Elizabeth*

An. 1605. whoſe reſidence was not far from the place. But within a few hours *Catesby*, *Piercy*, and the others that were fled from *London* bringing aſſurance that all was failed, they reſolved upon a publick Rebellion, and pretending the quarrel of Religion, labored to draw ſome companies together; yet when they had gathered all their forces, they did not exceed 80 in all.

Sir *Fulk Grevil*, Lieutenant-deputy of *Warwickſhire*, hearing of the Riot that *Grant* had committed, and apprehending it to be the beginning of a Rebellion, ſent to advertiſe the Towns about, and warned them to be on their guard. The Sheriffs of the County convening, the people likewiſe in arms, purſued them from Shire to Shire. Sir *Richard Walch* the Sheriff of *Worceſterſhire* having tried where they had taken harbor, ſent a Trumpet and Meſſenger to command them to render unto him in his Majeſties name, promiſing to intercede for their lives. But they, hearing their fault to be unpardonable, returned anſwer, that he had need of better aſſiſtants than the numbers that accompanied him before he could either command or compel them. The Sheriff provoked by their arrogant anſwer prepared to aſſail the Houſe. And they making defence, it happened that a ſpark of fire falling among ſome powder, which they were drying, did kindle and blow up the ſame, wherewith their hands, faces and ſides were ſore ſcorched and burnt, as they loſt courage, and opening the gate expoſed themſelves to the peoples fury. *Catesby*, *Piercy* and *Tho. Winter* joyning backs, and reſolving rather to die than to be taken, the two firſt were killed with one ſhot, the other after ſome wounds made priſoner; the two *Wrights* were killed, *Rookwood*, *Grant*, *Digby* and *Bates* were taken: *Treſham* had ſtayed at *London*, and changing his lodging thought to lurk till he ſhould find occaſion to eſcape by ſea, but was in end found out; ſo were *Robert Winter* and one *Littleton*, and all of them committed to the Tower of *London*.

Being examined, *Tho. Winter* ingenuouſly confeſſed all, ſetting down the particulars under his hand, and acknowledging the offence to be greater than could be forgotten. *Digby* excuſed the crime by the deſpair they were driven unto, having hopes given them at the Kings firſt coming to the Crown, that the Catholicks ſhould have the exerciſe of their Religion permitted, which being denied they had taken theſe wicked courſes. *Treſham* in his Confeſſion named *Garnet* the Jeſuite as privy to the Conſpiracy: but afterwards by his Wifes inſtigation did deny it, affirming that he had wronged him, and not ſeen him once theſe ſixteen years. Yet *Garnet* being apprehended ſome months after confeſſed that they met divers times within the laſt half year. *Treſham* died in the priſon, the reſt were put to the trial of a Jury, and condemned. *Digby*, *Grant*, *Robert Winter* and *Thomas Bates* were executed at the Weſtern gate of S. *Pauls* in the end of *January*; *Thomas Winter*, *Ambroſe Rookwood*, *Robert Keys* and *Guido Faux*, who had wrought at the Mine, ſuffered in like ſort in the Court near the Parliament-houſe.

This was the end of that Conſpiracy, the like whereof in no mans memory hath been heard. We have heard of Kings treacherouſly killed, of practices againſt Eſtates and Commonwealths; but ſuch a *Monſter of Conſpiracies* (as *Thuan* calls it) no Country nor Age did ever produce: The King, Queen, with their poſterity, the Nobility, Clergy, Judges, Barons, Knights, Gentry, and in a manner the whole Kingdom to be in one moment all deſtroyed, was a Wickedneſs beyond all expreſſion, but, bleſſed be God, this Monſter, which was long in breeding, in the very birth was choaked and ſmothered.

The King, giving meeting to the Parliament the ſame day that the Conſpiracy was diſcovered, made a long ſpeech to the Eſtates, wherein having aggravated the danger by many circumſtances, and greatly magnified the mercies of God in the Diſcovery, when he came to the Trial and Puniſhment, was obſerved to keep a marvellous temper in his diſcourſe, wiſhing no innocent perſon either forein or domeſtick ſhould receive blame or harm thereby: *For however*, ſaid he, *the blind ſuperſtition of their Errors in Religion hath been the only motive of this deſperate attempt, it muſt not be thought that all who profeſs the* Roman *Religion are guilty of the ſame: for as it is true* (I keep his Majeſties own words) *that no other Sect of Heretiks* (*not excepting Turk, Jew or Pagan, nay not thoſe of* Calecut *that adore the Devil*) *did*

ever

ever maintain by the grounds of their Religion, that it was lawful and meritorious to murther Princes or people for the quarrel of Religion; yet it is as true on the other ſide that many honeſt men, blinded peradventure with ſome opinions of Popery, as if they be not ſound in queſtions of Real Preſence, *the number of the* Sacraments, *and ſome ſuch School queſtions, do either not know, or not believe at leaſt, all the true grounds of Popery, which is indeed the Myſtery of iniquity: and therefore do we juſtly confeſs that many Papiſts, eſpecially our forefathers, laying their only truſt upon Chriſt and his Merits, may be ſaved; deteſting in that point, and thinking that cruelty of* Puritans *worthy of fire, that will admit no Salvation to any Papiſts.* And ſo concluding that part of his diſcourſe, ſaid, *As upon the one part many honeſt men, ſeduced with ſome Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful ſubjects; ſo upon the other part, none of thoſe that truly know & believe the whole grounds of Popery, can prove either good Chriſtians or faithful ſubjects.* The Speech is to be ſeen amongſt his Majeſties Works, and is worthy the reading, for wiſe directions given in that buſineſs. An. 1606.

The news of this Conſpiracy were ſpeedily advertiſed to the Council of *Scotland*, and a command given for a publick Thankſgiving in all the Churches for his Majeſties deliverance; but the cauſe was left to every mans conjecture (albeit the advertiſement did bear expreſly, *That the contrivers were Papiſts, and their only quarrel Religion.*) This being told to the King, and that one of the Privy-Counſellors had ſaid, *That the Conſpiracy proceeded of a mere diſcontent the people had conceived at his Majeſties Government*, he was mightily offended, and from that forth held his affection to his ſervice continually ſuſpected.

Information was made at the ſame time, that ſome of the Miniſters impriſoned at *Blackneſs* did blame the Chancellor for their Meeting at *Aberdene*, offering, '*That* '*they had Warrant from him to meet, and his promiſe that they ſhould incur no danger* '*for the ſame.* The King, to underſtand the truth thereof directed his ſervant Sir *William Irwyn* to inquire at the impriſoned Miniſters, what dealing they had with the Chancellor in that buſineſs: their anſwer was, 'That a little before their Meet-'ing at *Aberdene*, Mr. *John Forbes* and Mr. *John Welch* had ſought his advice touch-'ing their convening; and that he asking them what they intended to do, they an-'ſwered, that fearing the eſtabliſhment of Biſhops, they were to do their Beſt for 'withſtanding the ſame; and that he to encourage them did promiſe all the aſſiſtence 'he could give that way: which they took to be an allowance of their Meeting. A Letter hereupon was directed to certain of the Council to call the Miniſters, and if they ſtood to their ſaying, to hear what the Chancellor would anſwer. They maintaining that which they had ſaid, and the Chancellor called to his Anſwer, he affirmed that he was intreated by them to oppoſe the reſtitution of Biſhops Temporalities, which then was in working, promiſing that he ſhould not be queſtioned for his Religion, which they underſtood to be Popiſh. This denied by the Miniſters, they fell in a ſharp conteſt; which continued ſome ſpace with words not ſeemly on either part. The Miniſters, for clearing his approbation of their Aſſembly, did farther alledge that he had uttered ſo much to Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* and Mr. *James Balfour*, Miniſters at *Edinburgh*; who being examined touching their knowledge, Mr. *Walter Balcanquel* did affirm, 'That the Chancellor in private to himſelf 'had commended them for maintaining the Liberty of the Church, which was not a 'little prejudiced, as he ſaid,' by the continuation of Aſſemblies from year to year. The ſame he was ſaid to have ſpoken to Mr. *James Balfour*; but he excuſed himſelf by forgetfulneſs, ſaying he did not remember any ſuch ſpeeches. This report made to the King, he ſaid, *That none of the two deſerved credit; and that he ſaw the Miniſters would betray Religion rather than ſubmit themſelves to Government; and that the Chancellor would betray the King for the malice he carried to the Biſhops.* An. 1606;

By this conteſt always the Chancellor was made more tractable in the reſtitution of Biſhops Temporalities, which he had ſtrongly reſiſted unto that time; and in the Parliament kept at *Perth* in the beginning of *July* ſhewed a great deſire to promote the ſame. This Parliament had been indicted to keep at *Edinburgh* in *June* preceeding, and the Earl of *Dunbar* imployed to ſee all matters carried therein to his Majeſties mind. The Chancellor (whether out of emulation to ſhew his Great-

An. 1606. neſs, or that he feared ſome affront by the Earl of *Dunbar*) went on the ſtreets accompanied with the Burgeſſes in great numbers, who otherwiſe than was their cuſtom did walk with their ſwords. *Dunbar* taking this in ill part, yet diſſembling his offence, cauſed adjourn the Parliament to the firſt of *July*, and therewith preſented a Warrant for removing the ſame to the Town of *Perth*, which coming unlooked for made the Burgeſſes forthink their doing.

At *Perth* it happened the very firſt day the Lord *Seaton* and *Alexander* his Brother to encounter the Earl of *Glencarn* in the Bridgegate, where drawing their weapons againſt others a great Tumult was raiſed, which continued a certain ſpace, and diſturbed the Council that as then was ſitting. The Lord *Seaton* being tried to have invaded the other, which he did for revenge of his Uncles ſlaughter, he was cited before the Council for troubling the Parliament; but leaving the Town he went home, and for his not appearing was denounced Rebel. It was held an ominous beginning, and gave many to think that matters would not ſucceed well; but the Earl of *Dunbar* did ſo wiſely and with ſo great care prevent every thing that was like to breed trouble, as all things were carried from that time forth in a moſt peaceable ſort.

There were attending in the Town abundance of Miniſters, labouring all they could ſecretly to make ſome perturbation. The Earl calling them to his lodging did rebuke them ſharply, ſaying, *That it ſeemed ſtrange to him, that they who had ſo often petitioned to have the Act of Annexation diſſolved ſhould go about to hinder the ſame, now when the King was to do it in part, ſpecially conſidering there was nothing to be moved in prejudice of their Diſcipline. And that for removing the differences that were amongſt them in that point, his Majeſty had reſolved, as they knew by the Letters ſome of them had received, to call the moſt learned and diſcreet of both ſides before himſelf, and have matters compoſed ſo far as might be to their content. More fitting*, he ſaid, *it were for you, to whom his Majeſty hath addreſſed his Letters, to have been preparing your ſelves for the journy. And I ſhould adviſe you, for your own good and the peace of the Church, not to write to the King any more, but rather ſtudy by your peaceable behaviour to procure favor to your Brethren that are in trouble.* With theſe ſpeeches he did quiet them, and ſo the Parliament went on, and after ſome few daies ended in great peace.

In this Parliament divers good Conſtitutions were made: but the two principal were the Acts of his Majeſties Prerogative, and the Act entituled, *The Reſtitution of the eſtate of Biſhops*; which Title giveth many to miſtake the truth of things, and think that before this time the eſtate of Biſhops was overthrown and caſt down, whereas the ſame was never ſo much as intended. Only by this Act the Temporalities of Biſhopricks, which by the Act of Annexation were made to belong to the Crown, were reſtored, in regard it was ſeen that the Biſhops were diſabled to attend their ſervice in the Church and State by the want thereof.

Soon after the Parliament diſſolved, ſuch of the Clergy as his Majeſty called to Court went together. Of the one ſide went the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Orkney*, *Galloway*, and Mr. *James Nicolſon* who was deſtinate Biſhop of *Dunkeld*; on the other part were Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, Mr. *James Melvil*, Mr. *James Balfour* and Mr. *William Watſon*, Mr. *William Scot*, Mr. *John Carmichael*, and Mr. *Adam Col't*. All theſe arriving at *London* about the Beginning of *Sept.* had warning given them to attend the 20 of that month at *Hampton-Court*.

The King had appointed ſome of the Biſhops of *England* to attend during the Conference, and preach by courſe upon the ſubjects preſented to them. Doctor *Barlow* Biſhop of *Lincoln* began, taking for his Text the 28 verſe of the 20 chap. of the *Acts*, whereby he took occaſion to prove out of the Scriptures and Fathers the Supremacy of Biſhops above Presbyters, and to ſhew the inconveniencies of Parity in the Church, with the Confuſion ariſing from the ſame. Dr. *Buckridge* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* took for his Text the Precept of the Apoſtle, *Omnis anima*, &c. Rom. 13. 1. where falling to ſpeak of the Kings Supremacy in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, he did handle that Point both ſoundly and learnedly, to the ſatisfaction of all the hearers: only it grieved the *Scots* Miniſters to hear the Pope and Presbytery ſo often

often equalled in their oppoſition to Sovereign Princes. Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Chicheſter* followed, who chuſed for his Text the firſt verſes of the 10. chapter of *Numbers*, confirming thirdly the power of Kings in Convocating Synods and Councils. The fourth was Dr. *King* Biſhop of *London*, he took for his Theme the 11 verſe of the 8 chapter of *Canticles*, and thereupon diſcourſing of the Office of Presbyters, did prove *Lay-Elders to have no place nor Office in the Church, and the late device to be without all warrant of Precept or Example, either in Scripture or in Antiquity.* This courſe his Majeſty took, as conceiving that ſome of the Miniſters ſhould be moved by force of Reaſon to quit their Opinions, and give place to the Truth: but that ſeldom happeneth where the mind is prepoſſeſſed with prejudice either againſt perſons or matter. *An.* 1606.

The Firſt audience was at *Hampton* the 22 of *September*; at which, beſides the Biſhops and Miniſters from *Scotland*, were preſent the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Argile*, *Glencarn*, Sir *Thomas Hamilton* Advocate, and Sir *Alexander Straiton*: of the *Engliſh*, Dr. *Montague* Dean of the Chappel was only admitted to ſtay. There the King, declaring the purpoſe for which he had called them, ſpake a few words to this effect: *That having left the Church of* Scotland *in peace at his parting forth of it, he did now hear of great diſturbances in the ſame; whereof he deſired to underſtand the true cauſe, and to have their advice how the ſame might beſt be removed, This being*, ſaid he, *the errand in general for which I have called you, I ſhould be glad to hear your opinions touching that meeting at* Aberdene, *where an handful of Miniſters, in contempt of my Authority, and againſt the diſcharge given them, did aſſemble; and though they were neither a ſufficient number, nor the accuſtomed order kept, they would take upon them to call it a General Aſſembly, and have ſince proudly maintained it, by declining my Council, and ſuch other means as they pleaſed to uſe. The rather I would hear your minds, becauſe I am informed that divers Miniſters do juſtifie that Meeting, and in their publick Preachings commend theſe Brethren as perſons diſtreſſed, which in effect is to proclaim me a Tyrant and Perſecutor.*

Mr. *James Melvil* anſwering firſt, ſaid, 'That there was no ſuch diſcharge gi- Mr. *James Melvil*'s anſwer in name of the reſt.
'ven to thoſe Miniſters that met at *Aberdene* as was alledged, adjuring Sir *Alex-*
'*ander Straiton*, who was ſaid to have given the charge, to declare in his Majeſties
'preſence how that matter was carried. As to the abſence of Moderator and Clerk,
'he ſaid that none of theſe were eſſential parts of an Aſſembly; and that the Mo-
'derator abſenting himſelf of purpoſe, and the Clerk refuſing to ſerve, the Bre-
'thren convened might lawfully create others in their places: ſo as the Miniſters
'having Warrant to convene from the Word of God, and from his Majeſties
'Laws, as alſo coming thither by direction of their Presbyteries, he could not in
'his conſcience condemn them.

Well then, ſaid the King, *I ſhall deſire you to anſwer me three things that I will ask. Firſt, If it be lawful to pray publickly for perſons convicted by the lawful Judge as perſons being in diſtreſs and afflicted.* 2. *Whether I may not, being a Chriſtian King, by my Authority Royal, convocate, and prorogue, and deſert, for juſt and neceſſary cauſes known to my ſelf, any Aſſemblies or Meetings within my Dominions.* 3. *Whether or not may I by my Authority call and convene before me and my Council what ſoever perſon or perſons, Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, for what ſoever offences commited by them in what ſoever place within my Dominions; and if I may not take cognition of the offence, and give ſentence therein. And farther, Whether or not are all my ſubjects, being cited to anſwer before me and my Council, obliged to compeir, and acknowledge me or them for Judges in theſe offences?* His Majeſty proponeth three Queſtions to them.

Mr. *James* anſwering, ſaid that the Queſtions were weighty, and craved a great deliberation; wherefore he would humbly entreat his Majeſty to grant them a time to confer and adviſe together, that they might all give one direct anſwer. This deſire granted, they were commanded to adviſe and meet together that night, and be ready to anſwer the next day. At this Meeting the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Northampton* with divers of the *Engliſh* Clergy were preſent. The Miniſters deſiring to have the Meeting more private, requeſted the Earl of *Dunbar* to move the A time is deſired by them and granted. The ſecond Audience.

An. 1606. King therein, and that none but *Scots*-men ſhould be preſent; *fearing* (as they ſaid) *that ſome unſeemly words might eſcape them.* But this was denied, and they warned to ſpeak with that reſpect which became ſubjects. It was believed that the King ſhould have begun with the Queſtions proponed in the former Meeting; but his Majeſty taking another courſe, required them to declare one by one their judgments touching *Aberdene* Aſſembly. The Biſhops (being firſt ask'd) did all condemn the Meeting as Turbulent, Factious, and Unlawful.

The Biſhops judgment of the Meeting at *Aberdene*.

Mr. *Andrew Melvil* then being enquired made anſwer, 'That he could not 'condemn the Aſſembly, being a private man: That he came into *England* upon 'his Majeſties Letter, without any Commiſſion from the Church of *Scotland*, 'and though he had Commiſſion *in dicta cauſa*, yet not hearing what they could 'ſay for themſelves, he could not give his judgment. Sentence he ſaid was gi-'ven againſt them in a Juſtice-Court; how juſtly, he did remit that to the great 'Judge: but for himſelf he would ſay as our Saviour did in another caſe, *Quis me 'conſtituit judicem?*

Mr. *Andrew Melvils* anſwer touching the ſame.

Mr. *James Balfour* being next ask'd, 'Did pray his Majeſty not to preſs him 'with any anſwer, for that he knew nothing would be well taken that proceeded 'from his mouth, and that Mr. *Andrew* had anſwered his mind ſufficiently.

Mr. *James Balfour* his anſwer.

Mr. *James Melvil*, without giving a direct anſwer, began to tell, 'That ſince 'his coming to *London* he had received divers Letters, and with them a Petition, 'that ſhould have been preſented to the late Parliament in behalf of the warded 'Miniſters, which he was deſired to offer unto his Majeſty, and, as he thought, 'the Petition would make all their minds known.

Mr. *Melvil* his anſwer.

The King taking the Petition and falling to read the ſame, willed the Advocate to go on and receive the anſwer of the reſt. And as the Advocate was queſtioning Mr. *William Scot*, and urging him with a diſtinct anſwer (for he uſed many circumlocutions, according to the cuſtom) Mr. *Andrew Melvil* in a great paſſion ſaid, *That he followed the inſtructions of Mr.* John Hamilton *his Uncle, who had poiſoned the North with his Papiſtry, and that he was now become* κατήγορ & τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. *Northampton* asking what he meant by that ſpeech; the King ſaid, he calleth him *the mickle Devil*: and then folding up the Petition, ſaid, *I ſee you are all ſet for maintaining that baſe Conventicle of* Aberdene. *But what anſwers have you to give to the Queſtions I moved?* It was anſwered, 'That they had 'conferred together, and finding them to concern the whole Church, they would 'not by their particular voices prejudge the ſame. *But you will not I truſt*, ſaid the King, *call my Authority in queſtion, and ſubject the determination of the ſame to your Aſſemblies.* 'This they ſaid was far from their thoughts; but if his Ma-'jeſty ſhould be pleaſed to ſet down in writing what he required, they ſhould la-'bour to give him ſatisfaction.

Mr. *William Scot* his anſwer interrupted by Mr. *Andrew Melvil*.

Thus were they diſmiſſed for that time, and being the next day called before the *Scottiſh* Council (for after this they were no more admitted to his Majeſties preſence) they were enquired whether they had in their publick prayers prayed for the warded Miniſters as perſons *afflicted, and ſufferers for Gods cauſe.* Some of them confeſſed that they had *prayed for them as perſons in trouble and diſtreſs*: others, that they had *commended them to God, but remembred not in what words.*

The Miniſters called before the *Scottiſh* Council.

The 20 of *October* they were again brought before the *Scots* Council, and had the three Queſtions delivered to them in writing, which they were commanded to anſwer ſeverally: meanwhile they were diſcharged to return into *Scotland* without his Majeſties licence, and prohibited to come towards the Queen and Princes Court. The Biſhops and others of the Clergy that aſſiſted them were permitted to return.

They are diſcharged to return into *Scotland*.

The Conference breaking up in this ſort, and matters made worſe rather than better, his Majeſties pleaſure concerning the warded Miniſters, which to this time had been delayed, was ſignified by two ſeveral Letters to the Council and Juſtice. The Letter to the Juſtice was as followeth. 'Whereas in our Juſtice-Court hold-'en at *Linlithgow* the 10 of *January* laſt, Mr. *John Forbes*, Miniſter of *Awford*, 'Mr. *John Welch* Miniſter at *Aire*, Mr. *Robert Dury* Miniſter at *Anſtruther*, Mr.

The Kings pleaſure touching the warded Miniſters.

'*Andrew*

'*Andrew Duncan* Miniſter at *Crail*, Mr. *Alexander Straughan* Miniſter at *Creich*, *An.* 1606.
'and Mr. *John Sharp* Miniſter at *Kilmeny*, were convicted of the crime of
'Treaſon, for their contemptuous and treaſonable declining the Judgment of
'us and the Lords our ſecret Council, by a Declinator ſubſcribed with their
'hands, and preſented in judgment before the ſaid Lords; and that the pro-
'nunciation of the doom was upon grave and weighty reſpects continued till
'our pleaſure was declared: We now, conſidering the great Inſolency committed
'by them, and how dangerous the example of ſuch a fact may prove if it ſhould
'go unpuniſhed, ſpecially ſince we of our accuſtomed lenity have given to theſe
'declared Traitors more than ſufficient time to have acknowledged their of-
'fence, and made ſute for our Pardon, and that yet nothing hath appeared in
'them but an obdured obſtinacy, without any token of reſipiſcence; albeit the
'greatneſs of the offence in men of their Function, whoſe actions ſhould be pat-
'terns of duty and obedience to others, hath demerited moſt juſtly the extre-
'mity of puniſhment appointed by Law; yet, according to our wonted Clemency,
'being willing to diſpenſe with the rigor of Law at this time, and not to inflict
'the puniſhment of death upon them, Our will and pleaſure is, that you affix a
'Juſtice-Court at *Linlithgow*, or any other place our Council ſhall appoint, the
'23 of *October*, and then cauſe doom of puniſhment forth of our Dominions
'during their natural lives to be pronounced againſt the ſaid Traitors: After
'which you ſhall return them to their Wards, there to remain for the ſpace of
'a month, till they have made their preparations to depart; before the expiring
'whereof if they do not depart, wind and weather ſerving, or being departed
'ſhall return unto our Dominions without our licence, the ordinary death uſual-
'ly inflicted upon Traitors ſhall be executed upon them. And becauſe this our
'Clemency extended towards theſe above named may perhaps move others to
'think, that for treſpaſſes of this quality no greater rigor will hereafter be u-
'ſed; to remove all ſuch conceits, and that notice may be taken of our full deter-
'mination in the like caſe, you ſhall in open Court make intimation to all our
'leiges, That if any hereafter ſhall offend in ſuch an high treſpaſs, they ſhall be
'puniſhed with all ſeverity, and the death due unto Traitors be inflicted upon
'them with all rigour, the example of this our preſent lenity notwithſtanding:
'And that it is our will you cauſe this to be recorded in your Books of Adjour-
'nal, and publication to be made thereof at the Market-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, and
'all other places needful.

The Letter to the Juſtice preſcribing the form of the Sentence.

By the Letter directed to the Council, Mr. *Charles Farum* was ordained to be confined in the Iſle of *Bute*, Mr. *John Monroe* in *Kintire*, Mr. *Robert Youngſon* in the Iſle of *Arran*, Mr. *James Irwyn* in *Orkney*, Mr. *William Forbes* in *Teteland*, Mr. *James Grey* in *Cathnes*, Mr. *Nathaniel Inglis* in *Sutherland*, and Mr. *John Roſſe* in *Lewis*.

A Letter from his Majeſty to the Council.

The Juſtice as he was commanded did keep his Court at *Linlithgow*, and pronounced the Sentence and doom in the manner preſcribed. Meſſengers were alſo directed to charge the other Miniſters to enter into the parts appointed for their confining, and not to exceed the ſame without licence, under pain of death. After which a Proclamation was made inhibiting all Miniſters to *recommend either in their ſermons or prayers the perſons ſo ſentenced.*

The Sentence pronounced by the Juſtice.

And leſt the Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, and others of their Faction, ſhould preſume of any overſight to be given to them becauſe of theſe proceedings againſt the Seditious Miniſters, they were in like ſort commanded by Proclamation *to depart forth of the Realm, and all the ſubjects inhibited to reſſet or entertain them, under the pain of his Majeſties diſpleaſure.*

A Proclamation againſt Jeſuites.

Mr. *Andrew Melvil*, that would not be idle, and was ſtill ſpeaking againſt the Orders of the *Engliſh* Church, having diſperſed ſome bitter and ſcornful verſes againſt the Rites uſed in his Majeſties Chappel, which was brought to the King by one of the Chaplains, was called before the Council of *England*, and charged with the injuring of the State and Church: where, in ſtead of acknowledging his offence, he behaved himſelf inſolently, and more like a mad man than Divine; for

Mr. *Andrew Melvil* committed to the Tower.

An. 1606. for which he was committed in the Tower of *London*. There he remained three years and more, and afterwards, upon the Duke of *Bulloign* his requeſt, was ſent to *Sedan*, where he lived in no great reſpect, and contracting the Gout lay almoſt bedfaſt to his death.

The Obſervation of the Writer.

Whileſt I am writing this, there cometh to my mind the hard and uncharitable dealing that he and his Faction uſed towards *Patrick* ſometimes Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, who not content to have perſecuted that worthy man in his life, made him a long time after his death the ſubject of their Sermons, interpreting the miſeries whereunto he was brought to be the judgment of God inflicted upon him for withſtanding their courſes of Diſcipline. If now one ſhould take the like liberty, and ſay, That God, to whom the Biſhop at his dying did commend his cauſe, had taken revenge of him who was the chief inſtrument of his trouble, it might be as probably ſpoken, and with ſome more likelihood, than that which they blaſted forth againſt the dead Biſhop. But away with ſuch raſh and bold conceits; the love of God either to cauſes or perſons is not to be meaſured by theſe external and outward accidents.

An Aſſembly indicted at *Linlithgow*.

But leaving this, the King being very deſirous to have the Church quieted, and a ſolid and conſtant Order eſtabliſhed for preventing the like offences, did call a General Aſſembly to meet at *Linlithgow* the 10 of *December*: and for the better ordering of buſineſs, directed the Earl of *Dunbar* to attend the Meeting. At the day many convened both Miniſters and others. Of Miniſters there were reckoned one hundred thirty ſix; of Noblemen, Barons and others, thirty and three. Mr. *James Nicolſon* elected to preſide, the Earl of *Dunbar* preſented a

His Majeſties Letter to the Aſſembly.

Letter from his Majeſty to this effect: 'That it was not unknown what pains he 'had taken whileſt he lived amongſt them, as well to root out Popery as to ſettle 'a good and perfect Order in the Church; and that notwithſtanding of his care 'beſtowed that way, he had been continually vexed by the jealouſies of ſome per-'verſe Miniſters, who traducing his beſt actions gave out amongſt the people, 'that all he went about was to thrall the Liberty of the Goſpel. Neither con-'tent thus to have wronged him, they had in his abſence factiouſly banded them-'ſelves againſt ſuch of their Brethren as had given their concurrence to the fur-'therance of his Majeſties juſt intentions: upon the knowledge whereof he did 'lately call the moſt calm and moderate, as he eſteemed, of both ſides unto his 'Court, thinking to have pacified matters, and removed the Diviſions ariſen in 'the Church; but matters not ſucceeding as he wiſhed, he had taken purpoſe to 'convene them, for ſetting down ſuch Rules as he hoped ſhould prevent the like 'troubles in after times, which he had intruſted to his Commiſſioner the Earl of '*Dunbar*: willing them to conſider what was moſt fitting for the peace of the 'Church, and to apply themſelves to the obedience of his directions, as they did 'expect his favor.

An Overture ſent from his Majeſty to the Aſſembly.

After the reading of the Letter the Overture was preſented, conceived in this form, 'That his Majeſty, apprehending the greateſt cauſes of the miſgovern-'ment of Church affairs to be, that the ſame are often, and almoſt ordinarily, 'committed to ſuch as for lack of wiſdom and experience are no way able to 'keep things in a good frame; for remedying this inconvenient, thinketh 'meet that preſently there be nominated in every Presbytery one of the moſt 'grave, godly, and of greateſt authority and experience, to have the care of the 'Presbytery where he remained, till the preſent jarrs and fire of diſſenſion 'which is among the Miniſtery, and daily encreaſeth, to the hinderance of the 'Goſpel, be quenched and taken away; and the Noblemen profeſſing Papiſtry 'within the Kingdom be either reduced to the profeſſion of the Truth, or then 'repreſſed by juſtice and a due execution of the Laws; and for encouragement 'of the ſaid Moderators, and the enabling them to the attendance of the 'Church affairs, his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to allow every of them one 'hundred pounds *Scots*, or two hundred Marks, according to the quality of their 'Charge; but where the Biſhops are reſident, his Majeſty will have them to mo-'derate and preſide in theſe Mettings. As likewiſe becauſe it often falleth out

'that

'that matters cannot be decided in Presbyteries, by reaſon of the difficulties 'that ariſe, and that the cuſtom is to remit the deciſion thereof to the Synod of the 'Diocie; It is his Majeſties advice, that the Moderation of theſe Aſſemblies be 'committed to the Biſhops, who ſhall be burthened with the delation of Papiſts, 'and ſolicitation of juſtice againſt thoſe that will not be brought to obedience, in 'reſpect his Majeſty hath beſtowed on them places and means to bear out the 'charges and burthens of difficil and dangerous actions, which other Miniſters 'cannot ſo well ſuſtain and undergo. *An.* 1606.

This overture ſeeming to import a great alteration in the Diſcipline was not well accepted of divers: but his Majeſties Commiſſioner having declared that it was ſo far from the Kings purpoſe to make any change in the preſent Diſcipline, as he did not long for any thing more than to have it rightly ſetled, and all theſe eyeliſts removed which had given him ſo juſt occaſion of diſcontent; they deſired a time to deliberate, and that a number of the moſt wiſe and learned might be ſelected to confer thereupon, and report their opinions to the Aſſembly. Some Brethren deputed undergo to conſider the overture.

The Brethren named in this Conference having debated every point at length, and conſidered the inconveniencies that might ariſe by the change, eſpecially the uſurpation that was feared theſe conſtant Moderators ſhould make upon their Brethren, reſolved that the Overture proponed was not to be refuſed, ſo as certain Cautions were added, which were condeſcended to in manner following. The Overture embraced with ſome Cautions.

First, That the Moderators of Presbyteries and Provincial Aſſemblies ſhould not preſume to do any thing of themſelves, without the advice and conſent of their Brethren. Cautions for the conſtant Moderators.

2. That they ſhould uſe no farther Juriſdiction nor power than Moderators have been in uſe of by the Conſtitutions of the Church.

3. If it ſhould happen the Moderators to be abſent at any time from theſe Meetings, it ſhould be in the power of Synods and Presbyteries to nominate another for moderating in their abſence.

4. When the place of a Moderator in any Presbyterie ſhould be void, the election of one to ſucceed ſhould be made by the whole Synod with conſent of his Majeſties Commiſſioner.

5. If any of the Moderators ſhould depart this life betwixt Aſſemblies, it ſhould be lawful to the Presbyteries to nominate one of the moſt grave and worthy of their number for the place unto the meeting of the next Synod.

6. That the Moderators of the Presbyteries ſhould be ſubject to the trial and cenſure of the Synod; and in caſe they uſurped any farther power over the Brethren than is given them by the Aſſembly, the ſame ſhould be a cauſe of Deprivation from their Office of Moderation, and they deprived thereof by the ſaid Synods.

7. In like manner the Moderator of the Provincial Aſſembly ſhould be tried and cenſured by the General Aſſembly; and in caſe he was found remiſs, or to have uſurped any farther power than the ſimple place of a Moderator, he ſhould be deprived therefore by the General Aſſembly.

8. That the Moderators of every Presbytery and Synod with their Scribes ſhould be aſtricted to be preſent at the General Aſſembly, and be reputed members thereof, by bringing with them the Regiſters of the Acts and proceedings in their Meetings to be ſeen, that ſo their diligence and fidelity in their Charges might be known.

9. That it ſhould be lawful to each Presbytery to ſend two or three Commiſſioners to the General Aſſembly by and beſides the Moderator and Scribe, if they ſhould think it convenient.

10. That the Moderator of the General Aſſembly ſhould be choſen by the voices of the whole Aſſembly, lites being firſt made and proponed, as in times paſſed.

11. That

An. 1606.

11. That in the Synods where there is not a Biſhop actually reſident, the like lite ſhould be made of the Moderators of the Presbyteries within theſe bounds, and one of them elected to moderate the ſame Aſſembly, ſo as his Majeſties Commiſſioners give their advice thereunto.

And laſtly, That the Rolls of Moderators in every Presbytery ſhould be examined, to ſee if there was any other of the number fit to uſe the ſaid Office; and that they whom this preſent Aſſembly ſhould nominate, ſhould accept the ſaid Moderation upon them without making any ſhift or excuſe.

The Cautions and Overture approved.

Theſe Cautions being read in the full Aſſembly were approved of all, and the Overture thereafter put to voices was allowed, and the ſame enacted as a Concluſion of the whole Aſſembly, four only of the whole number diſaſſenting; other four refuſing to vote becauſe they had no Commiſſion, as they pretended, from their Presbyteries, and two anſwering, *Non liquet.* This Concluſion taken, the Rolls of Presbyteries were called, and none found more ſufficient than they who did preſently moderate theſe Meetings; whereupon an Ordinance was made, that they ſhould continue in their Charges, and not be altered, unleſs the Synod did make another choice.

A complaint of the Papiſts and their inſolency.

This buſineſs ended, a great complaint was made of the inſolency of Papiſts, chiefly in the North parts, and of the Superſtitions uſed at the Burials of the Lord *Ogilvy* and Laird of *Gight*, who had deceaſed a few months before. The Marquiſs of *Huntley* being alſo returned lately from Court, had given out that he brought a Warrant from his Majeſty to ſtay all Eccleſiaſtical proceedings againſt him, his Lady and family: by which reports thoſe of the Roman profeſſion were not a little encouraged, and were become open contemners of the Cenſures of the Church.

Petition from the Aſſembly to his Majeſty.

Theſe complaints being greatly taken to heart by the whole Aſſembly, it was concluded that a Petition ſhould be preferred to his Majeſty in all their names, for confining the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol*, with their Ladies, in ſome Cities and Towns where they might by the hearing of the Word and conference with learned men be reduced from their Errors, at leaſt kept from doing harm, and from the perverting of others. To preſent this Petition and the Act of conſtant Moderators, choice was made of Mr. *James Law* Biſhop of *Orkney*, and he diſpatched the Court; which done, the Aſſembly brake up and diſſolved with the good ſatisfaction of all.

His Majeſties anſwer.

Nor was it long before the Kings anſwer returned in theſe particulars. And firſt, concerning the Marquiſs of *Huntley*, his Majeſty declared, 'That he had obtained 'no Warrant for impeding the Church-diſcipline, neither againſt himſelf or any 'of his family; and that only (becauſe he affirmed that he had kept all the Injun-'ctions preſcrived, except that he had not Communicated) the Council was de-'ſired after trial of his obedience in the reſt of the particulars enjoyned, to com-'mand the Presbyteries of the North to ſtay their proceedings againſt him for his 'not Communicating, concerning which point he had certified the Marquiſs, that 'howſoever ſome ſpace was granted to him for his better reſolution, if he did per-'ſiſt in his Errors, and would not be reclaimed, he would make no other reckoning 'of him than of one that ſtudied to make himſelf the head of a Faction, and rather 'root him out, than nouriſh him in his follies by a prepoſterous Toleration.

His Majeſties pleaſure touching the Popiſh Noblemen.

As to the Confining of him and the other Noblemen in the Cities and places ſet down in the Aſſemblies Petition, 'His Majeſty did think it too rigorous, unleſs 'they were tried to have committed ſome offence deſerving the ſame. Wherefore 'he would have them called before the Council, the Biſhop of the Diocy, Mo-'derator of the Presbytery, and the Miniſter of the Pariſh being preſent, and en-'quired concerning their behavior, and whether they did reſort or not ordinari-'ly to Sermon; wherein if they ſhould be tried to have tranſgreſſed, his pleaſure 'was they ſhould be confined within ſo many miles compaſs as are diſtant betwixt 'the Houſes of their reſidence and the City wherein it was deſired they ſhould be 'confined, to the end they may repair to their houſes when the neceſſity of their

'buſineſs

'buſineſs requireth, and at other times reſort to the City or Town deſigned for *An.* 1607.
'their inſtruction, where they ſhould be tied to ſtay ten days together, and du-
'ring their ſtay hear Sermons, admit conference, and forbear the company of Je-
'ſuites, Seminary Prieſts and others of that profeſſion. And if it ſhould happen
'them to have any buſineſs in Council or Seſſion, that licence ſhould be granted
'unto them for repairing thither during a certain ſpace, providing they did reſort
'to the Church, and gave no ſcandal by their behavior.

For the Superſtitious Rites uſed at the Burial of the Lord *Ogilvy* and *Gight*, 'His Majeſties pleaſure was, that their Sons ſhould be called before the Council 'and committed; but no ſentence ſhould be given, till the whole circumſtances 'were tried and notified to him.

As touching the concluſion taken for the conſtant Moderators, 'His Majeſty Direction to the Council for conſtant Moderators.
'did thank them for their travels: But whereas they were of opinion that the Act
'ſhould be univerſally received (for ſo much the Aſſembly had written) he ſaid,
'that he knew them too well to expect any ſuch thing at their hands. Their con-
'ſcientious zeal to maintain Parity, and a deſire to keep all things in a continual
'conſtant volubility, he ſaid was ſuch as they would never agree to a ſetled form of
'Government. Beſides, he knew that divers of theſe who were nominated to the
'places of Moderation would refuſe to accept the ſame, leſt they ſhould be thought
'to affect Superiority above their brethren. That therefore he would have the
'Council to look to that buſineſs, and direct Charges as well for thoſe that were
'nominated to accept the Moderation, as to the Miniſters of every Presbytery to
'acknowledge them that were nominated.

The event juſtified his Majeſties opinion, for all the next year there was no mat- *An.* 1607.
ter that ſo troubled the Council as that of the conſtant Moderator. The Synod of The Synod of *Perth* diſcharged.
Perth, convening in *March* thereafter, did in direct oppoſition of the Act concluded at *Linlithgow* inhibite all the Presbyteries within their bounds to acknowledge the concluſion taken in that Meeting, and diſcharged Mr. *Alexander Lindeſay* Parſon of *Simmedoſe*, who was nominated by the Aſſembly Moderator of *Perth*, to exerciſe the ſaid Office under pain of the Cenſure of the Church. The Synod being cited before the Council for this Preſumption, was diſcharged to meet thereafter, and the Presbyteries within the bounds commanded under the pain of Rebellion to accept their Moderators.

In *Fife* the reſiſtence was no leſs; for the Synod being continued twice, firſt The Synod of *Fife* diſcharged.
from *April* to *June*, then from *June* to *September*, meeting at that time in *Dyſert*, and preſſed by the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Scone* and *Halirudhouſe*, Commiſſioners from the Council, to accept the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* for their Moderator, did obſtinately refuſe, and diſſolved without doing any thing: hereupon was that Synod likewiſe diſcharged, and all the Burghs inhibited to receive them, if perhaps they ſhould reaſſemble after the Commiſſioners were gone. The Presbyteries of *Merſ* were alſo very troubleſome, and the Council ſo vexed with complaints of that kind, as not a day paſſed without ſome one or other. But all this oppoſition proved vain, and they in end forced to obey, did find by experience this ſetled courſe much better than their circular elections.

A Commiſſion came in this mean time for planting ſome learned and worthy A Provoſt placed in the new College of S. *Andrews*.
perſon in the place of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* at S. *Andrews*. The Commiſſion was directed to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, the Biſhops of *Dunkeld*, *Roſſe* and *Brichen*, the Lord *Balmerinoch*, the Advocate, the Laird of *Balcomy*, and Commiſſar of S. *Andrews*; who meeting in the new College the 16 of *June*, after the reading of his Majeſties Letters (whereby it was declared, That the ſaid Mr. *Andrew* being judged by the Council of *England* to have treſpaſſed in the higheſt ſort againſt his Majeſty, and for the ſame committed to the Tower till he ſhould receive his juſt puniſhment, was no more to return to that charge) they, according to the power given them, did proceed and make choice of Mr. *Robert Howy* to be provoſt of the ſaid College, ordaining him to be inveſted in the ſaid Office with all the immunities and privileges accuſtomed. Which was accordingly performed in the *July* thereafter, and he entred to his Charge the 27 of that month.

It

An. 1608. The Miniſters permitted to return from *London.*

It remained that ſome courſe ſhould be taken with the Miniſters that were ſtayed at *London*; as it was once purpoſed, they were to be provided with ſome Livings in *England*: but that Church not liking to entertain ſuch gueſts, they were all permitted to return home, upon their promiſe to live obedient and peaceable. M. *James Melvil* was only retained, who living a while confined at *Newcaſtle*, was after ſome months licenſed to come to *Berwick*, where he deceaſed. A man of good learning, ſober and modeſt; but ſo addicted to the courſes of Mr. *Andrew Melvil* his Uncle, as by following him he loſt the Kings favor, which once he enjoyed in a good meaſure, and ſo made himſelf and his labours unprofitable to the Church.

Alexander Lord *Spynie* killed.

Now let us ſee what happened in the Kingdom during this time. The King was ever ſeriouſly commending to the Council the removing of the barbarous Feuds wherewith he had been ſo greatly troubled, divers whereof by their travels were this year agreed: yet new occaſions daily ariſing, they were kept in a continual buſineſs. *David Lindeſay* younger of *Edyel*, ſeeking to revenge the ſlaughter of his Uncle Mr. *Walter Lindeſay*, whom *David* Maſter of *Crawford* had killed, as he lay in wait of the ſaid Maſter (who was then by the deceaſe of his Father ſucceeded in the Earldom) through a pitiful miſtake did invade *Alexander* Lord *Spynie*, and killed him in ſtead of the other. The Noblemans death was much regrated for the many good parts he had, and the hopes his friends conceived that he ſhould have raiſed again that noble and ancient houſe of *Crawford* to the former ſplendor and dignity, all which periſhed with him. He that was in place and eſcaped the peril being a baſe unworthy prodigal, and the undoer of all that by the virtue of his Anceſtors had been long kept together.

Trouble betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and Lord *Maxwel.*

Another buſineſs no leſs troubleſome did alſo then happen betwixt the Earl of *Morton* and the Lord *Maxwel*, for holding of Courts in *Eskdale*, unto which both did pretend right. The preparation on both ſides was great, and like to have cauſed much unquietneſs, if the ſame had not been carefully prevented. Both parties being charged by the Council to diſſolve their forces, and not to come towards the bounds; the Earl of *Morton* obeyed: *Maxwel* contemning the charge went on, and by a cartel did appeal *Morton* to the combate; whereupon he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and after ſome two months ſtay made an eſcape. No ſooner found he himſelf at liberty, than he fell a plotting the Laird of *Johnſtons* murther, which he wrought in a moſt treacherous manner. He pretending to uſe his friendſhip in obtaining his Majeſties Pardon, employed Sir *Robert Maxwel* of *Orchardtown*, whoſe Siſter *Johnſton* had married, to draw on a meeting betwixt them, as he did: at a little hill called *Achmanhill* they did bring each of them one ſervant only, as was agreed, the ſaid Sir *Robert* being preſent as a friend to both. At meeting after they had courteouſly ſaluted one another, and conferred a little ſpace very friendly, the two ſervants going aſide, the one called *Charles Maxwel* a Brother of *Kirkhouſe*, the other *William Johnſton* of *Locherby*, *Charles* falleth in quarrelling, the other ſhooteth a piſtol at him; the Laird of *Johnſton* making to part them, the Lord *Maxwel* ſhooteth him in the back with two bullets, whereupon he falleth, and for a while keeping off the Lord *Maxwel*, who made to ſtrike him with his ſword, expired in the place. It was the 6 of *April* in the year 1608 that this happened. The fact was deteſted by all honeſt men, and the Gentlemans misfortune ſore lamented; for he was a man full of wiſdom and courage, and every way well inclined, and to have been by his too much confidence in this ſort treacherouſly cut off was a thing moſt pitiful. *Maxwel*, aſhamed of that he had done, forſook the Country, and had his Eſtate forfeited. Some years after ſtealing quietly into the Kingdom he was apprehended in the Country of *Cathnes*, and beheaded at *Edinburgh* the 21 of *May* 1613.

Maxwel committed maketh an eſcape.

The Laird of *Johnſton* moſt treacherouſly killed by *Maxwel.*

An. 1608.

Maxwel beheaded.

The purpoſe of civilizing the Iſles was this year again renewed, and a long Treaty kept with the Marqueſs of *Huntley* thereupon; but he breaking off by reaſon of the ſmall duty he did offer for the North Iſles, the Earl of *Argile* was made Lieutenant thereof for the ſpace of ſix months, in which time it was hoped that ſome good ſhould be wrought, and the people reduced to good manners: yet nothing was done to any purpoſe, the great men of thoſe parts ſtudying only the increaſe

The Earl of *Argile* made Lieutenant of the Iſles.

creaſe of their own Grandeur, and ſtriving whoſe command ſhould be greateſt. *An.* 1608.

In the Parliament of *England* that held in *November* preceding the matter of Union received many croſſings, and of all the Articles condeſcended among the Commiſſioners only that was enacted which concerneth the aboliſhing of hoſtile Laws. The King grieved at this exceedingly, and conceiving that the work ſhould more eaſily be effected if a beginning was made in *Scotland*, did call a Parliament in *Auguſt*, which was kept by *Lodowick* Duke of *Lennox*, as Commiſſioner for his Majeſty, the Earl of *Montroſs* being then deceaſed. The Eſtates, to ſatisfie the Kings deſire, did allow all the Articles concluded in the Treaty, with a proviſion, *That the ſame ſhould be in like manner ratified by the Parliament of* England, *otherwiſe the Concluſions taken ſhould not have the ſtrength of a Law.* It was alſo declared, *that if the Union ſhould happen to take effect, the Kingdom notwithſtanding ſhould remain an abſolute and free Monarchy, and the Fundamental Laws receive no alteration.* But the Parliament of *England* either diſliking the Union, as fearing ſome prejudice by it to their Eſtate, or upon ſome other hidden cauſe, did touch no more the buſineſs; and ſo that good Work, tending to the advantage of both Kingdoms, was left and quite deſerted.

A Parliament in *Scotland* for the Union.

Proviſion for the Union.

In the Church a new Trouble was moved by the revolt that *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* made; divers eſpecially in the North parts falling away by their example. This being repreſented to the King, he gave order for calling an Aſſembly which convened at *Linlithgow* in the end of *July*. Therein the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Winton*, and *Lothian* ſate Commiſſioners for the King. The Biſhop of *Orkney*, elected to preſide, having ſhewed the occaſion of the preſent Meeting to be the growth and increaſe of Papiſts in all the quarters of the Kingdom, it was thought meet to take up the names of thoſe that made open profeſſion of Popery, and likewiſe of thoſe that were ſuſpected to favour the courſe, that their number and forces being known, the remedies might be the better adviſed and provided.

An Aſſembly in *Linlithgow* for reſtraining Papiſts.

The number was found to be very great, chiefly in the North, and the Marquis of *Huntley* delated by all as the only cauſe of the defection in thoſe bounds. He being cited to appear before the Aſſembly under the pain of Excommunication, and neither compeiring nor ſending any excuſe, was ordained to be Excommunicated, and the Sentence accordingly pronounced in the hearing of the whole Aſſembly. This was appointed to be intimated in all the Churches, and no Abſolution given upon whatſoever offers, in regard of his manifold Apoſtaſies, without the advice of the General Church. The like courſe was concluded to be kept with *Angus*, *Arrol*, and the Lord *Semple*, how ſoon the Proceſſes intended againſt them were brought to an end.

The Marquis of *Huntley* Excommunicated.

This done, the Aſſembly began to rip up the cauſes of the defection more narrowly; which they found to proceed from the Miniſters in a part, their negligence in Teaching and Catechiſing of people, the too ſuddain admiſſion of young men into the Miniſtery, and the diſtraction of minds among thoſe that are admitted: for remedy whereof it was ordained as followeth.

The cauſes of the defection partly in the Church.

The Remedies of the ſame.

Firſt that they ſhould apply themſelves to the exerciſe of their Function with greater diligence than they were accuſtomed, and take a ſpecial care of young Children, to ſee them inſtructed in the Belief, the Lords Prayer and Ten Commandments, whereof they ſhould examine every child at the age of ſix years, and yearly enquire of their profiting and increaſe in knowledge.

2. That ſome longer time ſhould be preſcrived for the admiſſion of men to the Miniſtery, and the exceptions contained in the Act of the age of Miniſters to be admitted reſerved to the cognition of the General Aſſembly.

3. That they uſe a greater diligence in the proceſſing of Papiſts, and that none out of corrupt favour ſhould grant them any overſight under the pain of Depoſition.

4. That all who carried Office in the Church ſhould be careful to eſchew offences, and endeavor to keep love and peace among themſelves.

5. And for the preſent diſtractions in the Church, ſeeing the ſame did ariſe partly

An. 1608. from a diverſity of opinions touching the external Government of the Church, and partly from divided affections, the laſt of theſe two being the moſt dangerous, as not ſuffering the Brethren to unite themſelves againſt the common enemy; they were all in the fear of God exhorted to lay down whatſoever grudge or rancor they had conceived, and to be reconciled in heart and affection one to another: Which all that were preſent did faithfully promiſe, by the holding up their hands.

The cauſe of the defection proceeding from others.

But the fault not being in the Miniſters alone, and ſeen to proceed from other cauſes alſo, as from the overſight of Jeſuites and Prieſts, and their entertainment in the Country, the preferment of men to publick offices that were ſuſpected in Religion, the favor ſhewed to Papiſts by them in places of chief authority, Maſs-Prieſts admitted without his Majeſties Warrant, and no ſecurity taken for their not returning, Licences granted to Noblemens ſons for going abroad, and their education truſted to men of contrary profeſſion, advocation to the Council of matters properly belonging to the Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories, and the lack of Preachers in many parts of the land; It was concluded that certain Petitions ſhould be formed and preſented to his Majeſty by ſome ſelected Commiſſioners for remedying theſe evils, which were formed in this manner.

Supplication to his Majeſty for redreſs of theſe evils. Petitions to his Majeſty for repreſſing Popery.

First, that an humble ſupplication ſhould be made by the whole Aſſembly, intreating his Majeſty not to permit any Papiſt or ſuſpected of Popery to bear charge in Council, Seſſion, or in any Burgh or City; and where his Majeſty did know any ſuch to occupy theſe places, humbly to crave that order might be taken for their removing.

2. That the Laws made againſt Papiſts ſhould receive execution, and no favor be granted unto them by the Officers of State; with a Prohibition to the Council to meddle in affairs Eccleſiaſtical, or to diſcharge the proceſſes led by Miniſters againſt Papiſts and others contemners of Church-Diſcipline.

3. That Papiſts abjuring their Religion in hope of preferment to Offices of State ſhould not be admitted thereto, till they had given five years probation at leaſt.

4. That the Sons of Noblemen profeſſing Popery ſhould be committed to the cuſtody of ſuch of their friends as are found in Religion.

5. That a Commiſſion ſhould be granted to every Biſhop within his Dioceſe, and to ſuch well-affected Noblemen, Barons and Gentlemen as the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly ſhould nominate, for apprehending of Jeſuites, Seminary Prieſts, Excommunicated Papiſts, and traffickers againſt Religion.

6. That the Searchers of Ships ſhould ſeiſe upon all Books that are brought unto the Country, and preſent them to the Miniſters of the Town where the Ships ſhall happen to arrive.

7. That Excommunicate Papiſts be put in cloſe priſon, and none have acceſs unto them but ſuch as are known to be of ſound Religion.

8. That the Deputies of Excommunicates be not ſuffered to enjoy any Office under them, and that ſome others be appointed by his Majeſty to ſerve in their places.

9. Finally, that his Majeſty ſhould be humbly intreated to plant the unprovided Churches, eſpecially the Churches of the Chappel Royal, with competent Stipends.

The Commiſſioners choſen to preſent theſe Petitions were, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Earl of *Wigton*, the Lord *Kilſith*, Mr. *William Couper* Miniſter at *Perth*, and *James Nisbit* Burgeſs of *Edinburgh*. Together with the Petitions they received a Letter from the Aſſembly conceived in theſe terms.

HAving convened in this General Aſſembly by your Majeſties favorable licence and permiſſion, and ſhadowed under your Majeſties wings with the preſence of your Majeſties Commiſſioners, we did ſet our ſelves principally to conſider the cauſe

cauſe of the late growth of Papiſts among us, and found by an univerſal complaint the chief cauſe to be this, that where the Church in theſe parts was accuſtomed to be nouriſhed by your Majeſties Fatherly affection, as the moſt kind Parent of Piety and Religion, we have been left in the hands of unkind Stepfathers, who eſteeming us an uncouth birth to them have intreated us hardly, and cheriſhed our adverſaries by all means they could, as your Majeſties Highneſs will perceive more clearly by the overtures for remedy, which in all humble ſubmiſſion we preſent to your Majeſty by theſe honorable Commiſſioners and Brethren, humbly intreating your Majeſty to take compaſſion upon us, your Majeſties loving Children in this Land, that we may be taken out of the hands of theſe who are more ready to deliver the heads of the Kings Sons to Jehu, *if the time were anſwerable to their wiſhes, than to nouriſh and bring them up to perfection.* An. 1608.

There is no cauſe, Sir, why the Apoſtates who have lately grown up in this Land ſhould be feared, whatever they be in eſtate or number; for with them are the golden Calves, which God will deſtroy; with them is Dagon, whoſe ſecond fall ſhall be worſe than the firſt: but with your Majeſty is the Lord your God to fight for you, and under your ſtandard are the beſt of the Nobility, the greateſt number of Barons, and all your Majeſties Burgeſſes, unſpotted in Religion, and reſolute all of them, for Gods Honor and your Majeſties preſervation, to ſpend their goods and lives and whatever is dear to them. We alſo your Majeſties humble ſervants, the Biſhops and Miniſters of the Goſpel in this Land, now reconciled to others with a moſt hearty affection, by your Majeſties only means and the careful labors of your Majeſties truſty Councellor and our very good Lord, the Earl of Dunbar, *are for our parts moſt ready to all ſervice in our Callings to ſtir up your Majeſties ſubjects by the word that God hath put in our mouths, to the performing of that obedience which God and Nature doth oblige them unto, and by Gods grace ſhall go before them in all good enſample. Theſe things we leave to be delivered by our Commiſſioners, whom we beſeech your Majeſty to hear graciouſly, and after ſome favourable conſideration of our caſe and preſent ſuits, to give ſuch anſwer as in your Highneſs wiſdom ſhall be thought fitteſt. And now with our humble thanks to your Majeſty for the liberty granted to meet in this Aſſembly, and our moſt hearty prayers to God Almighty for your Highneſs long life and proſperous Reign, we reſt.*

This Letter was ſubſcribed by the Earls of *Crawford*, *Glencarn* and *Kinghorne*, the Lords *Lindeſay*, *Baclengh*, *Salton*, *Lowdon*, *Torphichen*, *Blantire*, *Scone*, *Halirudhouſe*, and a great number of the Clergy and Barons.

The Chancellor hearing of the Aſſemblies proceedings, and ſuppoſing himſelf to be ſpecially aimed at in all that buſineſs (wherein he was not miſtaken) moved the Secretary to take journy to Court for obviating theſe courſes ſo far as he might. But he at his coming did meet with a buſineſs that concerned himſelf more nearly, for about the ſame time Cardinal *Bellarmine* had publiſhed an Anſwer to the Kings Apology, and therein charged him with *inconſtancy*, objecting a *Letter that he had ſent to* Clement *the Eighth whileſt he lived in* Scotland, *in which he had recommended to his Holineſs the Biſhop of* Vaiſon *for abtaining the dignity of a Cardinal, that ſo he might be the more able to odvance his affairs in the Court of* Rome. The Treatiſe coming to the Kings hands, and he falling upon that paſſage, did preſently conceive that he had been abuſed by his Secretary, which he remembred had moved on a time for ſuch a Letter, and thereupon began to think that among the Letters ſent to the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Florence*, at the time another might have been ſhuffled in to the Pope, and his hand ſurreptitiouſly got thereunto. The Secretaries journey to Court.

The King lay then at *Royſton*, and the Secretary coming thither, he inquired if any ſuch Letter had been ſent to the Pope at any time. The Secretary apprehending no danger, and thinking that his policy in procuring the Popes favour to the King ſhould not be ill interpreted, confeſſed, 'that ſuch a Letter he had written by his 'Majeſties own knowledge. But perceiving the King to wax angry, he fell on his knees and intreated mercy, 'ſeeing that which he had done was out of a good mind, 'and deſire to purchaſe the Popes favour, which might at that time have advanced his Title to *England*. He is charged for writing a Letter to the Pope, & ſtealing his Majeſties hand thereto.

An. 1608. The King then putting him in mind of the challenge made by the late Queen in the year 1599 for writing the ſame Letter, and how being at that time queſtioned thereupon he had not only denied his own knowledge thereof, but likewiſe moved Sir *Edward Drummond*, who carried the Letter to the Pope, to come into *Scotland* and abjure the ſame; he anſwered, 'That he did not think the matter would 'be brought again in hearing, and that fearing his Majeſties offence he had deni-'ed the Letter, and had moved his Couſin Sir *Edward* to do the like; but now 'that he ſaw that which he had done in the politick courſe turned to the Kings re-'proach, with many tears he beſought his Majeſty to pardon his fault, and not 'to undo him who was his own creature, and willing to ſuffer what he thought 'meet for repairing the offence. The King replying that the fault was greater than he apprehended, and that it could not be ſo eaſily paſſed, enjoyned him to go to *London*, and keep his chamber till he returned thither.

The Secretary charged with the fault before the Council.

After ſome eight days the King returned to *White-hall*, where the Secretary was brought before the Council, and charged with the fault; which the Lords did aggravate in ſuch manner, as they made the ſame to be the ground of all the Conſpiracies deviſed againſt the King ſince his coming into *England*, eſpecially of the Powder-Treaſon. *For the Papiſts*, ſaid they, *finding themſelves diſappointed of the hopes which that Letter did give them, had taken the deſperate courſe which they followed, to the endangering of his Majeſties Perſon, Poſterity, and whole Eſtates.*

His anſwer to the Lords of the Council.

The Secretary, having heard their diſcourſes, kneeled to the ground, and fetching a deep ſigh, ſpake to this effect, *Curæ leves loquuntur, ingentes ſtupent.* 'My 'Lords, I cannot ſpeak nor find words to expreſs the grief I have conceived for 'the offence committed by me againſt my gracious Sovereign: for on the one 'ſide, when I call to mind his Majeſties favors beſtowed upon me, having raiſed 'me out of the duſt, to a fortune far exceeding my merit, and, on the other 'ſide, I look to my foul fault in abuſing his Majeſties truſt, bringing thereby ſuch 'an imputation upon his innocency as will hardly be taken away; I muſt with the 'forlorn child ſay, *Peccavi in cœlum & terram:* my offence is great, I confeſs, 'nor am I worthy to be reckoned any longer among his Majeſties ſubjects or ſer-'vants. His Majeſties rare Piety, ſingular Wiſdom, and unſpotted Sincerity in all 'his actions, whereof I had ſo long experience, might have taught me, that when 'he refuſed to have any dealing with the Pope, the event of the courſe I took 'could not be good; but I unhappy man would needs follow the way which to 'me ſeemed beſt, and whereof I find now the ſmart. If no other thing can libe-'rate his Majeſty of this imputation cauſed by my folly, let neither my life nor 'eſtate nor credit be ſpared; but as I have all by his Majeſties favor, ſo let all go 'even to the laſt drop of my blood before any reproch for my offence be brought 'upon his Majeſty.

Then riſing up he ſaid, 'It ſhall not be neceſſary to remit my trial to *Scotland*, 'which I hear your Honors do intend, for I do ſimply ſubmit my ſelf to his Maje-'ſties will, and had much rather not live than live any longer under his Majeſties 'diſpleaſure. Therefore my humble ſuit to your Honors is, that in conſideration 'of my miſerable eſtate and ignominious Confeſſion you would be pleaſed to 'move his Majeſty for accepting me in will, and that without delay whatſoever 'may be done for reparation of his Honor may be performed, whereunto moſt 'willingly I ſubmit my ſelf.

Chancellor *Egerton* pronounceth ſentence againſt him.

The Chancellor Sir *Thomas Egerton*, without taking any notice of theſe laſt words, declared, that his Majeſties pleaſure was to remit the trial of his offence to the Judges in *Scotland*, and that he ſhould be conveyed thither as a Priſoner, the Sheriffs attending him from Shire to Shire, till he was delivered in *Scotland*; in the mean time he did pronounce him deprived of all places, honors, dignities, and every thing elſe that he poſſeſſed in *England*.

Sprot his Execution.

Whether or not I ſhould mention the Arraignment and Execution of *George Sprot* Notary in *Eymouth*, who ſuffered at *Edinburgh* in the *Auguſt* preceding, I am doubtful, his Confeſſion, though voluntary and conſtant, carrying ſmall probability. This man had deponed, 'That he knew *Robert Logan* of *Reſtalrig*, who was dead

'dead two years before, to have been privy to *Gowries* Conſpiracy, and that he 'underſtood ſo much by a Letter that fell in his hand written by *Reſtalrig* to '*Gowry*, bearing that he would take part with him in the revenge of his Fathers 'death, and that his beſt courſe ſhould be to bring the King by Sea to *Faſcaſtle*, 'where he might be ſafely kept, till advertiſement came from thoſe with whom 'the Earl kept intelligence. It ſeemed a very fiction, and to be a mere invention of the mans own brain; for neither did he ſhew the Letter, nor could any wiſe man think that *Gowry*, who went about that Treaſon ſo ſecretly, would have communicated the matter with ſuch a man as this *Reſtalrig* was known to be: as ever it was, the man remained conſtant in his confeſſion, and at his dying, when he was to be caſt off the Ladder (for he was hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Edinburgh*) promiſed to give the beholders a ſign for confirming them in the truth of what he had ſpoken; which alſo he performed, by clapping his hands three ſeveral times after he was caſt off by the Executioner. *An.* 1609.

To return to the Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly: They had preſence of the King in *Hampton Court* the 10 of *September*, where the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* having declared the occaſion of their coming, did preſent the Aſſemblies Letter together with their Petitions. The King having read both the one and the other ſaid, *That the difference between the lawful and unlawful Meetings might be perceived by the fruits ariſing from both: for as that unlawful Conventicle at* Aberdene *had cauſed a Schiſm in the Church, and given the enemies of Religion a great advantage; ſo in this Aſſembly they had not only joyned in love among themſelves, which is the main point of Religion, but alſo had taken a ſolid courſe for the repreſſing of Popery and Superſtition. That he did allow all their Petitions, and would give order for a Convention which ſhould ratifie the Concluſions of the Aſſembly; aſſuring them that the Church, keeping that courſe, ſhould never lack his Patrociny and Protection.* The Commiſſioners of the Aſſembly have audience. His Majeſties anſwer.

Letters were immediately directed to publiſh his Majeſties acceptation of the Aſſemblies proceedings, and the Council joyned to commit the Marqueſs of *Huntley* in the Caſtle of *Striveling*, the Earl of *Angus* in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Earl of *Arrol* in *Dumbritton*. A Convention was likewiſe indicted at *Edinburgh* the ſixth of *December*, which was afterward prorogued to the 27 of *January* The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was in the mean time ſent home to inform the Council concerning *Balmerinoch* his buſineſs, and how theſe matters had been carried in *England*. A Convention at *Edinburgh*.

This report made, the Chancellor, who had been much ruled by the Secretary, was greatly afraid, as ſuſpecting the next aſſault ſhould have been made upon himſelf. But the King, who knew his diſpoſition, and expected that the Chancellor would carry himſelf more adviſedly, eſpecially in the matters of the Church, the Secretary being gone, did haſte the Earl of *Dunbar* home with a Warrant to receive the Chancellor in the number of the Counſellors of *England*, and therewith appointed him Commiſſioner with *Dunbar* in the Convention of Eſtates: all which was done to make it ſeem that his credit was no way diminiſhed with his Majeſty. *An.* 1609. The Chancellor admitted Counſellor of *England*.

In this Convention divers Acts were made in favors of the Church. As firſt, That Noblemen ſending their Sons forth of the Country ſhould direct them to places where the Reformed Religion was profeſſed, at leaſt where the ſame was not reſtrained by the Inquiſition; and that the Pedagogues ſent to attend them ſhould be choſen by the Biſhop of the Dioceſe; wherein if they ſhould happen to tranſgreſs, the Nobleman being an Earl ſhould incur the pain of four thouſand pounds, if he was a Lord five thouſand Marks, and if a Baron three thouſand Marks. And if their Sons ſhould happen to decline from the true Religion, that their Parents ſhould withdraw all entertainment from them, and find ſurety to that effect. Acts made for Religion.

That the Biſhop of the Dioceſe ſhould give up to the Treaſurer, Controller, Collector and their Deputies, the names of all perſons Excommunicated for Religion, to the end they might be known; and that no Confirmations,

An. 1609. Resignations, nor Infestiments should be granted to any contained in that Roll. That the Director of the Chancery should give forth no Briefs, direct Precepts of returns, nor Precepts upon compriſement, till they produced the Bishops Testificate of their Absolution and obedience; and that it should be lawful to Superiors and Lords of Regalities to refuse the entry of all such to their lands by precepts of *Clare constat*, or any other way.

Lastly, that persons Excommunicated for not conforming themselves to the Religion presently professed should neither in their own names, nor covertly in name of any other, enjoy their lands or rents, but that the same should be intromitted with and uplifted to his Majesties use.

Acts made against ravishing of women.

These were the Acts concluded touching Religion. For the punishment of Rapes, which was grown as then too common, his Majesty by a special Letter did recommend to the Estates some overtures for restraining such violences. As if any Widow, Woman or Maid should be forced and abused against her will, the crime should be capital, and not purged by the subsequent consent of the Woman.

In like manner if any Woman should be taken away, albeit no farther injury was done, and she relieved either by her friends or by the Magistrate, or by whatsoever means, the only violence intended should be punished by death, in regard the party had indeavored to do his worst.

And for those that did intice any Woman to go away without their Parents or Tutors consent, that they should be secluded from any part of the goods or lands belonging to the Woman so inticed. Some other Acts for the publick good of the Kingdom were passed at the same time, neither was it remembred that in any one Convention so much good of a long time was done as in this.

In the beginning of *February* the Secretary was brought to *Edinburgh* and delivered to the Magistrates, who received him at the nether port, and conveyed him as a Prisoner to the lodging that was appointed. A great gazing there was of people, which troubled him not a little, as he shewed by his countenance. The

The Secretaries Trial at S. *Andrews*.

next day he was delivered to the Lord *Scone*, who with a guard of horse did convey him to the Prison of *Falkland*: there he remained till the 10 of *March*, and was at that time taken to S. *Andrews* to abide his Trial. With the Justice there sate as Assessors the Earls of *Dunbar*, *Montrosi* and *Lothian*, the Lord Privy-Seal and Clerk-Register.

His Indictment.

His Indictment was to this Effect, 'That in the year 1598, by the instigation 'of his Cousin Sir *Edward Drummond* a professed Papist, he had stolen and surreptitiously purchased his Majesties hand to a Letter written by the said Sir *Edward*, and directed to Pope *Clement* the Eighth, in favour of the Bishop of '*Vaison*, for the said Bishops preferment to the dignity of a Cardinal; and that, 'notwithstanding the many denials the King gave him in that business, he had 'treasonably conspired with the said Sir *Edward* to deceive and abuse his Majesty, shuffling in a Letter among others that were to be signed, and filled it 'up after it was signed with the styles and titles usually given to the Pope, and 'sealed the Letter with his Majesties Signet, the keeping whereof was intrusted 'to him by virtue of his Office; and in so doing had most undutifully and treasonably behaved himself, to the indangering of his Majesties Honor, Life, Crown 'and Estate, and to the subversion of the true Religion and the whole professors 'thereof.

Upon the reading of the Indictment he was enquired if he would use any friends or advocates to speak in his defence, as the order of the Court did allow him. His answer was, *That he stood never in so great need of a Proloquutor, the matter concerning his life, estate, and all that he possessed in this world; yet he had chused to keep silence, and not to employ either friends or advocates, the offence he had committed being such as could admit no defence: for howsoever he conceived that the keeping of intelligence with the Pope might advance his Majesties Succession to the Crown of* England, *yet knowing, as he did, his Majesties resolution never to use any crooked course, but to rest upon Gods Providence and his own Right, it did not become him to have medled in a matter of that importance. Therefore did he*

The Secretary his speech and answer to the Indictment.

intreat

intreat all Gentlemen and others that were preſent to bear witneſs of his Confeſſion, and the true remorſe he had for the offence committed, which he eſteemed ſo great, as neither his lands, nor life, nay nor twenty thouſand lives ſuch as his could repair. Only two things he asked liberty to proteſt. One was, that he never intended to work an alteration of Religion, or a Toleration of the contrary, the thing he had done being a mere worldly courſe, whereby he judged ſome good might have been wrought at the time. Next he proteſted, that neither the love of gain nor hope of commodity had led him on, having never received nor expected benefit from any Prince living (his Maſter the King only excepted;) but an opinion he fooliſhly conceited that he might that way promote his Maſters Right. In end he ſaid *that he would not make the Judges any more buſineſs; that he had confeſſed the truth, and, as he wiſhed God to be merciful to his Soul in that great day, his Majeſty was moſt falſely and wrongfully charged with the writing of that Letter to the Pope, and that he never could move him to conſent thereto.* An. 1609. His Proteſtation of two things.

The Jury was then called, and the perſons following ſworn in face of Court, *David* Earl of *Crawford*, *George* Earl *Marſhal*, *John* Earl *Wigton*, *Patrick* Earl of *Kinghorn*, *John* Earl of *Tullibardin*, *Allan* L. *Cathcart*, *John* L. *Salton*, *David* L. *Scone*, *Alexander* L. *Garlies*, *William* Maſter of *Tullibardin*, Sir *James Douglas* of *Drumlanrick*, Sir *Robert Gordon* of *Lochinvar*, Sir *William Levinſton* of *Kilſith*, Sir *John Houſton* of the ilke, and Sir *Patrick Home* of *Polwart*. Theſe going apart returned after a ſhort ſpace into the Court, and by the mouth of the Earl of *Marſhal* pronounced '*James* Lord *Balmerinoch* guilty of Treaſonable, ſurreptitious, 'fraudulent and falſe ſtealing of his Majeſties Hand to the Letter ſpecified in the 'Indictment, without his Majeſties knowledge and contrary to his will declared; 'as alſo of the Treaſonable affixing of his Majeſties Signet to the ſaid Letter; 'and of aſſiſting known and profeſſed Papiſts in their Treaſonable courſes to the 'danger of Religion, the overthrow of the true profeſſors thereof, and draw-'ing of his Majeſties life, eſtate and right of Succeſſion to the Crown of *Eng-'land* in moſt extreme peril; beſides the bringing of moſt falſe and ſcandalous 'Imputations upon his Majeſty as well in Religion as Honor; and of art and part 'of the whole Treaſonable crimes contained in the ſaid Indictment. The Jury ſworn.

The King being advertiſed of his Conviction (for ſo he had commanded before any Doom ſhould be pronounced) by a Warrant directed to the Juſtice he was brought again to *Edinburgh*, and in a Juſtice-Court kept the firſt of *April* decerned to be taken to the place of Execution, and there to have his head cut off, his Lands, Heritages, Lordſhips, Baronies, Taks, Steadings, Rooms, Poſſeſſions, Offices, Benefices, Corns, Cattel, *&c.* forfeited and eſcheated to his Majeſties uſe, as being convicted of the aforeſaid Treaſonable crimes. His life upon the Queens interceſſion was ſpared, and he returned to his Priſon in *Falkland*, where he abode ſome months: being thereafter licenſed to go unto his Houſe in *Balmerinoch*, he dyed, as was thought, of grief and ſorrow. A man of abilities ſufficient for the places he injoyed in Seſſion and Council; but one that made ſmall conſcience of his doings, and meaſured all things according to the gain he made by them. The poſſeſſions he acquired of the Church kept him ſtill an enemy unto it, for he feared a reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe Livings if ever the Clergy did attain unto credit. Not long before he fell in his trouble the King had imployed him to deal with the Lords of Seſſion, among whom he carried a great ſway, for reſtoring the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to the Biſhops; but he taking ways that he thought ſhould not have been perceived to diſappoint the errand, drew upon himſelf the Kings diſpleaſure, and fared nothing the better becauſe of his miſcarriage in that buſineſs, when this occaſion was offered. It is not for thoſe that ſerve Princes, and are truſted by them in the greateſt affairs to deal deceitfully with their Maſters; for ſeldom have any taken that courſe, and have not in the end found the ſmart thereof. The Doom pronounced againſt *Balmerinoch*.

A Parliament was this year kept at *Edinburgh* the 24 of *June*, the Earl *Marſhall* being Commiſſioner for the King; wherein the Acts concluded in the preceding Convention were ratified, the juriſdiction of Commiſſaries reſtored to the Church, A Parliament at *Edinburgh*.

the

An. 1610. the Juſtices of Peace commanded to be ſettled in every Shire, and a Statute made for the Apparel of Judges, Magiſtrates and Church-men, which were all remitted to his Majeſties appointment. Patterns accordingly were ſent from *London* not long after for the apparel of the Lords of Seſſions, the Juſtice, other inferior Judges, for Advocates, Lawyers, Commiſſars, and all that lived by practice of Law; and command given to every one whom the Statutes concerned, to provide themſelves of the Habits preſcribed within a certain ſpace under the pain of Rebellion. Such was the Kings care to have thoſe who were in publick charge held in due reſpect, and dignoſced whitherſoever they came.

An. 1610. An Aſſembly at *Glaſgow.* The King by his Letters was now daily urging the Biſhops to take upon them the adminiſtration of all Church-affairs; and they unwilling to make any change without the knowledge and approbation of the Miniſters, an Aſſembly to this effect was appointed to hold at *Glaſgow* the 6 of *June*. The Earl of *Dunbar*, Sir *John Preſton* Preſident of the Seſſion, and Sir *Alexander Hay* Secretary (which two had ſucceeded to *Balmerinoch* his places) being Commiſſioners for the King, the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was elected to preſide. There a Propoſition was made by the Commiſſioners of certain Points of Diſcipline which his Majeſty craved to be determined, *That all things might be done thereafter orderly in the Church, and with the conſent and harmony which was fitting among Preachers.* Some three days being ſpent in reaſoning, at laſt the Concluſions following were enacted.

1. The Aſſembly did acknowledge the indiction of all ſuch General Aſſemblies of the Church to belong to his Majeſty by the Prerogative of his Crown, and all Convocations in that kind without his Licence to be merely unlawful, condemning the Conventicle of *Aberdene* made in the year 1605, as having no warrant from his Majeſty, and contrary to the prohibition he had given.

2. That Synods ſhould be kept in every Dioceſe twice in the year, *viz.* in *April* and *October*, and be moderated by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe; or where the Dioceſes are ſo large as all the Miniſters cannot conveniently aſſemble at one place, that there be one or moe had, and in the Biſhops abſence, the place of Moderation ſupplied by the moſt worthy Miniſter having charge in the bounds, ſuch as the Archbiſhop or Biſhop ſhall appoint.

3. That no ſentence of Excommunication, or Abſolution from the ſame, be pronounced againſt or in favour of any perſon, without the knowledge and approbation of the Biſhop of the Dioceſe, who muſt be anſwerable unto God and his Majeſty for the formal, and unpartial proceeding thereof. And the Proceſs being found formal, that the Sentence be pronounced at the Biſhops direction by the Miniſter of the Pariſh where the offender hath his dwelling, and the proceſs did firſt begin.

4. That all Preſentations in time coming be directed to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop of the Dioceſe within which the Benefice that is void lieth, with power to the Archbiſhop or Biſhop to diſpone or confer the Benefices that are void within the Dioceſe after the lapſe, *Jure devoluto.*

5. That in the Depoſition of Miniſters upon any occaſion the Biſhop do aſſociate to himſelf ſome of the Miniſters within the bounds where the delinquent ſerveth, and after juſt trial of the fact and merit of it pronounce the ſentence of Deprivation. The like order to be obſerved in the Suſpenſion of Miniſters from the exerciſe of their Function.

6. That every Miniſter at his admiſſion ſwear obedience to his Majeſty and to his Ordinary, according to the form agreed upon *Anno* 1571.

7. That the Viſitations of the Dioceſe be made by the Biſhop himſelf; and if the bounds be greater than he can well undertake, by ſuch a worthy man of the Miniſtery within the Dioceſe as he ſhall chuſe to viſit in his place. And whatſoever Miniſter without juſt cauſe or lawful excuſe ſhall abſent himſelf from the Viſitation or Dioceſan aſſembly, be ſuſpended from his Office and Benefice; and if he do not amend, deprived.

8. That the Convention of Miniſters for exerciſe be moderated by the Biſhop being

being preſent, and in his abſence by any Miniſter that he ſhall nominate in his Synod. *An.* 1610.

9. And laſt it was ordained, that no Miniſter ſhould ſpeak againſt any of the foreſaid Concluſions in publick, nor diſpute the queſtion of Equality or Inequality of Miniſtery, as tending only to the entertainment of Schiſm in the Church, and violation of the peace thereof.

Theſe Concluſions taken it was complained in behalf of the Moderators of Presbyteries, who had ſerved ſince the year 1606, *That notwithſtanding of their promiſe made at their accepting of the Charge, they had received no payment at all of the Stipend allowed.* Which the Earl of *Dunbar* excuſed by his abſence forth of the Country, affirming, *That unto that time there was never any motion made thereof to him, and that before the diſſolving of that Aſſembly he ſhould cauſe ſatisfaction to be given to them for the time paſt*, declaring withal, *That ſeeing order was taken for the Moderation of Presbyteries in time coming, his Majeſties Theſaurer ſhould not be any farther burthened with that payment.* The Miniſters therein remitting themſelves to his Majeſties good pleaſure gave his Lordſhip thanks for that he had offered; which he did alſo ſee performed, ſome five thouſand pounds *Scots* being diſtributed by the Theſaurers ſervants among thoſe that had born the charge. Certain of the diſcontented ſort did interpret it to be a ſort of corruption, giving out, *That this was done for obtaining the Miniſters voices:* Howbeit the debt was known to be juſt, and that no motion was made of that buſineſs before the foreſaid Concluſions were enacted. The Moderators paid off the Stipend promiſed.

In the Aſſembly a Supplication was preſented in the names of the Marquiſs of *Huntley* and the two Earls of *Angus* and *Arrol* for their Abſolution, and a Commiſſion given to that effect upon their ſatisfaction, they ſubſcriving the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſwearing to continue in the profeſſion of the Religion preſently eſtabliſhed. The Marquiſs of *Huntley* was at that time confined in *Striveling*, and to him were the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhops of *Cathnes* and *Orkney* directed. They found him not unwilling to ſubſcrive the Confeſſion of Faith and make ſatisfaction for his Apoſtaſie, but in regard of his many Relapſes did not judge it fitting to abſolve him: wherefore they gave order that he ſhould confer with Mr. *Patrick Simpſon* the Miniſter of the Town, a learned and moderate man, that ſo he might ſubſcrive with knowledge and reſolution not to fall back. In the *December* following, having profeſſed himſelf reſolute in all points, he was liberated from his confinement at *Striveling*, and licenſed to go home to *Strathbogy*. A Supplication in name of the Popiſh Lords. *Huntley* freed of his confining.

With the Earl of *Arrol* the difficulty was greater; for when in a publick meeting of the Council within the Caſtle of *Edinburgh* he had profeſſed his Conformity in every point of Religion, and made offer to ſubſcrive, the very night after he fell in ſuch a trouble of mind, as he went near to have killed himſelf. Early in the morning the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* being called, he confeſſed his diſinclination with many tears; and beſeeching them that were preſent to bear witneſs of his remorſe, was hardly brought to any ſetling all that day. The Nobleman was of a tender heart, and of all that I have known the moſt conſcientious in his Profeſſion; and thereupon to his dying was uſed by the Church with greater lenity than were others of that Sect. The Earl of *Arrol* troubled for his Simulation.

The Earl of *Angus*, who lived confined at *Glaſgow*, took another courſe, and upon licence obtained from his Majeſty went to *France*, where he might enjoy the exerciſe of his Religion with liberty, and died at *Paris* in a voluntary Baniſhment ſome years after. The Earl of *Angus* goeth to *Paris*.

Shortly after the Aſſembly diſſolved the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* was called to Court, and commanded to bring with him two others ſuch as he thought fit. The Archbiſhop taking with him the Biſhops of *Brichen* and *Galloway* came to Court in the midſt of *September*. At their firſt Audience the King declared what the buſineſs was for which he had called them, ſpeaking to this purpoſe; *That he had to his great charge recovered the Biſhopricks forth of the hands of thoſe that poſſeſſed them,* The Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* called to Court. The buſineſs proponed by his Majeſty.

An. 1610. *them, and beſtowed the ſame upon ſuch as he hoped ſhould prove worthy of their places: but ſince he could not make them Biſhops, nor could they aſſume that honor to themſelves, and that in* Scotland *there was not a ſufficient number to enter charge by Conſecration, he had called them to* England, *that being conſecrated themſelves they might at their return give Ordination to thoſe at home, and ſo the adverſaries mouthes be ſtopped, who ſaid that he did take upon him to create Biſhops, and beſtow Spiritual Offices, which he never did nor would he preſume to do, acknowledging that authority to belong to Chriſt alone, and thoſe he had authorized with his power.*

The Archbiſhop his anſwer.

The Archbiſhop anſwering in the name of the reſt, 'That they were willing 'to obey his Majeſties deſire, and only feared that the Church of *Scotland*, becauſe 'of old Uſurpations, might take this for a ſort of ſubjection to the Church of *England*. The King ſaid, *That he had provided ſufficiently againſt that; for neither ſhould the Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *nor* York, *who were the only pretenders, have hand in the buſineſs, but Conſecration ſhould be uſed by the Biſhops of* London, Ely *and* Bathe. The *Scots* Biſhops thanking his Majeſty for the care he had of their Church, and profeſſing their willingneſs to obey what he would command, the 21 of *October* was appointed to be the time, and the Chappel of *London*-Houſe the place of Conſecration.

The Conſecration queſtioned.

A queſtion in the mean time was moved by Dr. *Andrews* Biſhop of *Ely* touching the Conſecration of the *Scottiſh* Biſhops, who as he ſaid, 'muſt firſt be ordained Presbyters as having received no Ordination from a Biſhop. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* Dr. *Bancroft*, who was by, maintained, 'That thereof there 'was no neceſſity, ſeeing where Biſhops could not be had, the Ordination given 'by the Presbyters muſt be eſteemed lawful; otherwiſe that it might be doubted 'if there were any lawful vocation in moſt of the Reformed Churches. This applauded to by the other Biſhops, *Ely* acquieſced, and at the day and in the place appointed the three *Scottiſh* Biſhops were conſecrated.

The High-Commiſſioners appointed.

At the ſame time did the King inſtitute a High Commiſſion in *Scotland* for the ordering of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, and therewith ſent to the Clergy the Directions following.

Directions for the High-Commiſſioners and other matters Eccleſiaſtical.

1. That every particular matter ſhould not be brought at firſt before the High-Commiſſion, nor any thing moved unto it, except the ſame was appealed unto, or complained by one of the Biſhops as a thing that could not be rectified in their Dioceſe; or then ſome enorm offence in the trial, whereof the Biſhops ſhould be found too remiſs.
2. That every Archbiſhop and Biſhop ſhould make his reſidence at the Cathedral Church of his Dioceſe, and labour ſo far as they could and were able to repair the ſame.
3. That all Archbiſhops and Biſhops be careful in Viſitation of their Dioceſe, and every third year at leaſt take inſpection of the Miniſters, Readers, and others ſerving cure within their bounds.
4. That every Archbiſhop viſit his Province every ſeven years at leaſt.
5. Whereas there be in ſundry Dioceſes ſome Churches belonging to other Biſhops, that care be taken to exchange the Churches one with another, that all the Dioceſes may lie contigue, if poſſibly the ſame may be performed. As likewiſe in regard ſome Dioceſes are too large, and others have a ſmall number of Churches, ſcarce deſerving the title of a Dioceſe; that a courſe be taken for enlarging the ſame in a reaſonable proportion, by uniting the neareſt Churches of the greater Dioceſe thereto.
6. That the Convention of Miniſters for the exerciſe of Doctrine exceed not the number of ten or twelve at moſt, and over them a Moderator placed by the ordinary of the Dioceſe where the ſaid Conventions are licenſed, with power to call before them all ſcandalous perſons within that Precinct, and cenſure and correct offenders according to the Canons of the Church: yet are not theſe Moderators to proceed in any caſe either to Excommunication or Suſpenſion,

penſion, without the allowance of the Ordinary. And if it ſhall be tried that theſe Miniſters do uſurp any farther power than is permitted, or carry themſelves unquietly either in Teaching or otherwiſe at theſe Meetings, in that caſe the Biſhop ſhall diſcharge the Meeting, and cenſure the offenders according to the quality of their fault. *An.* 1610.

7. Conſidering that Laick Elders have neither warrant in the Word, nor example of the Primitive Church, and that nottheleſs it is expedient that ſome be appointed to aſſiſt the Miniſter in repairing the fabrick of the Church, providing Elements to the holy Communion, and collecting the Contributions for the poor, with other neceſſary ſervices; the Miniſter is to make choice of the moſt wiſe and diſcreet perſons in the Pariſh to that effect, and preſent their names to the Ordinary, that his approbation may be had thereto.
8. That the Miniſters of the Pariſh be authorized to call before them and their aſſociates ſo allowed all publick and notorious offenders, and enjoyn the ſatisfaction according to the Canons of the Church; or, if they be obſtinate and contumacious, declare their names to the Biſhop, that order may be taken with them.
9. That no Miniſter be admitted without an exact Trial preceding, and Impoſition of hands uſed in their Ordination by the Biſhop and two or three Miniſters whom he ſhall call to aſſiſt the action: and to the end an uniform order may be kept in the Admiſſion of Miniſters, that a form thereof may be imprinted and preciſely followed of every Biſhop.
10. That the Election of Biſhops ſhall in time coming be made according to the Conference *Anno* 1571. and whileſt the Biſhoprick remaineth void, the Dean of the Chapter be *Vicarius in omnibus ad Epiſcopatum pertinentibus*, and have the cuſtody of the Living and Rents, till the ſame be of new provided.
11. That the Dean of every Chapter convene thereof once at leaſt in the year, and take order that nothing paſs except they be *Capitulariter congregati*; and that a Regiſter be made of every thing done by the Archbiſhop or Biſhop in the adminiſtration of the Rents, and kept ſafely in the Chapter houſe.
12. That when it ſhall be thought expedient to call a General Aſſembly, a Supplication be put up to his Majeſty for licence to convene; and that the ſaid Aſſembly conſiſt of Biſhops, Deans, Archdeacons, and ſuch of the Miniſtery as ſhall be ſelected by the reſt.
13. And becauſe there hath been a general abuſe in that Church, that youths, having paſſed their courſe in Philoſophy, before they have attained to the years of diſcretion, or received lawful Ordination by Impoſition of hands, do engyre themſelves to preach; that a ſtrict order be taken for reſtraining all ſuch perſons, and none permitted but thoſe that received Orders to preach ordinarily and in publick.

The Clergy doth approve the Directions.

Theſe Directions, being exhibited to the Biſhops and ſome principals of the Clergy convened with them at *Edinburgh* in *February* next, were approved of all; and at the ſame time was the High-Commiſſion publiſhed, to the great diſcontent of thoſe that ruled the Eſtate; for that they took it to be a reſtraint of their authority in matters Eccleſiaſtical, nor did they like to ſee Clergy-men inveſted with ſuch authority.

Orders for the Council.

The King no leſs careful to have all things ordered rightly in the Eſtate, did preſcrive the number, attendants, and manner of proceeding which the Council ſhould keep in their meetings. As, 'that the number ſhould not exceed thirty, 'and ſeven at leaſt be preſent in every meeting. That at their admiſſion they 'ſhould take the Oath of Allegiance and ſwear Fidelity and ſecrecy in matters 'to be communicated unto them. That they ſhould convene twice in the week; 'once every Tueſday for matters of State, and once on the Thurſday for actions. 'That none ſhould be permitted to ſtay within the Council-houſe but the Lords

'and

An. 1611. 'and Clerks of the Council, nor any ſolicitations be made within the Houſe, but 'that all ſhould take their places at their coming in, and none ſtand on foot, un- 'leſs they be to anſwer for themſelves, and in that caſe to riſe and ſtand at the 'head of the Table. That four days abſence of any Councellor in the time of 'ſitting, without licence from the reſt, ſhould infer the loſs of their place. That 'if any of the number were denounced Rebel, or did not at leaſt once in the year 'Communicate, they ſhould be likewiſe excluded. That whereſoever they re- 'mained or happened to come, if they ſhould be informed of any trouble like 'to ariſe betwixt parties, they ſhould charge them to keep the peace; and if they 'refuſed, they ſhould command them to enter in Ward; the diſobedience 'whereof ſhould be puniſhed as if the whole Council were diſobeyed. Laſtly, 'to keep their perſons and places in the greater reſpect, they were commanded in 'the ſtreets either to ride with Foot-clothes or in Coaches, but not be ſeen walk- 'ing on foot.

An. 1611. A Proclamation againſt bearing of quarrel.

With theſe Directions a command was given to inhibit by Proclamation any perſons 'to bear quarrel to another with intention of private revenge, requiring 'thoſe that ſhould happen to be in any ſort injured to complain to the ordinary 'Judge within the ſpace of forty days after the injury committed, and inſiſt for 'juſtice; wherein if they ſhould fail, and yet be perceived to carry a grudge to- 'wards him by whom they were injured, they ſhould be called before the Coun- 'cil, and, if they refuſed to reconcile, be puniſhed as deſpiſers of the Royal Au- 'thority, and violaters of the publick peace.

The troubles of *Orkney*.

In the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Tetland* at this time were great Oppreſſions by the Earl thereof, for which he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and the Biſhop of *Orkney* imployed by the Council to examine the particular complaints.

The Earl of *Orkney* committed, and his Acts of Court diſcharged.

This Nobleman, having undone his eſtate by riot and prodigality, did ſeek by unlawful ſhifts to repair the ſame, making Acts in his Courts, and exacting penalties for the breach thereof: as if any man was tried to have concealed any thing that might infer a pecuniary mulct, and bring profit to the Earl, his lands and goods were declared confiſcated; or if any perſon did ſue for juſtice before any other Judge than his Deputies, his goods were eſcheated; or if they went forth of the Iſle without his licence, or his Deputies, upon whatſoever occaſion, they ſhould forfeit their moveables; and, which of all his Acts was moſt inhumane, he had ordained that *if any man was tried to ſupply or give relief unto Ships or any Veſſels diſtreſſed by Tempeſt, the ſame ſhould be puniſhed in his perſon, and fined at the Earl his pleaſure.* Theſe Acts produced by the Complainers, and confeſſed by the Earl himſelf, were by the Council decerned unlawful, and the execution thereof in all times thereafter prohibited.

The *Clan-gregore* to be rooted out.

The *Clan-gregore*, a barbarous and thieviſh race of people, that could by no means be repreſſed nor reclaimed from their Robberies, were at the ſame time ordained to be rooted forth, and the ſervice committed to the Earl of *Argile*; who made ſome beginning, and preſented certain of the principals to juſtice; but the neglect of their children and their exhibition as was appointed, made them in after-times no leſs troubleſome to the Country than before.

The death of the Earl of *Dunbar*.

In the end of the year the Earl of *Dunbar* departed this life at *White-Hall*; a man of deep wit, few words, and in his Majeſties ſervice no leſs faithful than fortunate. The moſt difficile affairs he compaſſed without any noiſe, and never returned when he was employed without the work performed that he was ſent to do.

Somerſet his riſing.

His death made a great change in our Eſtate; Sir *Robert Ker*, a Son of *Farnherſt*, who had ſerved the King long in the quality of a Page, and was then grown powerful in Court, carrying all things by his credit. At firſt the Theſaurers Office, which was in the perſon of *Dunbar* whileſt he lived, was truſted to certain Commiſſioners; but after a little ſpace the ſame was beſtowed upon the ſaid Sir *Robert*, and he preferred to the Earldome of *Somerſet*. The guard that Sir *William Cranſton* a Gentleman of great worth did command, and wherewith he had performed divers noble ſervices in the Borders, was taken from him, and given to Sir *Robert Ker* of *Ancram*, *Somerſets* Couſin. Sir *Gideon Murray*, his Uncle by the Mother,

Mother, was made Deputy in the Office of Theſaury; and Sir *Thomas Hamilton*, his Majeſties Advocate, who had married his Siſter, placed firſt in the Office of Regiſter, and afterwards made Secretary: all which was aſcribed to *Somerſet* his credit. Yet theſe things were not ill taken, the laſt excepted. For Sir *William Cranſton* being content to reſign his place, the King in remembrance of his good ſervice did prefer him to be a Lord of Parliament; Sir *Gideon* his abilities for the ſervices he was truſted with were known to all; and for the Advocate, his ſufficiency was undoubted, only the manner of his coming to be Regiſter was not ſo well interpreted. Sir *John Skeen* had enjoyed the place a good many years, and being grown in age and infirm, thinking to get his Son provided to his Office, had ſent him to Court with a diſmiſſion of the place, but with a charge not to uſe it, unleſs he found the King willing to admit him: yet he, abuſed by ſome politick wits, made a Reſignation of the Office, accepting an ordinary place among the Lords of Seſſion. The Office upon his Reſignation was preſently diſponed to the Advocate: which grieved the Father beyond all meaſure. And the caſe indeed was pitiful and much regrated by all honeſt men; for he had been a man much employed and honoured with divers Legations, which he diſcharged with good credit, and now in age to be circumvented in this ſort by the ſimplicity or folly of his Son, 'twas held lamentable. The King being informed of the abuſe by the old mans complaint, was very careful to ſatisfie him, and to have the Son reconciled to his Father, which after ſome travel was brought to paſs: yet ſo exceeding was the old mans diſcontent, as within a few days he deceaſed. The Office of Regiſter was ſhortly after enterchanged with the Secretary Sir *Alexander Hay*, and he made Keeper of the Rolls, the Lord *Binning* Secretary, and Sir *William Oliphant* received to be his Majeſties Advocate.

An. 1612. Advocate made firſt Clerk-Regiſter, afterwards Secretary.

Sir *John Skein* dieth of grief.

In the beginning of the next year there happened divers unhappy quarrels betwixt the *Scots* and *Engliſh* at Court, which was like to have produced very bad effects; and nothing worſe taken than the ſlaughter of an *Engliſh* Fencer by the Lord *Sanqhars* inſtigation, who, for an injury alleged, did hire one called *Carleill* to kill the Fencer. This fact committed in the City of *London*, and ſo near to the Kings Court, cauſed ſuch a heart-burning among the people, as it was not far from breaking forth into a general Commotion. But his Majeſty, preventing the danger, made *Sanqhar* to be arreſted and brought to his Trial; where being convicted he was hanged publickly at the Palace-gate of *Weſtminſter*. This act of juſtice gave the *Engliſh* a great content: nor was the death of the Nobleman much regrated by his own Country-people; for he had lived all his time diſſolutely, and falling in familiarity with a baſe Curteſan at *Paris*, had by her a Son to whom he entailed his lands, intending to defraud the Heir. But the King, taking the matter into his own cognition, did by compromiſe adjudge the ſucceſſion to the juſt inheritor, appointing a little portion to the baſe Son, who in a ſhort time made away the ſame prodigally.

An. 1612. The Lord *Sanqhar* executed in *England*.

Not long before, his Majeſty being informed of a courſe kept by the Church in Excommunicating perſons that were Fugitives for capital crimes, ſent to the Biſhops and Clergy a Letter of this tenor.

The Eccleſiaſtical Cenſure of Excommunication, which ſhould be inflicted upon ſuch as having committed any ſcandalous offence are contemners of the Admonitions of the Church, is, as we have been informed, ſo far abuſed againſt the firſt inſtitution, that we cannot ſufficiently marvel of the proceeding ſaid to be commonly uſed among you; namely, that perſons Fugitive for capital crimes being cited before Eccleſiaſtical Judicatories, although it be known that they dare not compeir for fear of their life, are ſentenced as perſons contumacious, whereas the fear they ſtand in ought in reaſon to excuſe their abſence, ſince they cannot be judged contemners of the Church who upon juſt terrors are kept back from giving their perſonal appearance. In a late Treatiſe the Venetian Padre Paulo *did learnedly confute the Sentence pronounced by the preſent Pope againſt him for his not appearing to anſwer in the caſe of Hereſie, only upon the juſt fear he pretended, and had his*

Excommunication of perſons for criminal and capital caſes if they become Fugitive.

An. 1612. *Appeal juſtified by all indifferent men from the Popes Sentence as abuſive. Your proceedings for the manner is no other, and by the learneſt Divines in theſe parts reſembled to the* Muſcovites *form, who, if he be offended with any perſon, commandeth him to ſend his Head unto him: juſt ſo your Citations are in the foreſaid caſe, which is to will the offenders come in and be hanged, which were they never ſo penitent is not to be thought they will do; for they will rather fall under your cenſure, than hazard themſelves in the hands of the Juſtice. This being the ready way to bring the Cenſures of the Church in contempt, Our pleaſure is, that hereafter there be no ſuch form of proceeding uſed among you. Notwithſtanding if it ſhall happen ſuch offenders to obtain our pardon, and that the fear they ſtand in of their life be removed, we mean not but that they ſhould be called before the Church, and Cenſures uſed againſt ſuch of thoſe that are impenitent. Hereof perſuading our ſelves that you will have care, and not give way to the abuſe in time coming, We bid you farewel.*

The Clergy agree to reform this point.

Upon the receipt of this Letter the Biſhops convening with certain of the Clergy, to adviſe what courſe was fitteſt to be held in theſe caſes, a long reaſoning was kept, ſome maintaining, 'That the form practiſed by the Church was not to be 'changed, they having tried the good thereof, and that people were terrified by 'this means from falling into theſe odious crimes. Others reaſoned, That the 'principal end of all Church-Cenſures, eſpecially of Excommunication, was 'the reclaiming of offenders, and the bringing of them to the acknowledgment of 'their ſin, and that where the principal uſe had no place, that other ſecondary ends 'ought not to be reſpected; and ſo in caſe of Fugitives, what could any Cenſure 'avail to their reclaiming, they not being in place to anſwer, or to receive any Ad'monition? yea and might it not fall, that by proceeding againſt men in ſuch caſe, 'men truly ſorrowful for their ſin ſhould be ſentenced, and ſo the perſons bound 'by the Church whom God hath looſed? They did therefore judge it more ſafe 'in theſe caſes to advertiſe people of the hainouſneſs of the fact committed, warn'ing them to make their own profit thereof, and to forbear all proceeding againſt 'the Fugitive perſon till his condition ſhould be made known. This turned to be the reſolution of the whole number, and thereupon direction was given to the Miniſters not to intend or follow any Proceſs againſt Fugitives in time coming.

The death of the Earl of *Eglington*, and the diſpoſition of his living to his Couſin.

This year the Earl of *Eglington* departed this life, who having no child nor heir male to ſucceed, made a diſpoſition of his Lands and Honours to Sir *Alexander Seaton* his Couſin-german, with a proviſo, *That he and his children ſhould take the name and uſe the arms of the houſe of* Montgomery. The King, who was always moſt tender in the conveyance of Honors, being informed of the diſpoſition made by the deceaſed Earl, did by a Letter written to the Council witneſs his diſpleaſure at ſuch Alienations; ſhewing that howſoever he could not ſtay Noblemen to diſpoſe of their lands, he being the fountain of all Honor within his Kingdoms, would not permit the ſame to be ſold or alienated without his conſent: and thereupon did inhibit the ſaid Sir *Alexander* to uſe the Title of Lord or Earl, notwithſtanding the diſpoſition made to him. Some two years after his Majeſty was pleaſed to beſtow the Honor upon him, and ſo was he received into the place and Honor formerly belonging to the houſe of *Eglington*.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

In the month of *October* a Parliament was kept at *Edinburgh*, the Chancellor being Commiſſioner for the King; wherein the Concluſions taken in the Aſſembly at *Glaſgow* were ratified, and all Acts and Conſtitutions, eſpecially the Act made in the Parliament 1592, reſcinded and annulled, in ſo far as they, or any of them, or any part of the ſame were derogatory to the Articles there concluded.

A Subſidy granted.

In this Parliament a Subſidy was urged, and a great Conteſt made for the quantity, which was required in a more large meaſure than in former times, becauſe of his Majeſties affairs, eſpecially for the Marriage of Lady *Elizabeth* with the *Palſgrave*, who in the ſame month arrived in *England*. The poverty of the Country, with a fear that what was then granted ſhould be made a Preſident for after-times, was pretended by thoſe that withſtood the motion; albeit the true cauſe was known to be the diſlike that the Popiſh Faction had of the Match, which by all means they

labored

labored to croſs: nor was any more buſie than the Lord *Burleigh* to impede the Subſidie. He, being a little before come from Court, did affirm that the King in a private ſpeech with him touching the ſame had ſaid, That he required no more than was granted in the Parliament 1606, and thereby made the oppoſition greater than otherwiſe it would have been. Yet in the end after long debating it was concluded, that the Supply ſhould be more liberal in regard of the preſent occaſion than at any time before. *An.* 1613.

The King upon advertiſement of the Lord *Burleighs* buſineſs gave order to remove him from the Council, and to inhibit him from coming any more at Court: which he apprehending to be the Lord *Scones* doing, and that he had informed againſt him, took ſo ill, as he did ſend him a Challenge, and appeal him to the combat. Hereupon he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained ſome two months; thereafter, upon the acknowledgment of his offence, and being reconciled with the Lord *Scone*, he was put to liberty. The Lord *Burleigh* removed from Council.

In Court at this time was great rejoycing, and the Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with the Prince *Palatine* daily expected, when on the ſudden all was turned to mourning by the Death of Prince *Henry*, who departed this life at S. *James*'s in the beginning of *November*. A Prince of excellent Vertues, and all the perfections that can be wiſhed for in youth. He died at the age of 18 years and 8 months, greatly lamented both at home and abroad. The Council eſteeming it their duty to expreſs their doleance for that accident, made choice of the Chancellor and the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* for that buſineſs. But the King having received an hard information of the Chancellors carriage in the late Parliament, ſent his ſervant *William Shaw* to diſcharge him from coming to Court, who encountring him at *Morpet* cauſed him to return. The Archbiſhop, who was no farther advanced than *Berwick*, accompanied the Chancellor to *Edinburgh*; and after a ſhort ſtay there, as he was willed, went to his journy again towards Court, whither he came a little before Chriſtmas. The Nuptials, in regard of the Princes death, were put off to the *February* following; at which time, the ſorrow being a little worn out, the ſame were performed with great ſolemnity. *An.* 1613. The death of Prince *Henry*. The Marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* with the *Palſgrave*.

It was ſhewed before concerning the Oppreſſions of the people of *Orkney*, that the Acts made by the Earl in his Courts were judged unlawful, and he diſcharged to put the ſame thereafter in execution. Nottheleſs going on in his wonted courſe, he ſent his baſe Son called *Robert* into the Country, in ſhew to uplift his Rents and duties, but in effect to try and puniſh the tranſgreſſors of theſe Acts: whereupon new complaints being preferred to the Council, the King was adviſed to make purchaſe of Sir *John Arnots* right, to whom the Earl had impignorated his eſtate, as being the only means to relieve that diſtreſſed people from his Oppreſſions. The bargain ſhortly was made, and the King poſſeſſed in the lands, Sir *James Stewart* Captain *James* his Son being made Chamberlain and the Sheriff of the Country. The Earl himſelf was tranſported from *Edinburgh* to the Caſtle of *Dunbarton*, and had allowed to him ſix ſhillings eight pence ſterling a day for his entertainment; where he had not long remained, whenas he received advertiſement that the Caſtles of *Kirkwal*, *Birſay*, and other his Houſes in theſe Iſles were all rendred to the Sheriff. This put him in a great paſſion, and many ways he aſſayed to make an eſcape; but finding no poſſibility, he ſent his baſe Son, who was lately returned, with an expreſs command to take back the Houſes, and expulſe the Deputy Mr. *John Finlaſon*, whom the Chamberlain had left there. The King acquireth the lands of *Orkney*.

The young man at his coming to *Orkney* being aſſiſted with ſome looſe people made his firſt aſſault upon *Birſay*, expulſing *Bernard Stewart* the Keeper, and placing a Garriſon therein of ſome thirty perſons. The Deputy hearing what was done went ſpeedily thither, charging them in his Majeſties name to render: but they deſpiſing the charge, and he not able to force them, he went from thence to *Kirkwall*; the Rebels following at his heels, compelled him in like ſort to render the Caſtle of *Kirkwall* in which he had entred. Rebellion in *Orkney*.

Upon report of this Rebellion, Commiſſion was given to the Earl of *Cathnes*, as Lieutenant for the King in thoſe bounds, to recover the Caſtles and pacifie the Country; The Earl of *Cathnes* imployed to ſuppreſs the Rebels.

An. 1614. Country; which he carefully performed. At his first landing, a company of people, to the number of five hundred, who were brought together more out of fear of the Rebels than of any desire to withstand, made a countenance to resist; but how soon they perceived the Earls resolution to pursue, they gave back, their Leaders flying to the Castle, which they meant to defend. This they made good some five weeks or more, till the Canon having beaten down a great part of the wall, they were forced to yield themselves at discretion. The persons taken in the Castle were *Robert Sewart* the Earls base Son, *Archibald Murray*, *Andrew Martin*, *Alexander Legat*, and *Thomas King*, servants to the Earl. These were all transported to *Edinburgh*, and being convicted by a Jury, were hanged on a Gibbet at the Mercat-cross. In this siege the Lieutenant lost four men only; namely, *William Irwyn* Son to *William Irwyn* of *Saba*, *James Richardson*, *Andrew Adamson*, and *William Robinson*, who were killed all by shots from the Castle: many were wounded and hurt, but thereof recovered.

Persons executed for the Rebellion.

The death of the Bishop of *Ross*.

Towards the end of the Year Mr. *David Lindesay* Bishop of *Ross* departed this life in a great age, having attained to fourscore and two or three years; a man nobly descended, and a Brother of the house of *Edzel*. Soon after the Reformation, returning from his travels abroad, he applied himself to the Function of the Ministery, and entring the Charge at *Leith*, continued therein to his death; of a peaceable nature, and greatly favoured of the King, to whom he performed divers good services, especially in the Troubles he had with the Church; a man universally beloved and well esteemed of by all wise men. His corps were interred at *Leith* by his own direction, as desiring to rest with that people on whom he had taken great pains in his life.

The Earl of *Orkney* put to Trial.

The Earl of *Orkney* being brought the *October* preceding from *Dumbarton* to *Edinburgh* was in *February* next put to Trial, where together with the Justice there sate as Assessors the Earl of *Dunfermlin* Chancellor, the Lord *Bining* Secretary, the President Sir *John Preston*, Sir *Gideon Murray* Thesaurer-Deputy, Sir *Richard Cockburn* of *Clarckington* Lord Privy-Seal, Sir *John Cockburn* of *Ormeston* Justice Clerk, Sir *Alexander Hay* Clerk-Register, Sir *William Levingston* of *Kilsith* and Sir *Alexander Drummond* of *Medop*, Senators of the College of Justice.

An. 1614. The Earl of *Orkney* his Indictment.

The substance of the Indictment was, 'That he had caused his base Son to surprise the Castle of *Kirkwall* with the Steeple of the Church, the place called the 'Yards, and House of *Birsay*; That he had incited the people to Rebellion, and 'detained the said Castles and Houses treasonably after he was charged to deliver 'the same. His Prolocutors were Mr. *Alexander King*, Mr. *Thomas Nicolson*, and Mr. *Alexander Forbes*, Lawyers, all of good esteem; the chief defence they used was a denial of the Libel. The advocate producing the Confession of his base Son and those that were executed with him, together with some missive Letters written by one *John Sharpe* at his direction for the detaining of the Castle of *Kirkwall*, and a Charter of certain lands gifted by him to *Pat. Halcro* for assisting the Rebels, the Justice remitted the verity of the Indictment to the Assise.

The persons named for the Jury.

The persons chosen thereupon were *James* Earl of *Glencarn*, *George* Earl of *Winton*, *John* Earl of *Perth*, *Robert* Earl of *Lothian*, *William* Earl of *Tullibardin*, *David* Lord *Scoone*, *William* Lord *Sanqhar*, *John* Lord *Hereis*, *James* Lord *Torphichen*, *Hugh* Lord *Semple*, *William* Lord *Killmaers*, *John Grant* of *Freuchie*, Sir *Patrick Hepburn* of *Waughton*, *Robert Arnot* of *Farny*, and Sir *Henry Lindesay* of *Kinfawnes*, who, sworn and received according to the custom, went apart by themselves for a certain space, and returning unto the Court, by the mouth of their Chancellor (the Earl of *Glencarn*) declared him guilty of the foresaid Rebellion, and of the whole points contained in the Indictment. The Justice thereupon gave Sentence, that he should be taken to the Mercat-cross, and there beheaded, and all his goods and lands confiscated.

The Sentence pronounced.

The Earl taking the Sentence impatiently, some Preachers were desired to confer with him, and to dispose his mind towards death: but they finding him irresolute, intreated for a delay of the Execution; which was granted to the sixth of *February*, at which time he was brought unto the Scaffold, guarded by the Magistrates

ſtrates of the City, and in the ſight of many people beheaded. This was the end of *Patrick* Earl of *Orkney*, Son to *Robert Stewart* one of King *James* the Fifth his baſe Sons. *Robert* was at firſt provided to the Abbacy of *Halirudhouſe*, which he enjoyed divers years: After the Forfeiture of *Hepburn*, Earl *Bothwel*, and the obtaining of theſe Iſles, he exchanged the Abbacy with the Biſhoprick of *Orkney*, and ſo became ſole Lord of the Country. *Patrick*, ſucceeding to an elder Brother who died young, by his two much reſort to Court and profuſe ſpending did involve himſelf in great debts, and ſeeking to repair his eſtate by the indirect courſes he touched, fell into theſe inconveniencies which you have heard, and may ſerve for a warning to all great perſonages not to oppreſs nor play the Tyrants over the meaner ſort of people. *An.* 1614. The Execution of the Earl of *Orkney*.

About the end of the year *John Ogilvy* a Jeſuite was apprehended at *Glaſgow*. He was lately come from *Grats*, where the Jeſuites have a College, *by the command* (as he ſaid) *of his Superiors*, to do ſome ſervice in theſe parts. There were found with him three little Books, containing certain directions for receiving Confeſſions; a Warrant to diſpenſe with them that poſſeſt any Church-livings, conceived in this form, *Quoad diſpenſationem de bonis Eccleſiaſticis, poteris diſpenſare ut retineant quæ poſſident, dummodo in uſus pios aliquid impendant, pro judicio Confeſſarii diſpenſantis*, with ſome Reliques, and a tuft of S. *Ignatius* hair, the founder of their Order, which he ſeemed to have in great regard. *John Ogilvy a* Jeſuite apprehended.

Upon advertiſement given to his Majeſty, a Commiſſion was ſent to the Secretary, the Lord *Kilſith*, the Theſaurer-Deputy and Advocate for his Examination and Trial. Being preſented before them, and enquired when he came into *Scotland*, what his buſineſs was, and where he had reſorted: To the firſt he anſwered, That *he came in the* June *preceeding*; to the ſecond, that *his errand was to ſave ſouls*; but to the third he denied to give any anſwer at all, ſaying, *that he would not utter any thing that might work prejudice to others*: nor could he be induced either by perſuaſion or threatning to detect the perſons with whom he had reſorted. The Commiſſioners offended at his obſtinacy, and meaning to extort a Confeſſion from him, adviſed to keep him ſome nights from ſleep: and this indeed wrought ſomewhat with him, ſo as he began to diſcover certain particulars; but how ſoon he was permitted to take any reſt, he denied all, and was as obſtinate in denying as at firſt. His Examination by certain Commiſſioners

His Majeſty being certified that without Torture nothing would be drawn from him, made anſwer, *That he would not have thoſe forms uſed with men of his Profeſſion; and if nothing could be found but that he was a Jeſuite, and had ſaid Maſs, they ſhould baniſh him the Country, and inhibit him to return without licence, under pain of death. But if it ſhould appear that he had been a practiſer for the ſtirring up of ſubjects to Rebellion, or did maintain the Popes tranſcendent power over Kings, and refuſed to take the Oath of Allegiance, they ſhould leave him to the courſe of Law and Juſtice; meanwhile his pleaſure was, that the Queſtions following ſhould be moved unto him, and his Anſwers thereto required.* A direction from his Majeſty touching their proceeding with him.

1. Whether the Pope be Judge and hath power *in Spiritualibus* over his Majeſty; and whether that power will reach over his Majeſty *in Temporalibus* if it be *in ordine ad Spiritualia*, as *Bellarmine* affirmeth.
2. Whether the Pope hath power to excommunicate Kings (eſpecially ſuch as are not of his Church) as his Majeſty.
3. Whether the Pope hath power to depoſe Kings by him excommunicated; and in particular, whether he hath power to depoſe the Kings Majeſty?
4. Whether it be no murther to ſlay his Majeſty being ſo excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope.
5. Whether the Pope hath power to aſſoil ſubjects from the Oath of their born and native Allegiance to his Majeſty. Certain Queſtions moved to the Jeſuite.

Theſe Queſtions were ſent incloſed in a Letter to the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, who aſſuming to himſelf the Provoſt of the City, the Principal of the College,

An. 1614. and one of the Miniſters, as Witneſſes, did in their hearing read the Queſtions, and receive his Anſwer, which he gave under his hand, as followeth.

His anſwer to the Queſtions.

I acknowledge the Pope of Rome *to be Judge unto his Majeſty, and to have power over him* in Spiritualibus, *and over all Chriſtian Kings. But where it is ask'd, whether that power will reach over him in* Temporalibus, *I am not obliged to declare my opinion therein, except to him that is Judge in Controverſies of Religion, to wit, the Pope, or one having authority from him.*

For the ſecond point, I think that the Pope hath power to Excommunicate the King: and where it is ſaid, that the King is not of the Popes Church, I anſwer, that all who are baptized are under the Popes power.

To the third, where it is ask'd, if the Pope hath power to depoſe the King being Excommunicate; I ſay that I am not tied to declare my mind, except to him that is Judge in Controverſies of Religion.

To the fourth and fifth I anſwer ut ſupra.

His anſwer ſent to his Majeſty.

Being reaſoned with a long time, and the danger exponed wherein he did caſt himſelf by maintaining ſuch Treaſonable Opinions; he anſwered, *That he would not change his mind for any danger that could befall him*; and ſpeaking of the *Oath of Allegiance*, that it was *a damnable Oath*, and *Treaſon againſt God to ſwear it*. Some days being allowed him to bethink himſelf better of theſe Points, when as no advice could prevail, the Anſwers were ſent to his Majeſty ſubſcribed by himſelf, and therewith a teſtification of ſuch as were preſent at the giving thereof.

Commiſſion for the Jeſuites trial.

Hereupon the Council was commanded to paſs a Commiſſion to the Provoſt and Bailiffs of *Glaſgow* for putting him to a Trial; there were aſſiſting *James* Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, *Robert* Earl of *Lothian*, *William* Lord *Sanqhar*, *John* Lord *Fleming*, and *Robert* Lord *Boyd*. Some days before he was brought to the Bar it was told him, 'That he was not to be charged with ſaying of Maſs, nor any thing that 'concerned his Profeſſion, but only with the Anſwers made to the Queſtions pro-'poned; which if he ſhould recal, there being yet place to repentance, the Tri-'al ſhould be ſuſpended till his Majeſty were of new advertiſed. His reply was, *That he did ſo little mind to recal any thing he had ſpoken, as when he ſhould be brought to his anſwer he ſhould put a bonnet on it.* And this indeed he performed, for when he was placed on pannel, and the Indictment read, which was grounded all upon the Acts of Parliament made againſt thoſe that declined his Majeſties Authority, or maintained any other Juriſdiction within the Realm, and upon anſwer made to the above-written Demands ſubſcribed with his hand, he brake forth in theſe ſpeeches:

The Jeſuites Defence at his Indictment.

'Under proteſtation that I do no way acknowledge this Judgment, nor receive 'you that are named in that Commiſſion for my Judges, I deny any Point laid a-'gainſt me to be Treaſon; for if it were Treaſon, it would be ſuch in all places and 'all Kingdoms, which you know not to be ſo. As to your Acts of Parliament, 'they were made by a number of partial men, and of matters not ſubject to their '*Forum* or Judicatory, for which I will not give a rotten fig. And where I am ſaid 'to be an enemy to the Kings Authority, I know not what Authority he hath but 'what he received from his Predeceſſors, who acknowledged the Pope of *Rome* 'his Juriſdiction. If the King will be to me as his Predeceſſors were to mine, I 'will obey and acknowledge him for my King; but if he do otherwiſe, and play 'the runnagate from God, as he and you all do, I will not acknowledge him 'more than this old Hat. At theſe words being interrupted, and commanded to ſpeak more reverently of his Majeſty, he ſaid, 'That he ſhould take the advertiſe-'ment, and not offend, but the Judgment he would not acknowledge. And for 'the reverence I do you, to ſtand uncovered, I let you know it is *ad redemptio-'nem vexationis*, not *ad agnitionem Judicii*.

The Exception proponed by the Jeſuite.

The perſons cited upon the Jury being then called, and he deſired to ſhew if he would except againſt them, he ſaid 'That he had but one Exception againſt them 'all which was, that either they were enemies to his cauſe, or friends: if enemies,

'they

'they could not ſit upon his Trial; and if friends, they ought to aſſiſt him at the 'Bar. Only he ſhould wiſh the Gentlemen to conſider well what they did, and 'that he could not be judged by them. That whatſoever he ſuffered was by way 'of injury and not of judgment; and that he was accuſed of Treaſon, but had not 'committed any offence, nor could he beg mercy. And proceeding in this ſtrain, 'I am, ſaid he, a ſubject as free as the King is a King; I came by commandment of 'my Superior into this Kingdom, and if I were even now forth of it, I would re-'turn: neither do I repent any thing, but that I have not been ſo buſie as I ſhould 'in that which you call perverting of ſubjects. I am accuſed for declining the Kings 'Authority, and will do it ſtill in matter of Religion, for with ſuch matters he hath 'nothing to do: and this which I ſay the beſt of your Miniſters do maintain, 'and if they be wiſe will continue of the ſame mind. Some Queſtions were moved 'to me, which I refuſed to anſwer, becauſe the proferers were not Judges in Con-'troverſies of Religion; and therefore I truſt you cannot infer any thing againſt 'me. *But I hope*, ſaid the Archbiſhop, *you will not make this a Controverſie of Religion, Whether the King being depoſed by the Pope may be lawfully killed.* To this he replied, 'It is a queſtion among the Doctors of the Church; many hold the 'affirmative, not improbably: but as that Point is not yet determined, ſo if it 'ſhall be concluded, I will give my life in defence of it; and to call it unlawful, 'I will not, though I ſhould ſave my life by ſaying it. *An.* 1615.

His ſpeeches, the more liberty was given him, growing the more intolerable, the Jurors were willed to go apart; who quickly returning, declared by the mouth of their Chancellor, Sir *George Elphingſton*, that they found him guilty of all the Treaſonable crimes contained in the Indictment. Whereupon Doom was pronounced, and the ſame day in the afternoon he was hanged in the publick ſtreet of *Glaſgow*. He was, as it ſeemed, well inſtructed in that *Jeſuitical* Doctrine of Depoſing and dethroning Kings, and like enough to have played another *Ravilliac*, if he had not been intercepted: which was the rather believed, that in lamenting his miſhap to one that he eſteemed his friend he did ſay, *That nothing grieved him ſo much as that he ſhould be apprehended in that time; for if he had lived unto* Whitſunday *at liberty, he ſhould have done that which all the Biſhops and Miniſters of* Scotland *and* England *ſhould never have helped; and to have done it he would willingly have been drawn in pieces with horſes, and not cared what torments he had indured.* But this did not burſt forth till after his death. The Jeſuite convicted and executed.

Mr. *James Moffet*, another of the ſame Society, being apprehended near about the ſame time, took a ſafer courſe; for having condemned *Ogilvies* Poſitions he was ſuffered to depart the Country; the King profeſſing, as he ever did, *That he would never hang a Prieſt for his Religion*: only theſe Polypragmatick Papiſts, that were ſet upon Sedition and to move diſturbance in Countries, he could not away with. *Moffat* another Jeſuite licenſed to depart.

The next Spring Mr. *George Gladſtaves* Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* departed this life: a man of good learning, ready utterance, and great invention; but of an eaſie nature, and induced by thoſe he truſted to do many things hurtful to the See, eſpecially in leaſing the titles of his Benefice for many Ages to come, eſteeming (which is the error of many Churchmen) that by this mean he ſhould purchaſe the love and friendſhip of men, whereas there is no ſure friendſhip but that which is joyned with reſpect; and to the preſerving of this nothing conduceth more than a wiſe and prudent adminiſtration of the Church-rents wherewith they are intruſted. He left behind him in writing a declaration of his Judgment touching matters then controverted in the Church, profeſſing, that *he had accepted the Epiſcopal Function upon good warrant, and that his Conſcience did never accuſe him for any thing done that way.* This he did to obviate the rumors which he foreſaw would be diſperſed after his death, either of his Recantation, or of ſome trouble of ſpirit that he was caſt into; (for theſe are the uſual practices of the *Puritane* Sect) whereas he ended his days moſt piouſly, and to the great comfort of all the beholders. His corps was interred in the South-eaſt Iſle of the Pariſh-Church, and the Funeral preached by Mr. *William Cowper*, Biſhop of *Galloway*, who was lately before preferred upon the deceaſe of Mr. *Gawin Hamilton* Biſhop of that See; a man for courage, *An.* 1615. The Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* his death.

An. 1615. courage, true kindneſs and zeal to the Church, never enough commended.

Biſhops tranſlated by this occaſion.

S. *Andrews* falling thus void, divers Tranſlations were made in the Church; as of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* to S. *Andrews*, the Biſhop of *Orkney* to *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dumblane* to *Orkney*, in whoſe place ſucceeds Mr. *Adam Ballendene* Rector of *Falkirk*.

The Hiſtory of *Somerſets* fall.

In the end of this year there was at Court a great buſineſs for trying the Murther of Sir *Thomas Overbury*, who had died in the Tower ſome two years before. The occaſion and ſecret contriving of the Murther, with the ſtrangeneſs of the diſcovery, and his Majeſties impartial proceeding in the Trial, deſerve all to be remembred. The occaſion was *Overburies* free and friendly counſels to the Earl of *Somerſet* for diverting him from the Marriage he intended with Lady *Frances Howard*, who by a ſentence of Nullity was freed from the Earl of *Eſſex* her husband. Often had he diſſuaded *Somerſet*, preſuming upon the familiarity that he vouchſafed him, to forbear that *Ladies* company, and one night more freely, for that he ſaw *Somerſet* going on in the Match, came unto him, and ſpake to this effect; *My Lord, I perceive you are proceeding in this Match which I have often diſſuaded as your true ſervant and friend: I now adviſe you not to marry that Woman, for if you do, you ſhall ruine your Honor and your ſelf*; adding, *that if he went on in that buſineſs, he ſhould do well to look to his ſtanding*. The Earl taking his free ſpeech more impatiently becauſe he had touched the Lady (with whom he was bewitched) in her Honor, replied in paſſion *that his legs were ſtrong enough to bear him up, and that he ſhould make him repent thoſe ſpeeches*. Thus he parted in anger at that time.

Sir *Tho. Overbury* his free advice to *Somerſet*.

Overbury committed to the Tower.

Overbury interpreting this to be a ſudden paſſion only, and not thinking that their long-continuing friendſhp would break off by this occaſion, continued in his wonted attendance, neither did the Earl wholly abandon him; howbeit having diſcovered to the Lady *Overbury* his counſel, and the words he had uttered to her prejudice, ſhe never ceaſed to inflame him againſt the Gentleman, and by all means ſought to practiſe his overthrow. It falling out that *Overbury* was about this time to be employed in an Ambaſſage to *Ruſſia*, the Earl, whoſe counſel he asked, adviſed him not to embrace the ſervice, but to make ſome fair excuſe. This advice he followed, taking the ſame to proceed of kindneſs, and for his refuſe was committed to the Tower.

Overbury poiſoned & dieth.

The Lady now had him where ſhe wiſhed, and, meaning to diſpatch him by poiſon, wrought ſo with the Lieutenant Sir *Jervis Elways* as he did admit one *Richard Weſton* upon her recommendation to be *Overburies* keeper, by whom the very evening after he was committed a yellow poiſon was miniſtred unto him in a Broth at Supper, which provoked ſuch extreme vomits and purging as it was looked he ſhould not recover. But neither this nor the other poiſons that were continually put in his meats ſerving to diſpatch him, Miſtreſs *Turner*, the preparer of all, procured an Apothecaries boy to give him a poiſoned Clyſter, which brought him to his end. *Overbury* thus dead was preſently buried, and becauſe of the blanes and bliſters that appeared in his body after his death, a report was diſperſed that he died of the *French*-Pox; which few believed, and ſtill the rumor went according to the truth, that he was made away by poiſon. The greatneſs of the Procurers kept all hidden for a time; but God who never ſuffereth ſuch vile acts to go unpuniſhed, did bring the ſame to light after a miraculous manner.

The Murther diſcovered and laid open.

It happened the Earl of *Shrewsbury* in Conference with a Counſellor of Eſtate to recommend the Lieutenant of the Tower to his favor, as a man of good parts, and one that deſired to be known to him. The Counſellor anſwering, *that he took it for a favor from the Lieutenant that he ſhould deſire his friendſhip*, added withal, *that there lay upon him an heavy imputation of* Overburies *death, whereof he wiſhed the Gentleman to clear himſelf*. This related to the Lieutenant, he was ſtricken a little with it, and ſaid, *That to his knowledge ſome attempts were made againſt* Overbury, *but that the ſame took no effect:* which being told to the King, he willed the Counſellor to move the Lieutenant to ſet down in writing what he knew of that matter; as he alſo did. Thereupon certain of the Council were appointed to examine and find out the truth. From *Weſton* ſomewhat was found,

found, whereupon he was made priſoner. *Turner* and *Franklin*, the preparers of the poiſon, being examined confeſſed every thing; and then all breaking forth, the Earl of *Somerſet* with his Lady and the Lieutenant were committed. *An.* 1616. *Somerſet* and his Lady committed.

Weſton at his firſt Arraignment ſtood mute, yet was induced afterwards to put himſelf to the trial of the Country; and being found guilty was hanged at *Tiburn*. Miſtreſs *Turner* and *James Franklin* were in like ſort executed. The Lieutenant who had winked at their doings was judged acceſſary to the crime, and condemned to death, which he ſuffered, expreſſing a great penitency and aſſurance of mercy at the hands of God.

In the *May* following the Earl and his Lady were brought to their Trial, which by their friends they labored earneſtly to eſchew; but the King would not be intreated for the love he had to maintain Juſtice. The Judge by Commiſſion was *Thomas* Lord *Elleſmore*, Chancellor of *England*, and Lord High Steward for that time; his aſſiſtants were, Sir *Edward Coke*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of *England*, Sir *Henry Hobart*, Lord Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, Sir *Laurence Tanfield*, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, Judge *Althared*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, Judge *Crook*, Judge *Dodderige*, and Judge *Haughton*, Judges of the Kings Bench, and Judge *Nicols*, one of the Judges of the Common Pleas. *Somerſet* and his Lady brought to Trial. The Judges.

The Peers by whom they were tried were, the Earl of *Worceſter* Lord Privy-ſeal, the Earl of *Pembroke* Chamberlain, the Earls of *Rutland*, *Suſſex*, *Montgomery* and *Hartford*, the Viſcount *Liſle*, the Lord *Souch* Warden of the Cinque-ports, the Lord *Willowby* of *Eresby*, the Lord *Dacres*, the Lord *Monteagle*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Rich*, the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, the Lord *Hunſdon*, the Lord *Ruſſel*, the Lord *Compton*, the Lord *Norris*, the Lord *Gerard*, the Lord *Cavendiſh*, and the Lord *Dormer*. The perſons of the Jury.

With the Lady there was not much ado, for ſhe with many tears confeſſing the fact deſired mercy. The Earl, who was the next day preſented before the Judges, made ſome Defences; but the Confeſſions of thoſe that were executed and a Letter he had ſent to his Majeſty did ſo clearly convince him of being acceſſary to the crime at leaſt, that they were both ſentenced to be taken to the Tower of *London*, and from thence to the place of Execution, and hanged till they were dead. It was a foul and hateful fact, on the Earls part eſpecially, who did betray his friend for ſatisfying the appetite of a revengeful Woman; yet by his Majeſties clemency the lives of both were afterwards ſpared. The Earl and his Lady convicted and ſentenced.

A new buſineſs was about the ſame time made by the Marqueſs of *Huntley*. Some eight years before he had been Excommunicated, and giving hopes from time to time of his Reconcilement, did not only fruſtrate the ſame, but, breaking out in open inſolencies, had cauſed his Officers diſcharge his Tenants from hearing the Sermons of ſome Miniſters, with whom he made ſhew to offend. Being for this called before the High Commiſſion, he was committed in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, and had not remained there two or three daies, when upon the Chancellors Warrant he was put to liberty. The Biſhops that were in Town, complaining to himſelf of that he had done, were diſdainfully anſwered, *That he might enlarge without their advice any that were impriſoned by the High Commiſſion*; and when it was told that the Church would take this ill, he ſaid, that *he cared not what their Church thought of him:* whereupon the Miniſters made great exclamations in the Pulpits, as againſt one that abuſed his place and power. The Marqueſs of *Huntley* called before the Commiſſioners. He is committed. He is releaſed by the Chancellor.

Complaints hereupon were ſent from all hands to the King. The Biſhops complained of the Chancellor his uſurping upon the Commiſſion, and to this effect directed *Alexander* Biſhop of *Cathnes* to Court. The Chancellor complained of the turbulency of the Miniſters, and the liberty they took to cenſure the publick actions of Stateſmen in their Sermons. The Marqueſs, upon a ſuit he made before his Impriſonment, had obtained licence to come unto Court, and had taken his journy thither. But the King, upon the Clergies complaint, ſent Mr. *Patrick Hamilton*, then waiting as Secretary-deputy at Court, to command the Marqueſs to return and enter himſelf in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, for ſatisfying the High Commiſſion; withal he carried a Letter to the Council, ſharply rebuking The Biſhops complain to his Majeſty. A Command to the Marqueſs to return to his ward.

An. 1616. buking them for releasing the Marques, he being warded by the Lords of the Commission.

The Marques permitted to come to Court.

The Gentleman meeting the Marques at *Huntingdon*, within a days journey of *London*, did use his message; who intreated him to go back, and shew the King that he was come to give his Majesty satisfaction in every thing he would enjoyn, and to beseech his Majesty, since he was so far on his journy, not to deny him his Presence. The offer of satisfaction pleased the King very well, who permitting him to come forward to Court, directed him to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with whom he offered to communicate. His Excommunication standing in the way, and it being contrary to the Canons, that one excommunicated by the Church should without their consent who had so sentenced him be absolved in another, it was a while doubted what course they should take. The King on the other side was desirous to win him home, and on the other loth to infringe the order of the Church; yet inclining to have the Marques absolved, it was thought that the Bishop of *Cathnes* his consent in the name of the Clergy of *Scotland* was a Warrant sufficient. Thus the Bishop consenting, the Absolution was given him in the Chappel of *Lambeth* by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* in this form.

The form of the Absolution.

'Whereas the purpose and intendment of the whole Church of *Christ* is to 'win men unto God, and frame their Souls for Heaven, and that there is such an 'agreement and correspondency betwixt the Churches of *Scotland* and *England*, 'that what the Bishops and Pastors in the one, without any earthly or worldly re-'spect, shall accomplish to satisfie the Christian and charitable end and desire of 'the other, cannot be distastful to either; I therefore finding your earnest intreaty 'to be loosed from the bond of Excommunication wherewith you stand bound in 'the Church of *Scotland*, and well considering the reason and cause of that censure, 'as also considering your desire on this present day to Communicate here with us, 'for the better effecting of this work of participation of the holy Sacrament of 'Christ our Saviour his blessed Body and Blood, do absolve you from the said Ex-'communication, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost; 'and beseech the Almighty God, that you may be so directed by the Holy Spirit, 'that you may continue in the truth of his Gospel unto your lives end, and then 'be made partaker of his everlasting Kingdom.

His Majesties Letter to the Bishops for justifying the Absolution.

How soon it was known that the Marques was absolved by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, there were great exceptions taken by the Church, and the same interpreted to be a sort of usurpation: whereof the King being advertised, in a long letter written to the Archbishop of S. *Andrews*, he did justifie the doing by these Reasons. 'First, that in absolving the Marques nothing was intended to the prejudice 'of the Church of *Scotland*, but what was done was out of a Christian necessity, it 'being needful that the Marques should be absolved before he was admitted to the 'participation of the holy Sacrament. Secondly, He willed the Church to consi-'der that his Absolution at home was only deferred upon the scruple he made of 'the Presence of our Saviour in the Sacrament, and that upon his Confession, swear-'ing and subscriving the other points of Religion, they themselves had suspended 'his Excommunication, the lawfulness whereof he would not dispute, but remit the 'same to the Canonists; yet the Suspension standing, it was not much from an Ab-'solution. Thirdly, That the Absolution given him in *England* did necessarily im-'ply an acknowledgment of the authority of the Church of *Scotland*; whereas if 'the Archbishop of *Canterbury* had received him to the holy Communion, and not 'first absolved him, being Excommunicated by the Church of *Scotland*, the con-'tempt and neglect had been a great deal greater. Fourthly, That the Marques 'being come into *England*, and making offer to perform whatsoever should be re-'quired of him, it was more fit to take him in that disposition, than to have de-'layed it unto his return into *Scotland*. For these Reasons, he said, and especially 'because all that was done was with a due acknowledgment and reservation of the 'power and independent authority of the Church of *Scotland*, which the Archbi-

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'ſhop of *Canterbury* had by his own hand teſtified; it was his pleaſure, that upon 'the Marqueſs his return a full form of Abſolution ſhould be given him, or a Ra- 'tification made of that which was done in *England*; ſo as neither the Archbiſhop 'of *Canterbury* his doing ſhould be diſapproved as unlawful, nor the ſame ſo ap- 'proved as it might ſeem that the Church of *Scotland* was inferior in any ſort to 'that of *England*; and that the Archbiſhops Letter written to that effect ſhould 'be put in record, and kept as a perpetual monument for Ages to come. *An.* 1616.

This Letter directed to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* I have thought here meet to be inſerted.

Salutem in Chriſto.

'BEcauſe I underſtand that a General Aſſembly is ſhortly to be held at *Aber-* 'dene, I cannot but eſteem it an office of brotherly love to yield you an ac- 'compt of that great action which lately befell us here with the Marqueſs of *Hunt-* 'ley. So it was then, that upon the coming up of the ſaid Marqueſs, his Majeſty 'ſharply entreating him for not giving ſatisfaction to the Church of *Scotland*, and 'for a time reſtraining him from his Royal preſence, the Marqueſs reſolving to give 'his Majeſty contentment, did voluntarily proffer to Communicate when and 'whereſoever his Highneſs ſhould be pleaſed; whereupon his Majeſty being plea- 'ſed to make known that offer to me, it was held fit to ſtrike the iron whilſt it was 'hot, and that this great work ſhould be accompliſhed before his Majeſties going 'to progreſs; whereunto a good opportunity was offered by the Conſecration of 'the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, which was to be in my Chappel of *Lambeth* the ſeventh of 'this month, at which time a ſolemn Communion was there to be celebrated. The Archbiſhop of *Canterburies* excuſe for the Abſolution.

'The only pauſe was, that the Marqueſs being Excommunicated by the Church 'of *Scotland*, there was in appearance ſome difficulty how he might be Abſolved in 'the Church of *England*: wherewith his Majeſty being acquainted, who wiſhed 'that it ſhould not be deferred, we grew to this peaceable reſolution, which I doubt 'not your Lordſhip and the reſt of our Brethren there will interpret to the beſt. 'For Firſt, what was to be performed might be adventured upon, as we eſteemed, 'out of a Brotherly Correſpondency and Unity of affection, and not only of any 'Authority; for we well know, that as the Kingdom of *Scotland* is a free and abſo- 'lute Monarchy, ſo the Church of *Scotland* is entire in it ſelf, and independent up- 'on any other Church. Secondly, we find by the advice of divers Doctors of the 'Civil Law, and men beſt experienced in things of this nature, that the courſe of 'Eccleſiaſtical proceedings would fairly permit that we might receive to our Com- 'munion a man excommuicated in another Church, if the ſaid perſon do declare 'that he had a purpoſe hereafter for ſome time to reſide among us; which the Lord 'Marqueſs did openly profeſs that he intended, and I know his Majeſty doth deſire 'it: and for my part, I reſt ſatisfied that it can bring no prejudice, but rather con- 'tentment unto you and to that Kingdom. Thirdly, it pleaſed God the night before 'the celebration of the Sacrament to ſend in our brother the Biſhop of *Cathnes*, 'with whom I taking counſel, his Lordſhip reſolved me, that it was my beſt way to 'abſolve the Lord Marqueſs, and aſſured me that it would be well taken by the 'Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church of *Scotland*. I leave the report of this to my 'Lord *Cathnes* himſelf, who was an eye-witneſs with what reverence the Marqueſs 'did participate of that holy Sacrament. For all other circumſtances I doubt not 'but you ſhall be certified of them from his Majeſty, whoſe Gracious and Princely 'deſire is that this bruiſed reed ſhould not be broken, but that ſo great a perſonage '(whoſe example may do much good) ſhould be cheriſhed and comforted in his 'coming forward to God: which I for my part do hope and firmly believe that 'you all will endeavour, according to the wiſdom and prudence which Almighty 'God hath given unto you. And thus as your Lordſhip hath ever been deſirous 'that I ſhould give you the beſt aſſiſtence I could with his Majeſty for the redu- 'cing or reſtraining this Nobleman, ſo you ſee I have done it with the beſt diſcre- 'tion I could; which I doubt not but all our Brethren with you will take as pro- 'ceeding from my deſire to ſerve God and his Majeſty, and the whole Church

'of

An. 1616. 'of *Scotland*. I send you herewith the Form which I used in Absolving the Lord 'Marques in the presence of the Lord Primate of *Ireland*, the Lord Bishop of '*London*, and divers others. And so beseeching the blessing of God upon you all, 'that in your Assembly with unity of spirit you may proceed, to the honour of 'Christ and to the beating down of Antichrist and Popery, I leave you to the Al-'mighty.

From my house at *Croyden*,
July 23. 1616.

The Archbishops Letter giveth some content.

This Letter being shewed to the Clergy and others that were offended with the Absolution of the Marques gave them content: yet was it resolved that the Marques (who then was returned from Court) should present a Supplication to the General Assembly which was to meet at *Aberdene* the 13 of *August*, acknowledging his offence, not despising the Admonitions of the Church, and promising to continue in the profession of the Truth, and make his Children to be educated in the same; and that upon his Supplication he should be new Absolved according to the Form used in the Church of *Scotland*. This was very solemnly performed the first day of the Assembly, the Earl of *Montross* being then Commissioner for his Majesty.

An Assembly at *Aberdene*.

The Marques of new Absolved.

Acts concluded in the Assembly.

In the Assembly it was ordained, 'That forasmuch as his Majesty had by Pro-'clamation recalled such as were gone forth of the Country to be educated in the 'Colleges of Jesuites or other Popish Universities within the space of a year, up-'on pain to be declared uncapable of succession either to goods or lands, a trial 'and exact search should be made of all those that were sent or gone into forein 'parts within these last ten years; and that every Minister should send a particu-'lar note unto his Ordinary of those within his Parish that were gone to follow 'their studies in places abroad, with their age, profession and families where-'unto they appertained, to the end they may be known, and the dangers prevent-'ed wherewith their corrupt education did threaten the Church.

It was likewise enacted, 'That no man should be permitted to practise or pro-'fess any Physick, unless he had first satisfied the Bishop of the Dioces touching 'his Religion: That a Liturgy or book of Common-prayer should be formed for 'the use of the Church: That the Acts of the General Assemblies should be col-'lected and put in form, to serve for Canons to the Church in their ministration 'of Discipline: That children should be carefully catechised, and confirmed by 'the Bishops, or in their absence by such as were employed in the Visitation of 'Churches: That Grammar Schools should be established in all Parishes where 'the same might be conveniently done: And that a Register should be kept of 'Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, by the Minister of every Parish.

Commissioners directed to the King from the Assembly.

These Acts being put in form were ordained to be presented to his Majesty by the Archbishop of *Glasgow* and Bishop of *Ross*, who were sent from the Assembly to intreat his Majesties Confirmation of the thing concluded.

His Majesties answer returned.

By the answer returned with them his Majesties good liking of all that had proceeded in the Assembly was understood: only against the Act of Confirming young children by Bishops he excepted, saying it was a mere Hotch-potch, and not so clear as was requisite; and therefore directed the same to be reformed, and among the Canons of the Church the Articles following to be inserted.

Articles craved to be inserted among the Canons.

First, That for the more reverent receiving of the holy Communion, the same should be celebrated to the people thereafter kneeling, and not sitting, as had been the custom since the Reformation of Religion.

2. If any good Christian visited with sickness, which was taken to be deadly, should desire to receive the Communion at home in his house, the same should not be denied to him, lawful warning being given to the Minister the night before; and three or four of good Religion and conversation being present to communicate with the sick person, who must provide for a convenient place, and all things necessary for the reverent administration of the blessed Sacrament.

3. That

3. That the Sacrament of Baptiſm ſhould not be longer deferred than the next Sunday after the child is born, unleſs ſome great and reaſonable cauſe declared and approved by the Miniſter do require the ſame: And that in the caſe of neceſſity, tried and known to the Miniſter, it ſhould be lawful to adminiſtrate Baptiſm in private houſes, the ſame being always miniſtred after the form it would have been in the Congregation, and publick declaration thereof made the next Sunday in the Church, to the end the child might be known to have been received into the flock of Chriſts fold. *An.* 1616.

4. Seeing the ineſtimable benefits received from God by our Lord *Jeſus* Chriſt his Birth, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and Sending down of the Holy Ghoſt, have been commendably remembred at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the World; every Miniſter from thenceforth ſhould keep a commemoration of the ſaid Benefits upon theſe days, and make choice of ſeveral and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrines and Exhortations thereto, rebuking all Superſtitious obſervation and licentious profaning of the ſaid times.

5. The Act of Confirmation of Children his Majeſty deſired to be reformed in this manner: Seeing the Confirmation of Children is for the good education of youth moſt neceſſary, being reduced to the Primitive integrity, It is thought good that the Miniſter in every Pariſh ſhall catechiſe all young Children of eight years of age, and ſee that they have knowledge, and be able to rehearſe the Lords Prayer, the Belief and Ten Commandments, with Anſwers to the Queſtions of the ſmall Catechiſm uſed in the Church, and that the Biſhops in their Viſitations ſhall cauſe the Children be preſented before them, and bleſs them with prayer for the encreaſe of grace, and continuance of God his heavenly gifts with them.

Reaſons why the Articles could not be inſerted among the Canons.

The difficulty of admitting theſe Articles being repreſented in an humble Letter to his Majeſty by the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, and a reaſon given why the ſame could not be inſerted with the Canons, as having at no time been mentioned to the Church, nor proponed in any of their Meetings, he was pleaſed to forbear the preſſing of the ſame for that time, thinking at his coming into *Scotland*, which he intended the next Summer, to ſatisfie ſuch as were ſcrupulous, and to obtain the Churches conſent.

A Proclamation touching the Kings purpoſe to viſit the Country.

Shortly after a Letter was ſent to the Council, 'to aſſure them of the Kings 'reſolution to viſit the Kingdom, which he ſaid did proceed of a longing he had 'to ſee the place of his breeding, a *Salmon-like inſtinct* (as he was pleaſed to call 'it;) and becauſe he knew that evil-diſpoſed perſons would diſperſe rumours as 'if he came to make alterations in the Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate, he command-'ed Proclamation to be made for certifying the ſubjects of the contrary. It was 'true, he ſaid, that he deſired to do ſome good at his coming, and to have abu-'ſes reformed both in the Church and Commonwealth: yet foreſeeing the im-'pediments that his good intentions would meet with, and regarding the love of 'his people no leſs than their benefit, he would be loth to give them any diſcon-'tent; and therefore willed all his good ſubjects to lay aſide their jealouſies, and 'accommodate themſelves in the beſt ſort they could for his receiving, and the 'entertainment of the Noblemen of *England* who were to accompany him in the 'journey.

The Earl of *Marre* made Theſaurer.

The Earl of *Marre* was at that time made Theſaurer, and Sir *Gideon Murray* continued in his Deputation. A motion had been made a little before for appointing a Commiſſioner or Deputy in the Kingdom, which was hearkned unto by the King as that which would eaſe him of many vexations, and in his abſence maintain a face of Court, and breed a great reſpect among the people: and ſo far was that purpoſe advanced, as both the King had made offer of the place to the Earl of *Marre*, and he yielded to accept the ſame. But this breaking out and coming to the Chancellors knowledge, whether that he deſired not to have any in place above himſelf or, as he pretended, wiſhing the Noblemans good, he divert-

An. 1617. ed him from accepting that charge, and brought him to embrace the Office of Thesaurer as the most profitable, and that which should bring with it a less envy. Sir *Gideon* had the intromission withal, as when *Somerset* was in place, and did provide things so carefully and with such foresight, as when the King came he found nothing lacking that was required for a Royal and Princely Entertainment.

A direction for repairing the Chappel.

Among other directions sent from the King, one was for repairing of the Chappel, and some *Englisli* Carpenters were employed who brought with them the Pourtraicts of the Apostles to be set in the Pews or Stalls. As they were proceeding in their work, a foolish and idle rumor went, that *Images were to be set up in the Chappel*: and, as people are given to speak the worst, it was currant among them, that *the Organs came first, now the Images, and ere long they should have the Mass.*

The Bishops entreat the stay of some carved Pictures upon fear of offence.

The Bishop of *Galloway* then Dean of the Chappel, moved with these speeches, did pen a Letter to the King, entreating his Majesty 'for the offence that was 'taken to stay the affixing of these Pourtraicts. To this Letter he procured the Subscriptions of the Archbishop of S. *Andrewes*, the Bishops of *Aberdene* and *Brechin*, and divers of the Ministers of *Edinburgh*.

An. 1617. His Majesties answer.

The answer returned by the King was full of anger, objecting ignorance unto them that could not distinguish betwixt *Pictures intended for Ornament and decoration*, and *Images erected for Worship and adoration*; and resembling them to the Constable of *Castile*, who being sent to swear the Peace concluded with *Spain*, when he understood the business was to be performed in the Chappel where some Anthems were to be sung, desired *that whatsoever was sung, Gods name might not be used in it, and that being forborn he was content they should sing what they listed: just so*, said the King, *you can endure Lions, Dragons and Devils to be figured in your Churches, but will not allow the like place to the Patriarchs and Apostles.* His Majesty always gave order for some other form, and staying the erecting of these Pourtraicts; which in the same Letter he said *was not done for ease of their hearts, or confirming them in their error, but because the work could not be done so quickly in that kind as was first appointed.* This Letter was of the date at *Whitehall*, the 13 of *March* 1617.

The King refuseth to defer his Journy as he was desired.

The King was much labored to defer his Journey to the next year, whenas he should find things better prepared; but he refusing to hearken to any such motion, made the greater haste, and in the beginning of *May* came to *Berwick*, where he was met with divers of the Council, and by their advice the Parliament which had been indicted to the 17 of *May* was prorogued to the 13 of *June*. All this time intervened the King spent in a progress through the Country, making his entry in the special Burghs after a most Royal manner, and welcomed with all the expressions of joy that could be devised.

A Parliament in *Scotland*.

His Majesties Speech to the Estates.

At the day appointed the Estates were frequently assembled, where his Majesty made a long Speech for the establishing Religion and Justice, neither of which, he said, could be look'd for so long as a regard was not had to the Ministers of both. For *Religion*, he complained, *That notwithstanding of the long profession of the Truth, numbers of Churches remained unplanted, and of those that were planted few or none had any competent maintenance: for this he wished some course to be taken, and certain Commissioners to be chosen for appointing to every Church a perpetual local Stipend, such as might suffice to entertain a Minister, and make him able to attend on his charge of justice.* He discoursed long *remembring the pains he had taken as well when he lived among them, as since his going into* England, *and how he had placed Justices and Constables (a most laudable kind of Government) for the preserving of Peace, and the keeping of the Laws in due regard; which he understood*, as he said, *to be much neglected, partly in default of some that were named to those places, and held it a scorn to be employed in such a charge, and partly by the opposition which the Lords and great men of the Country made unto them and to their setling: but he would have both the one and the other to know, that as it was a place of no small honor to be a Minister of the Kings Justice in the service of the Commonwealth; so he did esteem none to deserve better at his hands than they who gave countenance thereto; and, on the other part,*

whosoever

whoſoever ſhould ſhew themſelves hinderers thereof ſhould be accounted with him enemies to his Crown and the quiet of the Kingdom. In end he ſaid, *that he had long ſtriven to have the Barbarities of the Country, which they knew to be too many, removed and extinct, and in place thereof Civility and Juſtice eſtabliſhed; and that he would ſtill endeavor to do his beſt that way, till he might ſay of* Scotland *as one of the Emperors ſaid of* Rome, Inveni lateritiam, relinquo marmoream. An. 1617.

A Trouble in chuſing the Lords of the Articles.

The King having cloſed and the Lords gone apart to chuſe thoſe that ſhould be upon the Articles, the humors of ſome diſcontented Lords begun to kithe; for whoſoever were by the King recommended as fit perſons, were paſſed by as men ſuſpected, and others named who ſtood worſe affected to his Majeſties ſervice. Another queſtion they made for admitting the Officers of State, refuſing to admit any but the Chancellor, Theſaurer, and Clerk of the Rolls. This being long and ſharply debated, was in end agreed by the admiſſion of the whole number.

Articles concerning his Majeſties Prerogative in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Among theſe Articles proponed the firſt was, of his Majeſties Authority in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; concerning which it was deſired to be enacted, 'That whatſoever concluſion was taken by his Majeſty with advice of the Archbiſhops and 'Biſhops in matters of external Policy, the ſame ſhould have the power and 'ſtrength of an Eccleſiaſtical Law. The Biſhops interceding did humbly intreat that the Article might be better conſidered, for that in making of Eccleſiaſtical Laws the advice and conſent of Presbyters was alſo required. The King replying, *That he was not againſt the taking of Miniſters their advice, and that a competent number of the moſt grave and learned among them ſhould be called to aſſiſt the Biſhops: but to have matters ruled as they have been in your General Aſſemblies I will never agree; for the Biſhops muſt rule the Miniſters, and the King rule both in matters indifferent and not repugnant to the Word of God.* So the Article paſſed in this form, 'That whatſoever his Majeſty ſhould determine in the external Go-'vernment of the Church, with the advice of the Archbiſhops, Biſhops and a com-'petent number of the Miniſtery, ſhould have the ſtrength of a Law.

A ſtir among the Miniſters becauſe of the Article.

This coming to the Miniſters ears, they began to ſtir, as if the whole Rites and Ceremonies of *England* were to be brought upon them without their conſents: whereupon the Miniſters that were in Town were called together and warned to be quiet, for that ſuch a general Act did not lay upon them any bond; and if any particular was urged, the ſame ſhould be communicated to them, and nothing concluded without their conſents. It was farther told them, that there would not be wanting informations enough to ſtir them up unto unquietneſs, but they ſhould do well not to irritate his Majeſty, whom they knew to be a Gracious Prince, and one that would hear Reaſon, and give way to the ſame. This they did all promiſe; yet, upon the ſuggeſtion of ſome diſcontented people, the very next day Mr. *William Struthers*, one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, did unhappily break out in his Sermon upon theſe matters, condemning the Rites received in the Church of *England*, and praying God to ſave *Scotland* from the ſame. This reported to the King by ſome of the *Engliſh* Doctors that were his hearers, he became greatly incenſed. But the Miniſters not contented with this, did the ſame day in the afternoon tumultuouſly convene, and form a Proteſtation in the words following:

The Miniſters Proteſtation.

'MOſt gracious and dread Sovereign, moſt honorable Lords and remanent 'Commiſſioners of this preſent Parliament, We the Miniſters of Chriſts 'Evangel, being here convened from all the parts of this your Majeſties Kingdom, 'do in all reverence and ſubmiſſion intreat your Majeſties and Honors patient and 'favorable hearing of this our reaſonable and humble ſupplication: And firſt it will 'pleaſe your Highneſs and honorable Eſtates preſently convened to be informed, 'that we are here a number of the Miniſtery out of all the parts of the Kingdom, 'and that the Biſhops have proteſted to a great many of us ſince our coming, that 'nothing ſhould be agreed nor conſented unto by them in this preſent Parlia-'ment in matters concerning the Diſcipline and Order of the Church without 'our knowledge and advice, affirming that neither we nor they have any power to

An. 1617. 'consent to any Novation, or ſmalleſt charge of the Order eſtabliſhed, without the 'advice of the General Aſſembly; whereupon we reſting in ſecurity, have receiv-'ved a ſudden report of an Article to paſs for a Law in the Parliament, decern-'ing and declaring that your Majeſty, with the advice of the Archbiſhops and Bi-'ſhops, and ſuch a competent number of the Miniſtery as your Majeſty out of 'your wiſdom ſhould think expedient, ſhall in all time coming have full power to 'adviſe and conclude all matters of decency, and which any way may concern the 'Policy of the Church; and that ſuch Concluſions ſhall have the ſtrength and 'power of Laws Eccleſiaſtical: wherein it will pleaſe your Majeſty and Honor-'able Eſtates to hear our own juſt griefs, and to conſider our reaſonable deſires, 'and not to put us your Majeſties humble ſubjects to that poor and ſimple part of 'Proteſtation, which if remedy be not provided, we ſhall be forced to uſe, for the 'freedom of our Church and diſcharge of our conſciences.

'We then firſt plead our Reformation, and that the Purity of our Church in 'Doctrine, miniſtration of the Sacraments, Diſcipline and all convenient Order, 'with the beſt reformed Churches in *Europe* hath been acknowledged rather as a 'pattern to be followed of others, than that we ſhould ſeek our Reformation from 'thoſe that never attained to that perfection which we, by the mercy of God, this 'long time paſt have enjoyed under your Highneſs protection.

'Next, we plead the Liberty of our Chuch, which by the Laws of your Maje-'ſties Kingdom and divers Acts of Parliament, is eſtabliſhed with power of pub-'lick Meetings and annual Aſſemblies, and allowance to make Canons and Con-'ſtitutions, ſuch as may ſerve for the comely Order thereof; all which by this 'Concluſion that is intended will be utterly overthrown.

'Thirdly, we plead for the Peace and Tranquillity of our Church, that being 'neareſt the Divine and Apoſtolical Inſtitution hath lived without Schiſm and 'rent in it ſelf, and by introduction of any Novelty againſt order may be miſerably 'divided, and ſo our Peace broken.

'Fourthly, we have been at divers times ſufficiently ſecured from all ſuſpicions 'of Innovation, and ſpecially by your Majeſties Letter ſent down this laſt Win-'ter, to take away all fear of any Alteration which might ariſe upon your Maje-'ſties lovingly-intended journey; which Letter by your Majeſties ſpecial will and 'direction of your Highneſs Council was intimated in Pulpits; as alſo by that 'Proclamation given out the 26 of *September* 1616, when rumors of an intended 'Conformity with the Church of *England* were diſperſed: whereby your Maje-'ſty ſufficiently avoided all ſuch ſuſpicion, and ſetled the hearts of honeſt men in a 'confidence that no ſuch thing ſhould be attempted.

'Theſe and many other reaſons have moved us in all reverence by this our 'humble Supplication to entreat your Highneſs and Honorable Eſtates, not to 'ſuffer the aforenamed Article, or any other prejudicial to our former Liberties, 'to paſs at this time, to the grief of this poor Church; that the univerſal hope of 'thouſands in this land, who rejoyced at your Majeſties happy arrival, be not 'turned into mourning: wherein as we are earneſt ſupplicants to God to incline 'your Majeſties heart this way, as the moſt expedient for the honor of God and 'weal of your ſubjects; ſo if we ſhall be fruſtrated of this our reaſonable deſire, 'then do we in all humility (with that dutiful acknowledgment of our Loyalty 'to your Majeſty as becometh) proteſt for our ſelves and all our Brethren that 'ſhall adhere to this our Proteſtation, that as we are free of the ſame, ſo muſt we 'be forced rather to incur the cenſure of your Majeſties Law, than to admit or 'obtemper any impoſition that ſhall not flow from the Church orderly convened, 'others having power from the ſame.

The Subcrivers of the Proteſtation.

This Proteſtation was ſubſcribed by Mr. *Archibald Simſon* Miniſter at *Dalkeith*, in name of the Brethren and Supplicants. In another Paper the Miniſters who were preſent ſet down their names each of them with his own hand, for a Teſtimony of their concurrence, which was committed to the ſaid Mr. *Archibald* in cuſtody. But, as it falleth out in things unadviſedly done, and in the heat of humor, the princi-

pals

pals in that buſineſs quickly forthinking that which they had done came the next morning early to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, intreating him to ſtop the preſenting thereof, which he ſhewed he might eaſily do by taking the ſame from Mr. *Peter Hewet* in whoſe hand it was given to preſent. *An.* 1617.

This man being one of the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, had lately before been preferred to the Abbacy of *Croſſragwell*, and having thereby a place in the Parliament-houſe, was held the moſt fitting to preſent the Proteſtation, which he willingly undertook; for he loved ever to be medling, and was always ſet to make trouble. The Parliament was that day to cloſe, and the Archbiſhop knowing how ill the King would take their doing, went the more timely to the Palace; where meeting with the Abbot, he asked him concerning the Proteſtation, deſiring to ſee it; and having peruſed a few lines began to rebuke him for taking in hand ſuch a buſineſs. He making ſome excuſe, and ſaying, it was a Proteſtation only which could not offend, put forth his hand to take back the Paper; but the Archbiſhop holding it faſt, the Proteſtation was near rent betwixt them. It happened one of the Grooms (called *John Levingſton*) to ſee them at ſtriſe, for they had met in the private Gallery near to his Majeſties Chamber, who ſhewing the King what he had ſeen, his Majeſty came forth, being as yet undreſſed, and asked what the matter was. The Archbiſhop anſwered, 'That a number of Miniſters having framed a 'Proteſtation againſt the Article of his Majeſties Prerogative, had given it to the 'man that he had made Abbot to preſent, and that he had undertaken to do the 'ſame; for which he had been chiding him, it being an undutiful part in him with-'out ſignifying the matter to his Ordinary to take ſuch a buſineſs in hand. Mr. *Peter Hewet* undertakes the preſenting of the Proteſtation.

The man falling upon his knees and trembling, ſaid, 'That he ſuppoſed the 'Proteſtation would never offend his Majeſty, and that he had promiſed to pre-'ſent the ſame in Parliament; but now that it appeared to him otherwiſe, he 'would no more meddle therewith.

The King taking the Proteſtation, and perceiving it ſubſcribed by one only Miniſter, inquired who theſe others were that convened. The Abbot anſwered, that they had all ſigned a Paper beſides, which the Subſcriver kept by him for his Warrant. Then the King commanding the Biſhop to keep the Proteſtation, went to prepare himſelf for the Meeting, and ſuſpecting that ſome other might come and proteſt againſt the Article, commanded the Regiſter Sir *George Hay* (who upon the death of Sir *Alexander Hay* had been preferred to the Office the year before) to paſs by that Article as a thing no way neceſſary, the Prerogative of his Crown bearing him to more than was declared by it. Thus when the hour of meeting came, the Regiſter, as he was commanded, laying by that Article, cauſed read the others that were concluded, as the cuſtome is, and the ſame being aſſented to by the Eſtates were ratified by his Majeſty. Thereafter the King in a moſt grave Speech having commended the execution of the Laws made to the Judges and other inferior Magiſtrates, gave the Eſtates a moſt kind and loving farewel. The Clerk of Regiſter commanded to paſs by the Article of Prerogative.

The ſame night the Biſhops had warning given them to meet his Majeſty at S. *Andrews* the tenth of *July*, whither he minded to call the principal Miniſters alſo, that they might know his mind before he went away. The Diet held as was appointed, and there aſſembled with the Biſhops the Miniſters of chief accompt, to the number of thirty ſix, who being convened in the Chappel of the Caſtle, the King did ſpeak to them to this purpoſe. The Biſhops warned to meet at S. *Andrews*.

What and how great my care hath been for this Church, as well before as ſince my going into England, *is ſo well known to you all, as I neither need nor do I mean to ſpeak much of it, leſt any ſhould think I am ſeeking thanks for that I have done. It ſufficeth me that God knows my intention is, and ever was, to have his true Worſhip maintained, and a decent and comely Order eſtabliſhed in the Church. But of you I muſt complain, and of your cauſleſs jealouſies, even when my meaning towards you is beſt. Before my coming home to viſit this Kingdom, being advertiſed that in your laſt Aſſembly an Act was made for gathering the Acts of the Church, and putting them in form, I deſired a few Articles to be inſerted; one was for the yearly Commemoration* His Majeſties Speech at the Meeting.

An. 1617. *moration of our Saviour his greateſt Bleſſings beſtowed upon mankind, as his Nativity, Paſſion, Reſurrection, Aſcenſion, and the Deſcent of the Holy Spirit; another, for the private uſe of both Sacraments, in urgent and neceſſary caſes; a third, for the reverent adminiſtration of his holy Supper; and a fourth, for Catechizing and Confirming young Children by Biſhops. It was anſwered, that theſe particulars had not been moved in any of the Church-Aſſemblies, and ſo could not be inſerted with the reſt; which excuſe I admitted, and was not minded to preſs them any more till you after advice did give conſent thereto: yet when in the late Parliament I deſired my Prerogative to be declared in the making of the Eccleſiaſtical Laws, certain of your number did mutinouſly aſſemble themſelves, and form a Proteſtation to croſs my juſt deſires. But I will paſs that among many other wrongs I have received at your hands: the errand for which I have now called you is, to hear what your Scruples are in theſe points, and the Reaſons, if any you have, why the ſame ought not to be admitted. I mean not to do any thing againſt Reaſon; and on the other part, my demands being juſt and religious, you muſt not think that I Will be refuſed or reſiſted. It is a power innated and a ſpecial Prerogative which we that are Chriſtian Kings have, to order and diſpoſe of external things in the Policy of the Church as we by advice of our Biſhops ſhall find moſt fitting; and for your approving or diſapproving, deceive not your ſelves, I will never regard it, unleſs you bring me a Reaſon which I cannot anſwer.*

The Miniſters promiſe obedience upon permiſſion of a General Aſſembly.

The Miniſters at theſe words falling on their knees did beſeech his Majeſty to think of them as his moſt humble and obedient ſubjects, and to permit them to confer a little ſpace among themſelves, that they might return with an uniform anſwer. This granted, they went to the Pariſh-Church, and after ſome two hours returned, making petition for a General Aſſembly, wherein theſe Articles being proponed might be with a common conſent received. The King asking *what aſſurance he wight have of their conſenting*; they anſwered, that they found no Reaſon to the contrary, and knew the Aſſembly would yield to any reaſonable thing demanded by his Majeſty. *But if it fall out otherwiſe*, ſaid the King, *and that the Articles be refuſed, my difficulty ſhall be greater, and when I ſhall uſe my Authority in eſtabliſhing them, they ſhall call me a Tyrant and Perſecutor.* All crying that none could be ſo mad as to ſpeak ſo: *Tet experience*, ſays the King, *tells me it may be ſo; therefore unleſs I be made ſure, I will not give way to an Aſſembly.* Mr. *Patrick Galloway* ſaying that the Biſhop of S. *Andrews* ſhould anſwer for them: the Biſhop refuſed, for that he had been deceived by them, they having againſt their promiſe in the time of Parliament taken the courſe which they did. Then ſaid Mr. *Patrick*, *If your Majeſty will truſt me, I will aſſure for the Miniſters.* The King replying that he would truſt him; it was condeſcended that an Aſſembly ſhould be called for that end at S. *Andrews* the 25 of *November* next.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* and Mr. *David Catherwood* committed.

Mr. *Archibald Simpſon* the Subſcriber of the Proteſtation had been called to the Meeting, but falling ſick by the way, he excuſed himſelf by a Letter, and therein was very earneſt to have the Brethren oppoſe the Articles, which he called *tricas Anglicanas*, uſing ſome other diſdainful words. The Letter being ſhewed to the King he asked for the bearer. This was Mr. *David Catherwood*, who carrying himſelf unreverently, and breaking forth into ſpeeches not becoming a ſubject, was committed in the Town-houſe of S. *Andrews*, and afterwards baniſhed the Kingdom. *Simpſon* for his Letter was warded in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, where he remained unto *December* following.

The King departeth towards *London*.

The King after this taking his Journy to *London* by the Weſt parts, was all the way through *Scotland* royally entertained, and at *Dumfreis* had a farewel Sermon preached by the Biſhop of *Galloway*, which made the hearers burſt out in many tears.

An Aſſembly at S. *Andrews*.

When the diet of the Aſſembly came, the Earl of *Haddington* and Viſcount of *Stormont* were ſent thither as Commiſſioners from his Majeſty: the Archbiſhop made the Exhortation, 'wherein having deduced the Story of the Church from 'the time of Reformation, he ſhewed that the greateſt hinderance the Church re-

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'ceived proceeded from the Miniſters themſelves, who for the pleaſure of ill- *An.* 1617.
'diſpoſed people ſpared not to provoke his Majeſty to juſt anger: exhorting
'them for the glory of God, the honour of the Goſpel and their own good, to
'take another courſe, and prefer the favor of their King, under whom they en-
'joyed ſo many bleſſings, to the vain applauſe of factious perſons.

The Aſſembly inclineth to a delay.

It ſeemed at firſt that matters ſhould have gone well; for the firſt two days there was much calmneſs, and the reaſoning very formal and free: but then upon a motion to delay the Concluſion to another Aſſembly, that the Miniſters might have time to inform the people of the equity of the Articles, the greater part went that way, and almoſt cried for a Delay.

The Commiſſioners obtain a grant of private Communion.

His Majeſties Commiſſioners declaring that the King would take in ill part the delay, and that nothing ſhould be done conſidering the promiſes they had made, if a General Aſſembly ſhould be granted, to receive the whole Articles, a faſhion was made to a condeſcending to private Communion, and the Miniſters ordained to give the elements in the miniſtration of the holy Supper out of their own hands to the people: which two Acts, with a Letter of excuſe for the continuance of the reſt, were ſent to his Majeſty. How the ſame was accepted may appear by the anſwer that came a few days after, which was this.

The King offended with the Aſſemblies proceedings writeth to the two Archbiſhops.

'We have received your Letter, and thereby underſtand what your proceed-
'ings have been in that Aſſembly of S. *Andrews*; concerning which we will have
'you know, that we are come to that age as we will not be content to be fed with
'Broath, as one of your Coat was wont to ſpeak, and think this your doing a
'diſgrace no leſs than the Proteſtation it ſelf. Wherefore it is our pleaſure, and
'we command you, as you will avoid our higheſt diſpleaſure, the one of you by
'your Deputy in S. *Andrews* and by your ſelf in *Edinburgh*, and the other of you
'in *Glaſgow*, keep *Chriſtmas*-day preciſely, your ſelves Preaching, and chuſing
'your Texts according to the time. And likewiſe that ye diſcharge all modifica-
'tion of Stipends for this year to any Miniſter whatſoever, ſuch excepted as have
'teſtified their affection to our ſervice at this time, by farthering at their power
'the acceptation of the Articles propoſed: and in the premiſſes willing you not
'to fail, we bid you farewel. *Newmarket* the 6 of *December*, 1616.

In a Poſtſcript to the ſame Letter it was ſaid, *So many Biſhops as you can get warned in time to preach at their Sees on* Chriſtmas-*day, urge them to it. Thus much in haſt for this time, after two or three days ye ſhall hear further from us.* With his Majeſties own hand, after all, was written, *Since your* Scottiſh *Church hath ſo far contemned my Clemency, they ſhall now find what it is to draw the anger of a King upon them.*

Another Letter to the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews.*

This Letter was directed to the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, the other which followeth to S. *Andrews* him alone.

'After we had commanded the diſpatch of our other Letter, we received an
'extract concluded (we know not how) in your Aſſembly, and ſubſcribed by
'the Clerk thereof; the one concerning Private Communion, and the other
'concerning the form to be uſed at the receiving of the holy Sacrament; both
'ſo hedged and conceived in ſo ridiculous a manner, as beſides that of the
'whole Articles proponed theſe two were the leaſt neceſſary to have been urged
'and haſtned, the ſcornful condition and form of their grant makes us juſtly
'wiſh that they had been refuſed with the reſt: for in the firſt, concerning the
'Communion allowed to ſick perſons, beſides the number required to receive
'with ſuch patients, and a neceſſity tying them upon oath to declare that they
'truly think not to recover, but to die of that diſeaſe, they are yet farther hedg-
'ed in with a neceſſity to receive the Sacrament (in caſe aforeſaid to be mini-
'ſtred unto them) in a convenient room; which what it importeth we cannot
'gueſs, ſeeing no room can be ſo convenient for a ſick man (ſworn to die) as his
'bed, and that it were injurious and inhumane from thence in any caſe to tranſ-
'port him, were the room never ſo neat and handſome to which they ſhould carry
'him.

'And as to that other Act, ordaining the Miniſter himſelf to give the Ele-
'ments

An. 1617. 'ments in the celebration out of his own hand to every one of the Communicants, and that he may perform this the more commodiously, by the advice 'of the Magistrates and honest men of his Session, to prepare a Table at which 'the same may be conveniently ministred; truly in this we must say that the 'Ministers ease and commodious sitting on his tail hath been more look'd to 'than that Kneeling which, for reverence, we directly required to be enjoyned 'to the receivers of so divine a Sacrament: neither can we conceive what should 'be meant by that Table, unless they mean to make a round Table (as did the 'Jews) to sit and receive it. In conclusion, seeing either we and this Church here 'must be held Idolatrous in this point of Kneeling, or they reputed Rebellious 'knaves in refusing the same, and that the two foresaid Acts are conceived so 'scornfully, and so far from our meaning; it is our pleasure that the same be altogether suppressed, and that no effect follow thereupon. So we bid you farewel. *Newmarket* the 11 of *December* 1617.

Letters to the Council for inhibiting the payment of Stipends.

These Letters were accompanied with another to the Council, 'for inhibiting 'the payment of Stipends to any of the Rebellious Ministers refusers of the said 'Articles either in Burgh or Landwart, till they shew their Conformity, and 'that the same was testified by the Subscriptions of the Primate or ordinary Bi'shop. Which Letters being shewed to the Ministers of *Edinburgh*, and others that happened to repair to that City for augmentation of Stipends, did cast them into a great fear, so that repenting their wilfulness, as they had reason, they became requesters to the Archbishop of S. *Andrews* to preach as he was commanded on *Christmas*-day at *Edinburgh*, trusting his Majesty should be mitigated by his obedience and intercession for the rest. Neither did he fail to use his best means for diverting the King from these rigorous courses, and after a little time (so loth was his Majesty to exerce any rigor against Ministers) obtained a Warrant for staying the execution of the former Letters, till their behaviour should be tried in the particular Synods, and their disposition for accepting the Articles.

Mr. *Archibald Simpson* put to liberty.

Mr. *Archibald Simpson*, who all this while remained prisoner in the Castle of *Edinburgh*, hearing that the King was so greatly displeased, did supplicate the Lords of his Majesties Commission (by whose command he was committed) for liberty, 'promising not to fall again in the like Errors, and professing a great 'sorrow for his medling with the Protestation, as likewise for writing that Letter 'wherein he had taxed the Church of *England*. Being brought before the Commission, after he had set his hand to his Supplication, he was permitted to return to his Charge at *Dalkieth*. Yet ere many days passed, finding the countenances of the holy Brethren cast down upon him, he dispersed an Apologetick (as he entituled it) wherein making a Glos upon every word of his Confession he concluded, 'that whatsoever weakness or frailty had befallen him, he hoped to be like *Peter*, '*qui ore negavit, & corde confessus est, and never to betray the Lords cause with Judas.* This I have remembred by the way, to make the humors of these men seen, and the small regard they take of saying and gainsaying, when it maketh for their purpose.

His inconstancy and change.

But to proceed; the Bishops upon advertisement given them convened at *Edinburgh* the 29 of *January*, and considering the hurt that the Church might receive, if the Commission granted in Parliament for provision of Ministers (which was to expire at *Lammas* next) should take no effect, did by a common Letter intreat his Majesty for a Warrant to proceed in that Commission, giving hopes that in their Synods they should induce the Ministers to obey.

A Warrant to proceed with the Commission of Stipends.

The answer returned in *February* next was to this effect: 'That howbeit his 'Majesty did interpret well their doings, as intended to the good of his service; 'yet considering the obstinate resistence of the Ministers to all his just and Religious desires, he could not expect any thing from them in their Meetings but 'a farther expression of their former misbehaviour. Nottheless as he had once already, upon the Archbishop of S. *Andrews* his intreaty, suspended the Execution 'of his last Directions; so at their requests he was pleased that the Commissioners for Stipends should meet and go on with the providing of Churches, they in

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'the mean time in their own perſons and in their own Cathedrals obſerving the 'Feſtivities that ſhould intervene between and the Synods, and miniſtring the 'holy Communion with the reverence required at the feaſt of *Eaſter* next. Thus were matters pacified for that time, and the Commiſſion for augmentation of Stipends by the warrant of this Letter put in practice. *An.* 1617.

Moſt of the next Summer was ſpent in that work, but with greater detriment than benefit to the Church; for what Augmentation ſoever was granted, the ſame was recompenſed to the givers by prorogation of their former leaſes for numbers of years, and thereby the Church more damnified than bettered.

In the Synods all things were carried with reaſonable quietneſs, ſo as upon the Biſhops humble requeſts licence was granted for meeting in a General Aſſembly, and the ſame indicted at *Perth* the 25 of *Auguſt*. The Lords *Hadington*, *Carnegy* and *Scone* were Commiſſioners in this Aſſembly for the King, who upon the end of the Sermon preſented his Majeſties Letter conceived as followeth. A General Aſſembly indicted at *Perth*.

'WE were once fully reſolved never in our time to have called any moe 'Aſſemblies here for ordering things concerning the Policy of the 'Church, by reaſon of the diſgrace offered unto us in that late meeting of S. *Andrews*, wherein our juſt and godly deſires were not only neglected, but ſome of 'the Articles concluded in that ſcornful manner, as we wiſh they had been refuſed 'with the reſt: yet at this time we have ſuffered our ſelves to be intreated by you 'our Biſhops for a new Convocation, and have called you together who are now 'convened for the ſelf-ſame buſineſs which then was urged, hoping aſſuredly that 'you will have ſome better regard to our deſires, and not permit the unruly and 'ignorant multitude, after their wonted cuſtom, to overſway the better and more 'judicious ſort in evil, which we have gone about with much pains to have had 'amended in theſe Aſſemblies, and for that purpoſe, according to Gods ordinance 'and the conſtant practice of all well-governed Churches, we have placed you that 'are Biſhops and overſeers of the reſt in the chiefeſt rooms. You plead much, we 'perceive, to have things done by conſent of Miniſters, and tell us often, that what 'concerneth the Church in general ſhould be concluded by the advice of the 'whole, neither do we altogether diſlike your opinion, for the greater is your con'ſent, the better are we contented. But we will not have you to think, that mat'ters proponed by us of the nature whereof theſe Articles are, may not without 'ſuch a general conſent be enjoyned by our Authority. His Majeſties Letter to the Aſſembly.

'This were a miſ-knowing of your places, and withal a diſclaiming of that innate 'Power which we have by our calling from God, whereby we have place to diſpoſe 'of things external in the Church as we ſhall think them to be convenient and pro'fitable for advancing true Religion among our ſubjects. Wherefore let it be your 'care by all manner of wiſe and diſcreet perſwaſions to induce them to an obedi'ent yielding to theſe things, as in duty both to God and us they are bound; and 'do not think we will be ſatisfied with delays, mitigations and other we know not 'what ſhifts have been proponed; for we will not be content with any thing but a 'ſimple and direct acceptation of theſe Articles in the form ſent by us unto you a 'long time paſt, conſidering both the lawfulneſs and undeniable convenience of 'them for the better furtherance of piety and Religion, the eſtabliſhing whereof 'it had rather have becomed you to beg of us, than that we ſhould have needed 'thus to urge the practice of them upon you.

'Theſe matters indeed concern you of the Eccleſiaſtical charge chiefly; neither 'would we have called Noblemen, Barons and others of our good ſubjects to the 'determination of them, but that we underſtand the offence of people have been 'ſo much objected; wherein you muſt bear with us to ſay, that no Kingdom doth 'breed or hath at this time more loving, dutiful and obedient ſubjects than we 'have in that our Native Kingdom of *Scotland*; and ſo if any diſpoſition hath ap'peared to the contrary in any of them, we hold the ſame to have proceeded from 'among you, albeit of all ſorts of men ye are they that both of duty were bound, 'and by particular benefits obliged to have continued your ſelves, and confirmed

'others

An. 1618. 'others by ſound Doctrine and exemplary Life, in a reverent obedience to our 'commandments. What and how many abuſes were offered us by divers of the 'Miniſtery there before our happy coming to the Crown of *England*, we can 'hardly forget, and yet like not much to remember; neither think we that any 'Prince living ſhould have kept himſelf from falling in utter diſlike with the pro- 'feſſion it ſelf, conſidering the many provocations that were given unto us: but 'the love of God and his Truth ſtill upheld us, and will by his grace ſo do unto the 'end of our life. Our patience always in forgetting and forgiving of many faults 'of that ſort, and conſtant maintaining of true Religion againſt the adverſaries, '(by whoſe hateful practices we live in greater peril than you all or any of you) 'ſhould have produced better effect among you than continual reſiſtence of our 'beſt purpoſes: we wiſh that we be no more provoked, nor the Truth of God which 'you teach and profeſs any longer ſlandered, by ſuch as under the cloak of ſeeming 'holineſs walk diſorderly amongſt you, ſhaking hands as it were and joyning in 'this their diſobedience to Magiſtracy with the upholders of Popery. In ſum, our 'hearty deſire is, that at this time you make the world ſee by your proceedings 'what a dutiful reſpect you bear to us your Sovereign Prince and natural King 'and Lord; that as we in love and care are never wanting to you, ſo ye in an hum- 'ble ſubmiſſion to our ſo juſt demands be not found inferior to others our ſub- 'jects in any of our Kingdoms. And that the care and zeal of the good of Gods 'Church, and of the advancing of Piety and Truth, doth chiefly incite us to the 'following of theſe matters, God is our witneſs, the which that it may be before 'your eyes, and that according to your callings you may ſtrive in your particular 'places, and in this general Meeting, to do thoſe things which may beſt ſerve to 'the promoving of the Goſpel of Chriſt, even our prayers are earneſt to God for 'you; requiring you in this and other things to credit the bearer hereof, our ſer- 'vant and Chaplain, the Dean of *Wincheſter*, whom we have expreſly ſent thither, 'that he may bring unto us a certain relation of the particular carriages of all 'matters, and of the happy event of your Meeting, which by Gods bleſſing (who 'is the God of order, peace and truth) we do aſſuredly expect, unto whoſe gra- 'cious direction we commend you now and for ever.

Given at *Theobalds*, the
10 of *July* 1616.

The five Articles concluded.

The Letter being read once and again, as the cuſtom is with Letters of ſuch importance, the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews* reſumed ſhortly the Heads thereof, adviſing them, as he had done in his Exhortation, to conſider the inconveniencies they ſhould draw upon the Church by the refuſal of the Articles. After which the Rolls being called, certain of the moſt wiſe and diſcreet Miniſters were ſet apart to confer upon the Articles. How matters proceeded in the ſaid Aſſembly you may learn by the Defence afterward publiſhed, in anſwer to a lying and ſeditious Pamphlet that came forth in print againſt the Concluſions there taken. To our ſtory it ſhall ſuffice, that after long reaſoning, firſt in the Conference, and then in the full Aſſembly, the Articles were concluded in this form.

Article for Kneeling.

1. *Seeing we are commanded by God himſelf, that when we come to worſhip him, we fall down and kneel before the Lord our Maker, and conſidering withal that there is no part of Divine worſhip more Heavenly and Spiritual than is the the holy Receiving of the bleſſed Body and Blood of our Lord and Saviour* Jeſus *Chriſt, like as the moſt humble and reverent geſture of our body in our meditation and the lifting up of our hearts beſt becometh ſo divine and ſacred an action; therefore notwithſtanding that our Church hath uſed ſince the Reformation of Religion to celebrate the holy Communion to the people ſitting, by reaſon of the great abuſe of kneeling uſed in the Idolatrous worſhip of the Sacrament by the Papiſts; yet ſeeing all memory of by-paſt Superſtitions is paſt, in reverence of God and in due regard of ſo divine a Myſtery, and in remembrance of ſo myſtical an Union as we are made partakers*

takers of, the Assembly thinketh good, that the blessed Sacrament be celebrated hereafter meekly and reverently upon their Knees. An. 1618.

2. *If any good Christian visited with long sickness and known to the Pastor, by reason of his present infirmity be unable to resort to the Church for receiving the holy Communion, or being sick shall declare to the Pastor upon his conscience that he thinks his sickness to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the Minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, lawful warning being given to him the night before, and that there be three or four of good Religion and conversation, free of all lawful impediments, present with the sick person to communicate with him, who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessary for the reverent administration thereof, according to the order prescrived in the Church.* Private Communion.

3. Item, *The Minister shall often admonish the people that they defer not the Baptism of Infants any longer than the next Lords day after the Child be born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the Minister, and by him approved, the same be continued: As also they shall warn them that without great cause they procure not their Children to be baptized at home in their houses; but when great need shall compel them to baptize in private houses (in which case the Minister shall not refuse to do it, upon the knowledge of the great need, and being timely required thereto) then Baptism shall be administred after the same form as it should have been in the Congregation: and the Minister shall the next Lords day after any such private Baptism declare in the Church that the Infant was so baptized, and therefore ought to be received as one of the true Flock of Christs fold.* Private Baptism.

4. *Forasmuch as one of the special means for staying the increase of Popery and setling of true Religion in the hearts of people is, that a special care be taken of young Children their Education, and how they are Catechized, which in time of the Primitive Church most carefully was attended, as being most profitable to cause young Children in their tender years drink in the knowledge of God and his Religion, but is now altogether neglected, in respect of the great abuse and errors which crept into the Popish Church by making thereof a Sacrament of Confirmation; therefore that all Superstitions built thereupon may be rescinded, and that the matter it self, being most necessary for the Education of youth, may be reduced to the Primitive integrity, it is thought good that the Minister in every Parish should Catechize all young Children of eight years of age, and see that they have the knowledge and be able to make rehearsal of the Lords Prayer, Belief and Ten Commandments, with Answers to the Questions of the small Catechism used in our Church; and that every Bishop in his Visitation shall censure the Minister who shall be found remiss therein: and the said Bishops shall cause the said Children to be presented before them, and bless them with Prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and the continuance of Gods heavenly Graces with every one of them.* Confirmation of Children.

5. *As we abhor the Superstitious observation of Festival-days by the Papists, and detest all licentious and profane abuses thereof by the common sort of professors; so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord* Jesus *Christ, his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and Sending down of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembred at certain particular days and times by the whole Church of the world, and may also be now: therefore the Assembly admitteth that every Minister shall upon these days have the Commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent Texts of Scripture, and frame their Doctrine and Exhortation thereto; and rebuke all Superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof.* Observation of Festivities.

These Articles concluded, order was given to intimate the same in all the Parish-Churches, and the Ministers enjoyned to inform their people of the Lawfulness thereof, and exhort them to obedience. But this being neglected of the greater part, was not the least cause of the Distractions that ensued, especially in the Church of *Edinburgh*, where the people being still fostered in an opinion that their Ministers would not go from their former practice, when they saw them give obedience, withdrew themselves in great numbers, and ran to seek the Communion from other Ministers they knew to be refractary. His Majesty always upon advertisement The Articles ordained to be intimated in all Churches.

An. 1619. tiſement that the Articles were concluded, cauſed publiſh the ſame at the Mercat-Croſs of the principal Burghs, commanding the ſubjects to obey and conform themſelves, under the pain of his Highneſs diſpleaſure.

The Earl of *Argile* falleth from his profeſſion.

At the ſame time the King being informed that the Earl of *Argile* (who the Summer preceding had obtained licence upon a pretext of ſome infirmity to go unto the *Spadan* Wells) was revolted from the Religion, and that he entertained ſome ſecret practice with old *Mackrannald* for diſturbing the Country, did recal his licence, and ordained him to be cited upon threeſcore days to appear before the Council. He not appearing at the time appointed was denounced Rebel, and proceſs of Forfeiture intended againſt him. Whether he was perverted by his *Engliſh* Lady who was Popiſh, or that to gain the favour of *Spain* he did change his Religion, is doubtful; but thereby he loſt his Majeſties favor (who could never endure an apoſtate Papiſt) and undid his own reputation. Some ten years after he made means for his peace, and was permitted to return unto *England*.

A Comet or Blazing ſtar.

In the month of *November* a Comet or Blazing-ſtar of more than ordinary bigneſs ſhined many nights together. It was held to portend great Calamities, and was interpreted by divers to have foreſhewed the Troubles that ſhortly after aroſe in *Germany*. But as every one is ready to make his own conſtruction of ſuch things, ſome with us did take it to foretel the death of our noble Queen *Anne*, who deceaſed ſome months after, to the great regrate of all honeſt ſubjects; a courteous and humane Princeſs, and one in whom there was much goodneſs.

Queen *Anne* dieth.

An. 1619. It was in this year that the Synod in *Dordrecht* in *Holland* was gathered for repreſſing the *Arminians*, and thither did the Troublers of our Church (thinking to procure their approbation) direct a relation of the Government of the *Scottiſh* Church. But the Synod declining all queſtions of Diſcipline, held themſelves to the Points of Doctrine controverted, and having condemned the Five Articles wherein the *Arminians* diſſented from the Reformed Churches, the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly being alſo five in number, it was given out among the vulgar ſort, that they had condemned the Synod of *Perth*, and for a time was the people entertained by ſome Miniſters in thoſe conceits. The relation was confuted a little after, and the falſhood thereof diſcovered; yet they ceaſed not by their Libels and Pamphlets to injure the moſt worthy men, and among others the Biſhop of *Galloway*, whom they vexed ſo with their Papers, as he, taking the buſineſs more to heart than was needful, fell in a ſickneſs, whereof he deceaſed in the beginning of the ſame year. An excellent and ready Preacher he was, and a ſingular good man, but one that affected too much the applauſe of the popular. The good opinion of the people is to be deſired, if it may be had lawfully; but when it cannot be obtained (as who is he that can pleaſe all men and at all times?) the teſtimony of a well-informed Conſcience ſhould ſuffice. *Mala opinio bene parta delectat*, ſaid *Seneca*, An ill opinion well purchaſed (that is, for ſuſtaining a good cauſe, or keeping a ſtraight courſe) ſhould work us joy and delight, not grieve us at all.

The Synod of *Dordrecht* ſaid to have condemned the five Articles of *Perth*.

The Biſhop of *Galloway* dieth.

The Biſhop of *Brichen* tranſlated to *Galloway*.

Upon the death of Mr. *William Couper*, Mr. *Andrew Lambe* was tranſlated to *Galloway*, to whom ſucceeded in *Brichen* Mr. *David Lindeſay*, then Miniſter at *Dundee*. At *Edinburgh* between the Magiſtrates and Miniſters a great ſtrife and diſcontent was raiſed, becauſe of the Peoples ſtraying from their Churches, at which the Magiſtrates were thought to connive. Their uſurpation beſides in Church-affairs, eſpecially the intending of a Clerk upon the Church-Seſſion, did miniſter no ſmall cauſe of offence. The matter was brought before the King, where in behalf of the Miniſters it was ſaid, *That they were unkindly uſed for the obedience given to the Acts of* Perth *Aſſembly*; the Magiſtrates by their Commiſſioner did on the other ſide inform, *That the Miniſters were the cauſe of the peoples diſobedience, ſome of them having directly preached againſt the Acts of* Perth, *and all of them affirmed that theſe Acts were concluded againſt their hearts.*

A diſtraction betweixt the Miniſters and Magiſtrates of *Edinburgh*.

The diſorder pacified.

His Majeſty remitting the trial of theſe complaints to his Secretary and to the Archbiſhops of S. *Andrews* and *Glaſgow*, when as they had examined the ſame, it appeared that both the one and the other were in fault, and that the miſtakings among them were not the leaſt cauſe of the diſorders in that Church, whereupon they

they were admoniſhed to lay aſide their grudges, and to keep one courſe, for the retaining the people in the obedience of God and his Majeſty. The Magiſtrates and Council were likewiſe commanded, as the King had given direction, to provide four other Miniſters, beſides thoſe that were in preſent ſervice, and perfect the diviſion of the Town in Pariſhes, which had been often promiſed. And ſo ſhortly after this were Mr. *William Forbes* Miniſter at *Aberdene*, Mr *John Guthry* Miniſter at *Perth*, Mr. *John Maxwel* Miniſter at *Murthlack*, and Mr. *Alexander Thomſon* Miniſter at *Cambuſlang* tranſlated from their ſeveral Churches, and placed Miniſters at *Edinburgh*. *An.* 1620. Four other Miniſters planted at *Edinburgh*.

The next year beginning the year 1620 the Wars of *Bohemia* growing hot, and the *Palatinate* invaded, the King took in mind the defence of his Daughter and Grand-children in their Patrimony; and becauſe a ſupply of mony was required to ſuch a buſineſs, the Council was deſired to travel with the Noblemen the Members of Seſſion, and the town of *Edinburgh*, for a voluntary Contribution, knowing that others by their example would be drawn thereto. The Noblemen meeting to this effect the 24 of *November* expreſſed a great forwardneſs to ſatisfie his Majeſties deſire; yet fearing that all the Contributions when they were brought together ſhould prove unworthy, adviſed the Council rather to call a Parliament, and impoſe upon the ſubjects by way of Tax a reaſonable proportion, according to the wealth and ſubſtance that every man had. This being ſignified to the King, he refuſed to have any ſupply by Tax, for he conſidered that the collection would require a time, and a burthen ſhould that way be caſt upon the Commons and poor laborers of the ground, which would make an outcrying among the people: therefore he deſired as before, that Noblemen and thoſe others he had named in his firſt Letter ſhould be urged to ſhew their liberality. *An.* 1620. A Contribution required for defence of the *Palatinate*.

A new Meeting for this buſineſs being kept in *January* thereafter, divers overtures were made for giving his Majeſty content: the Noblemen that were preſent made offer to give a benevolent according to their abilities; and divers of their rank being minors, and others abroad in their travels, they ſaw not who would undertake for them. The town of *Edinburgh* being preſſed with an anſwer excuſed themſelves as being one Burgh only, and lacking the concurrence of the reſt, without which any Supply they could make would be of little worth. The Advocates, Clerks and other members of the Seſſion gave in effect the like anſwer, ſo as they were forced to turn unto the firſt overture for a Parliament. And for that the difficulties of the Contribution could not ſo well be expreſſed by Letter, it was thought meet that one of the Council ſhould be ſent to inform his Majeſty of the reaſons and neceſſity they had to call a Parliament. This employment being laid upon the Archbiſhop of S. *Andrews*, he took journy about the end of the ſame month, and obtained after a little inſiſting his Majeſties Warrant for a Parliament: thus was it indicted to keep at *Edinburgh* the firſt of *June*, and prorogued to the 23 of *July* thereafter. *An.* 1621. A Parliament deſired by the Eſtates.

In this mean time it happened that Sir *Gideon Murray* Theſaurer-deputy, being then at Court, an information was made againſt him for abuſing his Office to the Kings prejudice. The informer was *James Stewart*, ſtiled the Lord *Ochiltry*, who, out of malice carried to the Gentleman for the ſtrictneſs which he had uſed in calling him to an account for the duties of *Orkney*, made offer to juſtifie the Accuſation; and, by the aſſiſtence of ſome of better credit than himſelf, prevailed ſo far, that the matter was remitted to the trial of certain Counſellors at home. The Gentleman being of a great ſpirit, and taking impatiently that his Fidelity, whereof he had given ſo great proof, ſhould be called in queſtion upon the information of a malicious enemy, by the way as he returned from Court did contract ſuch a deep Melancholy, as neither counſel nor comfort could reclaim him; ſo far was he overgone, that no advice given by friends, nor offer of their aſſiſtence, nor the company and counſel of any whomſoever could reduce him to his wonted eſtate; and ſo after he came to *Edinburgh* within a few dayes departed this life. It was not doubted if he ſhould have patiently attended the trial, but he had been cleared, and the Accuſation proved a mere Calumny; nor was it thought that the King Sir *Gideon Murray* his death.

An. 1621. did truſt the Information, but only deſired to have the honeſty of his ſervant appear: yet ſuch was his weakneſs (courage I cannot call it) as, giving ſcope to his paſſions of Anger and grief, he ſuffered himſelf to be therewith oppreſſed. By his death the King did loſe a good ſervant as ever he had in that charge; and did ſore forthink that he ſhould have given ear to ſuch Delations. But of that peſtilent ſort ſome will never be wanting in the Courts of Princes, and happy is the King that can rid himſelf of liers in that kind. The Gentleman alwaies died happily, and had his corps interred in the Church of *Halirudhouſe*.

The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* keepeth the Parliament.

The time of Parliament drawing near, the Marqueſs of *Hamilton* was employed as Commiſſioner for keeping the ſame. At his firſt coming having underſtood the buſineſs that ſome turbulent Miniſters were making to impede the Ratification of the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly, he cauſed diſcharge all the Miniſters out of the Town, the ordinary Preachers excepted, and two of the number that would not be made quiet he ſent priſoners to *Dumbarton*: all that time he did carry himſelf and the matters committed to his truſt with ſuch wiſdom and foreſight, as within a few daies he brought them all to the end which he wiſhed, without any open contradiction. The Subſidie deſired was granted, the Acts of *Perth* Aſſembly ratified, and divers Conſtitutions for the profit and good of the Country, as in the Acts imprinted may be ſeen. At the cloſing of the Parliament, which was the fourth of *Auguſt*, ſuch abundance of Rain with ſuch Thundrings and Lightnings did fall, as the Noblemen and others of the Eſtates were compelled to leave their horſes, and betake them to their Coaches; which the Factious ſort did interpret to be *a viſible ſign of Gods Anger for ratifying the Acts of* Perth: others in deriſion of their folly ſaid, *that it was to be taken for an Approbation from Heaven, likening the ſame to the Thundrings and Lightnings at the giving of the Law of* Moſes.

Matters concluded in Parliament.

The King receiveth great content by the things concluded.

This was the laſt Parliament of King *James* in this Kingdom, and that wherein he received greateſt content: for the *Puritan* Faction had boaſted that the Acts of *Perth* ſhould never paſs in a Law, (ſo confident they were of their favorers in the Parliament-houſe) and now that they failed in their hopes, he truſted they would become more wiſe. But the King no leſs careful to have the Acts obeyed than he was to have them paſs in a Law, did commend the ſame by two ſeveral Letters to the Biſhops and Lords of the Council.

A Letter from his Majeſty to the Biſhops.

To the Biſhops he ſaid, *That as they had to do with two ſorts of enemies,* Papiſts *and* Puritans, *ſo they ſhould go forward in Action both againſt the one and the other. That* Papiſtry *was a diſeaſe of the Mind, and* Puritaniſm *of the Brain; and the Antidote of both a grave, ſetled and well-ordered Church in the obedience of God and their King: whereof he willed them to be careful, and to uſe all means for reducing thoſe that either of ſimplicity or wilfulneſs did erre.*

A Letter from his Majeſty to the Council.

In his Letter directed to the Council, he put them in mind of that he had written in his *Baſilicon Doron, That he would have Reformation begin at his own elbow, which he eſteemed the Privy-Council and Seſſion with their members to be, as having their places and promotions by him. Therefore commanded them and every one of that number to conform themſelves to the obedience of the Orders of the Church now eſtabliſhed by Law, which he truſted they would readily do; otherwiſe if any Counſeller or Seſſioner ſhould refuſe and make difficulty, he did aſſure them that if within* 14 *daies before* Chriſtmas *they did not reſolve to conform themſelves, they ſhould loſe their places in his ſervice; and if any Advocate or Clerk ſhould not at that time obey, they ſhould be ſuſpended from the exerciſes of their Offices, and the Fees and caſualties thereunto belonging, unto ſuch time as they gave obedience.* In the ſame Letter he willed the Council to take order, *that none ſhould bear Office in any Burgh, nor be eſpecially Sheriff, Deputy or Clerk, but ſuch as did conform themſelves in all points to the ſaid Orders.* This Letter was of the date, At the honor of *Hampton*, the 19 of *September*, 1621.

The Marqueſs of *Hamilton* wronged by a falſe rumor.

By this may the Reader judge of that which hath been commonly affirmed, That the Nobleman who was Commiſſioner ſhould have promiſed at the paſſing

of

'of the Acts, that none ſhould be oppreſſed with the obedience of them, but all An. 1622.
'left to their own pleaſures. That his Majeſty gave no ſuch Warrant it appears by the foreſaid Letters, and that the Nobleman would go an inch from that he was truſted with none that knew him will believe. The truth is, that in moſt perſuaſive words (and with that majeſty which became the place he repreſented) he did 're-
'quire them all to acquieſce, and willingly obey the Concluſions taken, and not to
'draw upon themſelves by their diſobedience his Majeſties anger; aſſuring them
'in that caſe, that his Majeſty ſhould not in his daies preſs any more change or
'alteration in matters of that kind without their own conſents. And this was all the Nobleman ſpake, as divers yet living may remember.

In the beginning of the next year the Chancellor died at his houſe of *Pinky* near to *Muſſelburgh*, in a good age, and with the regrate of many; for he exercd his place with great moderation, and to the contentment of all honeſt men: he was ever inclining to the *Roman* Faith, as being educated at *Rome* in his younger years, but very obſervant of good Order, and one that hated lying and diſſimulation, and above all things ſtudied to maintain peace and quietneſs. Sir *George Hay* Clerk of Regiſter being then at Court was preferred to the place, and by his diſmiſſion Mr. *John Hamilton* Brother to the Earl of *Hadington* made Keeper of the Regiſter. The Chancellor *Seaton* dieth.

About this time upon advertiſements ſent from *England* of the enlargement of certain Papiſts and Prieſts that were there impriſoned, a rumor was diſperſed that the King was inclining to a Toleration of Popery, and would grant Liberty of Conſcience. This rumor was increaſed by occaſion of certain Directions ſent from the King to the Biſhops of *England* for reforming certain abuſes crept into the Church, whereby the Preachers and Lecturers were commanded on *Sundays* and Holy-daies in the afternoon to teach the Catechiſm only, or then ſome Text taken out of the Creed, the Ten Commandments, or Lords Prayer; and in their Preaching to abſtain from handling the deep points of Predeſtination, Reprobation, Election, the Univerſality, Efficacy, Reſiſtibility or Irreſiſtibility of Grace, leaving theſe Themes as fitter for the Schools than for ſimple Auditors: as likewiſe not to preſume in any Lecture or Sermon to limit and bound by way of poſitive Doctrine the Power, Prerogative, Juriſdiction, Authority or Duty of Sovereign Princes, or to meddle with matters of State, having reference betwixt Princes and people, otherwiſe than they were inſtructed and preſidented in the Homily of Obedience, and others of that ſort ſet forth by publick authority. Theſe Directions were interpreted to be a diſcharge of Preaching, at leaſt a confining of Preachers to certain Points of Doctrine, which they called a *limiting of the Spirit of God*; and, as people will ever be judging and cenſuring publick actions, every one made the conſtruction whereunto their humors did lead them. Rumors diſperſed of Toleration intended.

The better and wiſer ſort, who conſidered the preſent eſtate of things, gave a far other judgment thereof: for as then the King was treating with the *French* King for Peace to the Proteſtants in *France*, and with the King of *Spain* for withdrawing his forces from the *Palatinate*, at which time it was no way fitting that he ſhould be executing the rigor of his Laws againſt Papiſts at home, while he did labor for Peace to them of the Religion abroad; the moſt likely way to obtain what he did ſeek of theſe Princes being a Moderation of the Severity of Laws againſt Prieſts and Papiſts, at leaſt for a time. And as to the Directions given to the Preachers, the ſame they judged both neceſſary and profitable, conſidering the indiſcretion of divers of that ſort, who to make oſtentation of their learning, or to gain the applauſe of the popular, would be medling with Controverſies they ſcarce underſtood, and with matters exceeding the capacities of people. The judgment of the wiſer ſort.

The King offending with theſe rumors, which he heard were diſperſed in both Kingdoms, took occaſion in a Parliament aſſembled about that time in *England* to ſpeak to them, and ſay, *I underſtand that I am blamed for not executing the Laws made againſt Papiſts; but ye ſhould know that a King and his Law are not unfitly compared to a Rider and his Horſe, the Spur is ſometimes to be uſed, but not alwaies, the Bridle is ſometimes to be held in, at other times to be let looſe, as the Rider finds cauſe: juſt ſo a King is not at all times to put in execution the rigor of his Laws, but he* His Majeſties Speech in a Parliament held at that time in *England*.

An. 1623. *must for a time and upon just grounds dispense with the same, as I protest to have done in the present case, and to have connived only for a time upon just cause, howbeit not known to all. If any man for the favor shewed to a Priest or Papist will judge me to be inclining that way, he wrongs me exceedingly. My words and writings and actions have sufficiently demonstrated what my resolution is in all matters of Religion.*

An. 1623. His Majesties Directions to the Council of *Scotland.*

Some more words to this purpose he uttered in that Meeting: but in a Letter directed to the Council of *Scotland* he was somewhat more rough, finding fault with those that presumed to censure his proceedings, and commanding them to take an exact trial of such as had broken out into any such insolencies either in word or deed, and to punish them severely according to the Laws. This was not well published, when the news of the Princes journey to *Spain* made all good men amazed: for hearing that he was gone accompanied only with the Duke of *Buckingham* and another servant, the fear of inconveniences that might befall his Person did mightily trouble them. But it pleased God both in his going and returning safely to conduct and protect him. The occasion and success of that journey I shall shortly relate.

The Princes journy to *Spain*, and the occasion thereof.

A Match had been treating of a long time betwixt the Prince and a Daughter of *Spain*, which received many hinderances both at home and in that Court; but it being thought that the delaies made in these parts would be easily removed by the presence of the Prince himself, whereof great hopes were given by *Gundomar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, the King gave way to the Journey, as hoping by this mean to have the *Palatinate* freed from the vexations of War, and a general Peace established throughout Christendom. Thus the Prince accompanied in manner aforesaid departed secretly from Court, and landing at *Calais* went through *France* undiscovered, and after a few daies came safely to the Court of *Spain.*

The Princes entertainment in *Spain.*

At his coming he was kindly received and welcomed with divers Courtly Complements, but found a greater strangeness than he expected; for although he was still kept in hope of the Match, yet he was not permitted to visit the Lady, but upon condition to speak in such and such terms, and no otherwise. Afterward they began to move him touching his Religion, desiring he should confer with some Divines, for that he could not have the *Infanta* to Wife, unless he was converted and became a *Roman* Catholick. The Prince replying, *That he would not change his Religion for such a worldly respect, nor would he enter in conference with any Divines to that purpose, for if they did not prevail with him, it would breed a greater discontent*; it was then told him, *that he must attend till a Dispensation was procured from* Rome, *and that in the meantime he should be entertained as a Prince, but not as a Sutor.*

The Letter of Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth to the Prince.

This Dispensation being returned, which had in it a Condition, that the King of *Spain* should take Oath to obtain the King of *Britains* consent unto certain Demands concerning Religion, there was a Letter therewith sent from Pope *Gregory* the Fifteenth to the Prince, wherein after many fair and plausible words he said That *as Pope* Gregory *was the first that induced the people of* England *to submit themselves to the See Apostolick, so he bearing the same name, and being his equal in the height of Dignity, though inferior to him in Vertue and holiness, desired nothing more than to follow his pattern, and promove the health and happiness of that Kingdom; the rather because his Peregrination at that time had given such hopes of an happy success: for since he was arrived in* Spain *and at the Court of the* Catholick King, *with a desire to joyn in Marriage with the House of* Austria *(which intention he greatly commended) he could not believe that he did really desire the Match and in heart abhor the Catholick Religion, and seek to ruine the holy See of* Rome. Then falling to a prayer, he *besought God the Father of lights to advance him (the most fair Flower of the Christian world, and the only hope of* Great Britain) *to that noble inheritance which his illustrious Progenitors had gained by the defence of the Apostolick Authority, and the suppression of the monsters of all Heresies.* Towards the end of the Letter, willing him *to call to mind the ancient times, and make his Prayers to his Ancestors, that they would vouchsafe to teach him the way by which they went to Heaven*; he ask'd *how he could with patience bear the*

Heretick's

Hereticks call them damned, whom the Catholick Faith doth assist to reign in Heaven, and to dwell exalted above all the Princes of the earth. In end returning to his Supplications, he said, *that the Catholick Church* Roman *stretching forth her arms to embrace him with all affection as her most desired Son, he could not perform any thing of greater comfort to the Nations of Christendom than to bring again the profession of that most noble Island to the Prince of the Apostles, whereof he could not despair, his hopes being set on God, in whose hands are the hearts of Kings*, &c. *An.* 1624.

This Letter given at *Rome* in the Palace of S. *Peter* the 20 of *April* 1623, and in the third year of his Apostolate, was delivered to the Prince about the midst of *May*, which he received courteously, thanking the Pope for his good affection. Thereafter understanding that the Dispensation was granted, he pressed the performance of the Marriage, but was answered, *That the Condition must first be fulfilled, and the Articles concerning the* Infanta *her liberty of Profession when she came into* England, *and the Education of her Children, if God should grant her any by him, drawn up in form.* These Articles being advised by a Commission of Divines were sent into *England*, and shortly after returned, signed with his Majesties hand, and approved by the Council. And now it was thought there should be no more delaies used, but other excuses were forged; as, *That it was not fitting the* Infanta *should go to* England *before the business of the Parliament was settled, and that these Articles must be sent to* Rome, *and allowed by the Pope.* The Prince perceiving that there was nothing really intended on the King of *Spain* his part, and that the Treaty was only entertained till the King of *Spain* had reduced *Germany* in his power, resolved to be gone, and declaring the necessity he had to return, did leave a Proxie in the hands of the Earl of *Bristol* (the Ambassador legier) for espousing the *Infanta*, how soon the Articles returned from *Rome*. So the King of *Spain* having conveyed the Prince a little way towards the Sea, they parted in most loving terms, and in hope the Match should take effect. But the Prince being after that informed of a conclusion laid, 'That if the Match should 'be farther pressed the *Infanta* to eschew the same should presently enter into 'the house of *los Discalceatos*, a Monastery of bare-footed Nuns) after he was parted, sent and commanded *Bristol* not to make use of the Proxie till he should advertise. The success of the Match intended with *Spain*.

The Prince, having for his convoy home eleven of the Kings ships and some Merchants, arrived at *Portsmouth* the 5 of *October* with his whole retinue, and went the next day to *Royston* where the King lay. The joy was exceeding great of all sorts of people, and publick thanks given to God throughout all the Churches of both the Kingdoms for his safe return. Soon after, when the King perceived by the report, that neither was the Match truly meant, nor the *Palatinate* like to be restored, he directed the Earl of *Bristol* to insist for the Restitution, and, if he was put off with delaies, to take his leave and come home; which also he did. Thus was the Marriage which had been long treated of quite dissolved, the King saying, *That he would never marry his Son with a Portion of his only Sisters tears.* The Prince returneth to *England*.

The year following the Ministers of *Edinburgh* were greatly vexed by a sort of mutinous people, who separating themselves from the publick Assemblies kept private Conventicles, and went so far as to oppose publickly the order established for receiving the holy Communion. The leader of those was *William Rigge*, elected one of the Bailiffs for that year. This man puffed up with a conceit of his own abilities did dream of no less than the overturning of the Church Orders, and reforming of the Ministery in such things as he held to be amiss: hereupon, in a meeting ordinarily kept before the celebration of the holy Sacrament, he did publickly challenge Doctor *William Forbes*, who was afterwards preferred to the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*, for divers points of Doctrine delivered by him in his Sermons; and when as he refused to be judged by him and the Laicks that assisted, the said Bailiff did openly threaten them all, that unless they returned to the old form of ministring the holy Communion, the whole people should forsake them. Herein he was assisted by *John Hamilton* an Apothecary, *John Dickson*, *William Thomson*, *John Meene*, and some other base companions; who being called before the *An.* 1624. A Trouble in *Edinburgh* raised against the Ministers.

An. 1625. the Councel were charged to leave the Town, and the Bailiff *William Rigge* depriued of his Bailiwick, and declared incapable of any publick Office in time coming.

This trouble gave occasion of setling the state of that Church in a better case than in former times; 'the Ministers being ordained to reside in their own Parishes, and have allowed to them a sufficient maintenance; the popular Election 'of Ministers, when as places by an occasion fell void, discharged, and the Presentation appointed to be made by the Provost, Bayliffs, and Councel; the Sessions to be chused yearly by the Magistrates and Ministers for the particular Parishes, who should convene every year some ten daies after the Election of the 'Magistrates for that business; the Meeting before the Communion, wherein the 'Ministers were accustomed to be censured by the people, simply prohibited: with divers other particulars serving to the orderly ministration of all things in the Church.

The death of *Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lennox*.

The 16 of *February Lodowick* Duke of *Richmond* and *Lennox* deceased, to the great regrate of all that knew him; a Nobleman of excellent parts, whose very aspect and countenance did promise much good. He was thrice married, first to a Sister of the Earl of *Gowry* by whom he had no Children; his second Wife was a Sister of the Lord *Loudon*, by whom he had a Daughter and Son that died both young. In his third and last Marriage with the Countess of *Hartford* he found more content than in both the other, but lived with her only some few years, being taken away in the 48 year of his age. His Brother *Esme* a noble Gentleman succeeded, but did not survive him long, for he died the next year, leaving a hopeful succession of Children behind him.

An. 1625. The death of *James* Marques of *Hamilton*.

In the next year, in the month of *March*, *James* Marques of *Hamilton* deceased also; a Nobleman of rare gifts, and fitted for the greatest affairs, which he shewed at his Deputation to the Parliament 1621, and at other divers occasions. His death was the more grievously taken, that it was thought it was procured by poison, whereof the monstrous swellings in his face and body afore his death gave great appearance. His Corps brought to *Scotland* by Sea was interred at *Hamilton* with his predecessors.

The King much affected with these deaths, contracts a Fever and dieth.

These two Deaths affected the King exceedingly; and when it was told him that the Marques was dead, he said, *If the Branches be thus cut down, the stock cannot continue long:* which saying proved too true, for shortly after he fell into the Fever that the Physicians call *Hemitritæam*, a dangerous Fever to those that are grown in years, and thereof died at *Theobalds* the 27 of *March*, being *Sunday*, about twelve of the clock in the forenoon. The *Thursday* preceeding his death he desired the blessed Sacrament to be ministred unto him, which he received with great devotion, professing to the Prince his Son and those that stood by, that *he had received a singular comfort thereby*, wishing all men to do the like when they were visited in that sort. From that time to the hour of his death he was still almost praying, and some one sentence or other of Piety ever in his mouth. As he drew near to his end, the Prayer usually said at the hour of death being ended, having repeated once or twice these words, *Veni, Domine Jesu*, he gave up the ghost without any pangs, as are commonly seen in persons that are dying. He was the *Salomon* of this Age, admired for his wise Government, and for his knowledge of all manner of Learning. For his Wisdom, Moderation, love of Justice, for his Patience and Piety (which shined above all his other Vertues, and is witnessed in the Learned Works he left to posterity) his Name shall never be forgotten, but remain in honour so long as the world indureth. We that have had the honour and happiness many times to hear him discourse of the most weighty matters, as well of Policy as Divinity, now that he is gone, must comfort our selves with the remembrance of these Excellencies, and reckon it not the least part of our happiness to have lived in his days.

Many doleful Epitaphs in all Languages were composed to express the sorrow conceived by his Death. This following penned by a learned Divine in our vulgar Language did affect me so, as I thought good to subjoyn it.

An

An Epitaph upon King JAMES *his death, written by the Reverend Divine, Dr.* Morley *C. C. C.* Oxon.

ALL who have eyes awake and weep,
For he whoſe Waking wrought our Sleep
Is fallen aſleep himſelf, and never
Shall wake again till wak'd for ever:
Deaths iron hand hath clos'd thoſe Eyes
Which were at once three Kingdoms Spies,
Both to foreſee, and to prevent
Dangers as ſoon as they were meant.
That *Head*, whoſe working Brain alone
Wrought all mens quiet but its own,
Now lies at reſt. O let him have
The Peace he lent us, in his Grave.
If that no *Naboth* all his Reign
Was for his fruitful Vineyard ſlain;
If no *Uriah* loſt his life
Becauſe he had too fair a Wife;
Then let no *Shimei*'s Curſes wound
His Honour, or profane his Ground.
Let no black-mouth'd, no rank-breath'd Cur,
Peaceful *JAMES* his Aſhes ſtir.
Princes are Gods; O do not then
Rake in their Graves to prove them Men.
For two and twenty years long care;
For providing ſuch an Heir,
Who to the Peace we had before
May add twice two and twenty more;
For his days travels and nights watches;
For his craz'd ſleep, ſtoln by ſnatches;
For Two fair Kingdoms joyn'd in One;
For all he did, or meant t'have done;
Do this for him, write on his Duſt,
JAMES *the Peaceful and the Juſt.*

The End.

An Epitaph upon King James his death, written by the Reverend Divine, Dr. Morley C. C. C. Oxon.

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The Duke of *Hamilton.*

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MARQUESSES.

The Marqueſs of *Huntley.*

The Marqueſs of *Douglas.*

The Marqueſs of *Montroſs.*

The Marqueſs of *Athole.*

EARLS.

The Earl of *Argile.*

The Earl of *Crawford* & *Lindſey.*

The Earl of *Errol.*

The Earl *Mariſhall.*

The Earl of *Southerland.*

The Earl of *Marre.*

The Earl of *Airth.*

The Earl of *Rothes.*

The Earl of *Morton.*

The Earl of *Buchan.*

The Earl of *Glencairne.*

The Earl of *Eglinton.*

The Earl of *Caſſills.*

The Earl of *Moray.*

The Earl of *Nithſdale.*

The Earl of *Winton.*

The Earl of *Linlithgow.*

The Earl of *Home.*

The Earl of *Pearth.*

The Earl of *Dunfermling.*

The Earl of *Wigton.*

The Earl of *Kinghorne.*

The Earl of *Roxburgh.*

The Earl of *Kellie.*

The Earl of
- Haddington.
- Galloway.
- Scaforth.
- Louthian.
- Kinnoule.
- Loudon.
- Dumfreise.
- Queensberry.
- Sterling.
- Elgin.
- Southesk.
- Fraquair.
- Anenam.
- Wemes.
- Dalhousie.
- Airlie.
- Findlater.
- Carnwath.

The Earl of
- Callender.
- Levin.
- Amandall.
- Dysert.
- Panmuire.
- Tweddale.
- Northesk.
- Kincardin.
- Forfar.
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VISCOUNTS.

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- Dunbar.
- Stormont.
- Kenmore.
- Arbuthnet.
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The Viscount
- of Kingston.
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- Irving.
- of Kilsyth.
- Dumblane.

LORDS.

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- Salton.
- Gray.
- Cathcart.
- Sinclare.

The Lord
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- Semple.
- Elphingston.
- Oliphant.
- Lovat.

The

A List of the NOBILITY *of* Scotland.

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- *Roſſe.*
- *Torphichen.*
- *Lindores.*
- *Balmerinoch.*
- *Blantyre.*
- *Cardroſſe.*
- *Jedburgh.*
- *Burghlie.*
- *Madertie.*
- *Cranſton.*
- *Melvill.*
- *Napier.*
- *Cameron.*
- *Cramond.*
- *Rae.*
- *Forreſter.*
- *Petsligo.*
- *Kirkudbright.*

The Lord
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- *Bargenie.*
- *Bamfe.*
- *Clibank.*
- *Dunkell.*
- *Halkerton.*
- *Belhaven.*
- *Abercrombie.*
- *Carmichaell.*
- *Duffes.*
- *Rollo.*
- *Colvill.*
- *Ruthven.*
- Mc. *Donald.*
- *Rutherford.*
- *Bellenden.*
- *Newark.*
- *Bruntiſland.*

A LIST OF THE
ARCH-BISHOPS and BISHOPS
OF
SCOTLAND.

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The Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow.*

The Biſhop of
- *Edenburgh.*
- *Galloway.*
- *Dunkell.*
- *Aberdeen.*
- *Murray.*

The Biſhop of
- *Roſſe.*
- *Brechen.*
- *Dumblane.*
- *Caithnes.*
- the *Iſles.*
- *Argile.*
- *Orkney.*

THE END.

A LIST of the NOBILITY of Scotland.

AN

APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

The Church of Scotland;

CONTAINING

The Succeſſion of the *ARCHBISHOPS* and *BISHOPS* in their ſeveral *Sees*, from the *Reformation* of *Religion*, until the year 1676.

AS ALSO

The ſeveral *Orders* of *MONKS* and *FRIERS*, &c. in *Scotland*, before the *Reformation*:

WITH

The Foundation of the *UNIVERSITIES* and *COLLEDGES*, their *Benefactours*, *Principals*, *Profeſſours* of *Divinity*, and preſent *Maſters*:

AND

An Account of the *GOVERNMENT*, *LAWS* and *CONSTITUTION* of the *Kingdom*.

LONDON,

Printed by *E. Fleſher*, for *R. Royſton*, Bookſeller to the KING's moſt Sacred MAJESTY, *Anno Domini* MDCLXXVII.

AN APPENDIX

TO THE

HISTORY

OF

The Church of Scotland;

CONTAINING

The Succession of the BISHOPS and PRIORS and PRIORESSES of the several Sees, from the Reformation of Religion, until the Year 1566.

ALSO

The several Orders of MONKS and FRIERS, &c. in Scotland, before the Reformation:

AND

The Number of the PARISH-CHURCHES and COLLEDGES, with their Patrons, Parsons or Ministers, and Pedicular Abbots.

AND

An Account of the GOVERNMENT, LAWS and CONSTITUTION of the Kingdom.

LONDON.

Printed by T. Ruddiman for R. Ruddiman, Bookseller to the KING, and Sold at EDINBURGH, Anno Domini M DCC XXVII.

AN APPENDIX TO THE HISTORY OF The Church of Scotland.

A

AN APPENDIX
TO THE HISTORY
Theocracy of Scotland.

THE PREFACE.

I May be justly ashamed to appear in print near so great an Authour, whose Work is received and entertained with such universal Applause, that it comes to be reckoned among the Patterns of History. But many do still complain of one Defect, that his History being written chiefly for his own Country, those things that relate to the Constitution and Government there, are rather hinted, and supposed to be understood, then fully opened.

This has made many desire a clear Account of those things; and the Humour of writing the present State of Kingdoms being now common to most Nations, many have wished to see the present State of Scotland. Therefore the quick Sale of this excellent History encouraging the Bookseller to give the World a Fourth Edition of it, he was earnest with me, to write such an Appendix to it as might adde somewhat to its value and sale.

He was importunate to find out one who would write a Continuation to it: but I knew well, that both my Abilities in writing and my Informations were too defective to adventure on such a Work: therefore all that I could undertake was onely to give the Succession of the Bishops from the time where the former History ends, with the Account of Religious Orders and Houses, the Foundations of the Universities, and the Learned Men that flourished in them, together with the true State of that Kingdom in its Government, Laws, and Supreme Courts. Which I have endeavoured to doe as fully as seemed needfull. I did not adventure on so hardy a Work without communicating it to Learned and knowing Persons, by whose directions I have now finished these Sheets.

I have long searched into those things, and have used all the endeavours that were possible, to get any Mistakes that might have crept in with such a variety of Informations rectified: so that I am very confident there are no considerable Errours in matters of fact in the Account that follows.

If my Style or way of writing be not according to what the Reader expects; as I need great Allowances for my Defects, so I know upon what disadvantages I appear after such a grave and Masculine Writer. So that, as when one comes out of a very lightsome place, where his Eyes were filled with Brightness, into a darker Room, it appears quite dark unto him; I have no reason to wonder, if after so clear a Light, all my Informations look like Night and Darkness.

THE CONTENTS.

A List of the {*KINGS* / *NOBILITY* / *ARCH-BISHOPS and BISHOPS*} of *Scotland.*

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The Second CHAPTER

Containeth *The several Orders of Monks and Friers and other Religious persons that were in SCOTLAND, with a Catalogue of their Convents and Founders.*

The Third CHAPTER

Containeth *The Erection of Universities, the Foundation of Colledges, with a Catalogue of the Benefactours, Principals, Professours of Divinity, present Masters and Professours therein, and Learned Writers.*

The Fourth CHAPTER

Containeth *An Account of the Government, Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom; with a Catalogue of the Peers, Shires, Burroughs, Lords of His Majestie's Privy Council, Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, Officers of State,* &c.

Whereunto is added *A Catalogue of the Lord Chancellours of the Kingdom, Writers of the* Scotish *History, and High Commissioners.*

With *A compleat Catalogue of all the Arch-bishops and Bishops.*

AN

AN APPENDIX TO THE HISTORY OF THE Church of Scotland.

CHAP. I.

Containing the Succession of the BISHOPS, in their several SEES, from the Reformation of Religion, to the year 1676.

Archbishops of SAINT ANDREWS.

AFTER that Cardinal *David Beaton* was murthered in his Castle of *Saint Andrews* by *Normand Leslie* and his Complices, *James Hamilton*, Duke of *Chattelrault*, Governour of the Realm, did nominate his base Brother *John Hamilton*, Abbot of *Paisley*, to the place; who thereupon was elected by the Canons, and soon after confirmed by Pope *Paul* the Third: who, fearing that *Scotland* would follow the example of *England*, in casting off the Yoak of the *Roman* See, was glad to gratifie the Governour in that particular. *An. Christi* 1546.

About this time, the Estimation of the Clergy began to decrease, because of their corrupt Lives and gross Ignorance; which induced divers of that number to relinquish their Order, and to make open profession of the Truth: multitudes also of Monks and Friers, leaving their Cloisters, began to exhort the people to renounce the *Romish* Fopperies and Superstitions, and to submit to the Doctrine of *Christ*, every-where crying out against the Corruptions of the Church. The Prelates, in stead of composing matters calmly, took the contrary course, exercising great Severity against them, and cruelly burning such of the *New Religion* (as they termed it) as fell into their hands: those who fled they prosecuted with the highest Censures of the Church, Burning them *in Effigie*, and Cursing them by Book, Bell, and Candle. But all this Cruelty served to no purpose; for the death of *Walter Mill* (who was the last Martyr that suffered for Religion) was the very bane of Popery in *Scotland*; mens minds being now wholly alienated from the Clergy, and their Consciences convinced, that the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* did neither allow such cruel Principles, nor countenance such bloudy Practices. 1556. 1558.

To return then to Archbishop *John Hamilton*, who was attainted of Treason under the Government of the Earl of *Murray*: He lurked a while amongst his Friends in the West of *Scotland*; but finding little security there, he betook himself to the strong Castle of *Dumbarton*, whereof the Lord *Fleming* was then Governour. But this Fort being negligently kept, was afterwards surprised by three Companies of Foot sent thither by the Earl of *Lennox*, then Regent, commanded by three Captains, *Ramsay*, *Crawford*,

and *Hume*; who seising upon the Prisoners, sent them to sundry places, and the Archbishop with a strong Guard to *Striveling*, where he was publickly hanged on a Gibbet erected for that purpose, 1570. He was the onely Bishop that suffered by form of Justice in this Kingdom.

1571. At this time the Rents of this Bishoprick were by the Regent conferred upon the Earl of *Morton* for some years, as a recompence of his great charges in his Embassy to *England*. That Earl, that he might enjoy them legally, made choice of *John Douglas*, Provost of the New Colledge of *Saint Andrews*, (before a *Carmelite* Frier, and Chaplain to the Earl of *Argile*,) to be Titular Bishop; who was, with much opposition of the Presbytery, (for at that time there was no Chapter,) admitted and installed, 1572. This Bishop late little above two years, and died at *Saint Andrews*, 1575.

After his death, the Earl of *Morton*, then Regent, did prefer *Patrick Adamson*, his Chaplain, to the Bishoprick of *Saint Andrews*. This Bishop was sorely vexed by those of the Kirk-party, who prosecuted him with the highest Censures of their Church, and excommunicated him (very informally) for not submitting to their Judicatory: but the business was afterwards compounded, and the Bishop relaxed. He was a man of great Learning, but an ill Administratour of the Churche's Patrimony. He sate fifteen years, and died at *Saint Andrews*, 1591.

Hereupon the See continued void, and the Profits thereof were by King *James* the Sixth bestowed on the Duke of *Lennox*, till the Parliament 1606. wherein the Temporalties of Bishopricks (~~in former times annexed to the Crown~~) were restored; the want of which had rendered the Bishops unserviceable both to Church and State. About this time, *George Gladstanes*, Bishop of *Caithnes*, was translated to *Saint Andrews*; a man of ready utterance, and of great invention, but of an easie nature, as appears by his being induced so easily to lease out his Benefice for so many Ages to come, to the great detriment of his Successours. But in this he was not singular, for the rest of the Clergy, both Papists and Protestants, did let Leases of their Benefices to their Friends and others, for Hundreds of years, and that for a pitifull pittance. Which Extravagancy was afterwards restrained by the wisedom of King *James*, when he was of age; for he enacted, That Bishops should let Leases for nineteen years, Rectours, &c. for their Life-time and three years, and other Beneficed persons for their Life-time and three years, with consent of their Patrons. Bishop *Gladstanes* governed the See ten years, and dying at *Saint Andrews* 1615. was interred in the South-East Isle of the Parish-Church.

Upon his death, *John Spotiswood*, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, was translated to *Saint Andrews*; who procured to this See (whose Rents were almost wholly alienated by his Predecessours) the Revenues of the Priory of *Saint Andrews*, then in Lay-hands, as also the restauration of three hundred pounds of *English* money *per Annum*, of a long time swallowed up in the Crown-rents. The Office of the Chancellary in the State, conferr'd upon him by that Glorious *Martyr King CHARLES* the First, he discharged to the satisfaction of his Royal Master, and the Churche's advantage. He was a person of rare Endowments, and in all things compleatly qualified for his imployment. Yet did he not escape the hard measure which other Loyal Subjects afterward tasted of; for by the Covenanters he was forced to retire into *England*, where he met with entertainment more suitable to his worth. He ended his days in a good old age, and was honourably interred in *Westminster*-Abby, *Anno* 1639. after he had governed the See twenty four years.

1637. About this time our long Peace, and the Plenty which did accompany it, made us wanton, our Prosperity puft us up with Pride, we were Enemies to our own welfare, weary of our present estate, too much desirous of Revolutions, and greedy of Novelties. Our private Discontents begat Jealousies and Animosities, which (since they could be no longer smothered) must needs burst out into a flame. We were afraid of we knew not what; nothing but the Preservation of Religion must be the Pretext, and the Cloak to cover the Knavery which was afterwards acted: and notwithstanding the Satisfaction given unto us by the *Best of Kings*, in laying aside the Book of Common-Prayer, Book of Canons, and High Commission; yet still we continued dissatisfied. All the Favours conferr'd upon us by the *Best of Princes* could not ingage us to continue in our Duty and Allegeance to Him. All the good fruit we brought forth was, our ingaging in a most desperate and horrible Rebellion, such as former Ages could hardly parallel. Like *Æsop*'s envious Dog, we would neither be at rest our selves, nor suffer our Neighbours, and such who continued firm in their Allegeance to His *Majesty*, to be at quiet, and live in Peace. Alas! we metamorphosed our plough-shares into swords; the Son rose up against the Father,

Father, Brother againſt Brother; Pariſhes were divided, Shires went into Factions; yea, the whole Kingdom was divided againſt it ſelf, ſheathing the Sword in its own bowels. Which way ſoever we look'd, we ſaw nothing but that which might conſume our eyes, and grieve our hearts. If towards the Church, 'twas rent by Schiſm; the Biſhops, and many of the Reverend Clergy, were thruſt out, impriſoned, plundered, and baniſhed; the *Houſe of Prayer* made (in the moſt literal ſenſe) *a Den of Thieves*. If towards the State, we ſaw the Anointed of the Lord impriſoned, arraigned, and, under colour of Juſtice, moſt barbarouſly murthered, by thoſe who ſlew him, like the Heir in the Goſpel, that they might ſeiſe on his Inheritance. Alas! when Church and State were come to this paſs, the caſe of the poor Land muſt needs be deplorable. We ſaw the Loyal Subjects, under the names of Malignants, Traitours, and Rebels, impriſoned, baniſhed, and miſerably butchered; their Eſtates and Lands forfeited and ſold; their Houſes garriſoned, plundered, and burnt; and their Poſterity almoſt reduced to poverty and miſery. Alas! how quickly did our after-games of Loyalty vaniſh through our own Diviſions? Was there any poſſibility of proſpering, ſo long as we continued Traitours to our ſelves? When we had almoſt ruined our ſelves by our own inteſtine Diviſions, we became a Prey to a Tyrannical Crue of Uſurpers: and to compleat our Miſeries, our Eſtates, our Friends, yea our very Conſciences groaned under the grievous burthen of that inſupportable Yoak, which our own Sins had prepared, and other mens Sins had put on. Nine years did we groan under the Tyranny of theſe Uſurpers; till it pleaſed Almighty God to remember us in mercy, and to free us from the Houſe of bondage, bleſſing us, after ſo many Calamities and Miſeries, with Peace, by the miraculous Reſtauration of our *moſt Sacred Sovereign* to the Throne of His Anceſtours; whom God long preſerve, for the Good of this Church and Kingdom.

Now the face of Affairs began to change, and His *Majeſty*, that He might ſettle the Kingdom, ſummoned his Firſt Parliament to meet at *Edinburgh*, *January* the firſt 1661. giving a Commiſſion under the Great Seal to *John* Earl of *Middleton*, to repreſent His Perſon therein. In the Firſt Seſſion, the Solemn League and Covenant was condemned, as an unlawfull and wicked Oath, impoſed on the Subjects by a prevailing Faction, contrary to Authority; the pretended Triennial Parliaments from 1640. to 1649. with the Aſſembly of *Glaſgow* 1638, *&c.* were annulled; the unjuſt Tranſactions at *Newcaſtle* 1646. and 1647. condemned; Duke *Hamilton*'s Ingagement 1648. approved; the pretended Forfeitures of the Marqueſſes of *Huntly* and *Montroſs*, the Earl of *Forth*, Barons of *Gleugarey*, *Haddo*, *Dunerub*, *Delgaty*, *Harthill*, and others, who had ſuffered for their Loyalty, and all Acts made in prejudice of Lawfull Authority, were reſcinded. 1660

In the Second Seſſion, the Hierarchy was reſtored, which had ſuffered an Eclipſe for twenty four years. Dr. *James Sharp*, Profeſſour of Divinity at *Saint Andrews*, (who had been Profeſſour of Philoſophy in *Saint Leonard*'s Colledge,) was preferred Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*, Primate and Metropolitan of *Scotland*, who now governs the See. 1662

The preſent Chapter of *Saint Andrews* (the old one being diſſolved with the Priory in the time of the Reformation) had its beginning *Anno* 1606. by Act of Parliament, and conſiſts of the perſons following:

The Prior of *Portmollock*, Dean;
The Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*;

The Vicar of
- *Saint Andrews*;
- *Couper*;
- *Craill*;
- *Dyſert*;
- *Kircaldy*;
- *Pittenweem*;
- *Lewchars*;
- *Kinkell*;
- *Dearſie*;

The Vicar of
- *Fordun*;
- *Kennoway*;
- *Merkinch*;
- *Abercromby*;
- *Forgund*;
- *Fowlis*;
- *Roſſie*;
- *Balmerino*;
- *Longforgund*;

The Vicar of *Egliſgreig*; and others, to the number of twenty four.

The Cathedral, which was an ancient and magnificent Fabrick, was demoliſhed with the Priory; ſince which time the Pariſh-Church ſerves for one.

The Dioceſe of *Saint Andrews* contains the whole Country of *Fife*, part of *Perthſhire*, and part of *Angus* and *Mernis*.

The Coat of Arms belonging to the Archiepiſcopal See of *Saint Andrews*, is Saphir, a Saltier (being the Croſs of Saint *Andrew* the Apoſtle) Pearl.

Bishops of EDINBURGH.

THE Bishoprick of *Edinburgh* was founded by King *CHARLES* the First of glorious Memory, about the year 1633. and by him amply endowed.

The first Bishop thereof was *William Forbes*, Doctour of Divinity, one of the Preachers in *Edinburgh*, (before, Principal of the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*,) a very worthy Person. His Works shew him to have been a man of vast Learning and sound Judgment. He sate but a little while, and died at *Edinburgh* about the year 1634.

Upon his death, *David Lindsay*, Bishop of *Brichen*, was translated to *Edinburgh*. The Fury of the rude Multitude fell heavy upon this Bishop, even to the manifest danger and hazard of his Life, upon the first reading of the Book of Common-Prayer in *Edinburgh*, *July* 1637. He was thrust out, with the rest of the Bishops, by the Covenanters, 1638.

George Wishart, Doctour of Divinity, was, upon the Restitution of the Hierarchy, *Anno* 1662. promoted to the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*. This worthy man was 1638. Preacher at *Leith*, and for his Loyalty had very hard measure from the Covenanters, being thrice plundered of all that he had, and thrice imprisoned in a filthy stinking Gaol. But being delivered from thence, he went beyond Sea with the Marquess of *Montrose* 1646. He was a person of great integrity, and well seen in History. Having in his time seen many Changes and Alterations, from better to worse, and from worse to better, he had his *Nunc dimittis* in peace, at *Edinburgh*, *Anno* 1670.

Upon his death, *Alexander Young*, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*, was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Edinburgh*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral-Church is that of *Saint Giles*, (of old a Collegiate Church,) a vast and magnificent Structure. It is at present divided into four Partitions, three whereof are allotted to God's publick Worship.

The Diocese of *Edinburgh* containeth the Shires of *Edinburgh*, *Linlithgow*, and *Berwick*, the Constabulary of *Haddington*, and Bailiary of *Lawderdail*.

Bishops of DUNKELD.

AFter the death of Bishop *Robert Creighton*, *James Patton* was preferred Bishop of *Dunkeld*, *Anno* 1572. How long he sate I know not. After whose death, the Bishoprick had one or two Titulars, Lay-men; but I cannot recover their Names.

About the year 1606. *James Nicolson*, Parson of *Meigle*, was preferred to the See.

To whom succeeded *Alexander Lindsay*, (Brother to the Baron of *Evelick*,) Rectour of *Saint Madoe*. This Bishop being threatned with the Censures of the Assembly of *Glasgow*, did abjure Episcopacy, and submitted to Presbyterian Government, 1639. and betook himself to the charge of a particular Parish.

Anno 1662. *George Halyburton*, Preacher at *Perth*, was preferred to the See; a very worthy person: he sate little above two years.

Upon his death, *Henry Guthry*, Rectour of——was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Dunkeld*, who died in the year 1676.

The Chapter of *Dunkeld* consists of the persons following:

The Rectour of { *Kinclevin*, Dean; *Tibbermure*, Cantor; *Couper*, Archdeacon; *Lethindy*, Chancellour; *Dunkeld*, Thesaurer;
The Parson of *Rattray*, Subdean;
The Rectour of *Fungart*;
The Parson of { *Ruffill*; *Kepit-mack* in *Athol*;
The Rectour of { *Inch-mack-grannoch*; *Logy-Alachie*;
The Parson of *Monoidy*;
The Rectour of { *Blair* in *Athol*; *Elios*;
The Prebendary of { *Fearn*; *Menmure*; *Aberdaizy*.

I can give no account of the Cathedral-Church, in what condition it stands at present, seeing I never saw it, nor had any information concerning it.

The Diocese of *Dunkeld* contains the most part of *Perthshire*, part of *Angus*, and part of *West-Lothian*.

Bishops

Bishops of ABERDENE.

THE Bishoprick of *Aberdene* suffered very much by Bishop *William Gordon*; for he alienated the Profits thereof, and in a short time brought the Revenues of that See almost to nothing. And indeed this Benefice was at his death scarce worth the accepting. About the year 1579. *David Cunninghame*, Parson of *Saint Nicolas*, was preferred to the See. This Bishop was a grave, learned, and wise man; imployed by King *James* the Sixth in an Embassy to the King of *Denmark*, and the Princes of *Germany*, wherein the Bishop did faithfully discharge his trust, to his great commendation. He died about the year 1603.

Unto him succeeded *Peter Blackburn*, Rector of *Saint Nicolas*, who governed the See about twelve years, and dying *Anno* 1615. was buried in *Saint Nicolas* Church in *New Aberdene*.

Upon whose death, *Alexander Forbes*, (of the House of *Ardmurdy*.) Bishop of *Cathnes*, was translated to *Aberdene*. He sate little above three years, and dying *Anno* 1618. was buried in the Cathedral-Church.

To him succeeded, upon King *James*'s Nomination, and the Chapter's Election, *Patrick Forbes* of *Corse*. This worthy man, at the earnest importunity of the Bishops of *Aberdene* and *Murray*, did enter into Orders in the forty eighth year of his age, *An.* 1612. and was preferred to the Benefice of *Keath* in *Strath-Ila*; in which station he continued six years: and after the death of Bishop *Alexander Forbes*, at the importunity both of the Clergy and Laiety, he did accept of the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*. He was in great esteem and favour with King *James* and King *Charles*, being Privy Councellour to both Kings. In his old age he was much troubled with the Palsie. Seventeen years did he faithfully and wisely govern the See, and died in his house in *Old Aberdene* 1635. in the seventy first year of his age, being interred in the South Isle of the Cathedral-Church, near the Sepulchre of Bishop *Gawan Dumbar*. His Commentary upon the *Revelations*, and a Discourse of the Ministerial Office, do shew his Learning and Judgment.

Upon his death, *Adam Bannatyn*, Bishop of *Dumblane*, was translated to *Aberdene*, who being thrust out by the Covenanters, retired into *England*, where he died shortly after. His house in *Old Aberdene*, for magnificence in all things like a Palace, was plundered by a Regiment of the Covenanters, and afterwards quite demolished by the *English* Usurpers.

Several Learned and Worthy men, in the Diocese of *Aberdene*, were at this time thrust out of their Livings. The most considerable were,

John Forbes of *Corse*, Doctour and Professour of Divinity in the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*;
Robert Baron, Doctour and Professour of Divinity in the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*;
William Leslie, Doctour of Divinity, Principal or Warden of the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*;
Alexander Scroggie, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Old Aberdene*;
Patrick Dune, Doctour of Physick, Principal of the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*;
Alexander Ross, Doctour of Divinity, Parson of *Saint Nicolas*;
James Sibbald, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Aberdene*;
John Forbes, Parson of *Auchterless*;
Andrew Logie, Parson of *Rayne*;
John Ross, Parson of *Birse*;
John Gregory, Rector of *Drumnook*;
John Logie, Rector of *Raphan*;
Thomas Thoires, Minister at *Udny*.

After the Restauration of the Hierarchy, His most Sacred Majesty, King *CHARLES* the Second, preferr'd *David Mitchel* (one of the Prebendaries of *Westminster*) to the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*. This worthy man was *Anno* 1638. one of the Preachers of *Edinburgh*; and being thrust out by the Assembly of *Glasgow*, retired into *England*. He lived not a whole year after his Consecration: he died in *Old Aberdene*, and was interred in the South Isle of the Cathedral-Church, 1663.

To him succeeded *Alexander Burnet*, Rector of —— in the County of *Kent*; who sate little above a year, being translated to *Glasgow*, which was then void by the death of Archbishop *Fairfoul*.

Upon this Translation, *Anno* 1664. the Reverend *Patrick Scougal*, Parson of *Salton*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*; who is yet alive, and governs the See wisely and piously.

The Chapter of *Aberdene* consists of the persons following:

Since the Rectory of *Saint Machar* was annexed to the King's Colledge, the Principal thereof is Dean;

The Parſon of { *Auchterleſs*, Cantor; *Rayne*, Archdeacon; *Birſe*, Chancellour; *Daviot*, Theſaurer;

The Rectour of *Saint Peters*, Subcantor;

The Parſon of *Kinkell*, who is the Patron of ſeven Churches, *Kinkell*, *Drumblait*, *Monkeigie*, *Kintor*, *Kemnay*, *Kinnellar*, and *Dyce*;

The Parſon of *Mortblick*;

The Rectour of { *Monimuſk*; *Kincairden* of *Neill*;

The Rectour of { *Turreff*; *Belhelvies*; *Banchory-Devoneif*; *Logie-Buchan*;

The Parſon of { *Clatt*; *Methlick*; *Innernochty*;

The Rectour of *Coldſtane*;

The Parſon of { *Oyn*; *Crowdan*; *Tillineſſil*; *Forbes*; *Phillorth*; *Lonmay*;

The Prebendary of { *Deir*; *Ellon*.

The Cathedral of *Aberdene*, dedicated to Saint *Machar*, was founded by Biſhop *Kinninmouth*, who died before the work was raiſed ſix cubits high, *Anno* 1370. Biſhop *Leighton*, 1430. built *Saint John's* Iſle, laid the foundation of the great Steeple, and of the two leſſer Steeples, and advanced the Fabrick mightily. The Roof was laid on, and the Floor paved with free-ſtone, by Biſhop *Lindſay*, *Anno* 1445. Biſhop *Spence* adorned the Chancel with many brave Ornaments 1460. Biſhop *Elphingſton* did perfect the great Steeple, (which was a mark for Sailours in thoſe days,) and furniſhed it with coſtly and tunable Bells, 1489. Biſhop *Dumbar* did perfect the two leſſer Steeples, cieled the Church, and built the South-Iſle, 1522. And his Succeſſour, Biſhop *Stewart*, built the Conſiſtory-houſe *Anno* 1539. This glorious Structure (being near nineſcore years in building) did not remain twentie years in its integrity, when it was almoſt ruined by a Crue of ſacrilegious Church-robbers: for *Anno* 1560. the Barons of *Mernis*, accompanied with ſome of the Towns-men of *Aberdene*, having demoliſhed the Monaſteries of the Black and Gray Friers, fell to rob the Cathedral, which they ſpoiled of all its coſtly Ornaments and Jewels, and demoliſhed the Chancel. Having ſhipped the Lead, Bells, and other Utenſils, intending to expoſe them to ſale in *Holland*, all this ill-gotten Wealth ſunk (by the juſt Judgment of God upon Sacrilege) not far from the *Gridle-Neſs*. The body of the Cathedral was preſerved from utter ruine by the Earl of *Huntly*. Afterwards, *An.* 1607. the Church was repaired, and covered with Slate, at the charge of the Pariſh, and ſo continues yet in pretty good repair.

The Dioceſe of *Aberdene* contains the Shire of *Aberdene*, moſt part of *Bamff-ſhire*, and part of *Mernis*.

Biſhops of MURRAY.

After the death of Biſhop *Patrick Hepburn*, this Benefice was conferred upon *Alexander Lindſay*, Lord *Spinie*, who poſſeſſed it many years; ſo that the See continued vacant till about the year 1606. at which time *Alexander Douglas*, Parſon of *Elgin*, was promoted to the Biſhoprick. How long he ſate, I cannot learn.

His Succeſſour was *John Guthry*, one of the Preachers in *Edinburgh*; in whoſe time fell out our ſecond Reformation. Moſt of the Biſhops left their Biſhopricks, having wiſely withdrawn themſelves into *England*, to avoid the Storm which threatned them; whereas this Biſhop ſtay'd at home till his Biſhoprick left him. Being thruſt from his Benefice by the Covenanters, he retired to his ancient Inheritance of *Guthry* in *Angus*, where he lived very contentedly and hoſpitably, exerciſing his Charity amongſt the Poor. He died much lamented, during our Civil Wars.

Anno 1662. *Murdo Mackenzie*, Rectour of *Elgin*, was preferred Biſhop of *Murray*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral-Church of *Elgin*, founded by *Andrew* Biſhop of *Murray*, 1230. was one of the rareſt Monuments that this Kingdom afforded, equal almoſt to *Saint Paul's* in *London* (as I am informed) in length, but ſurpaſſing it in breadth. It was demoliſhed at the Reformation, yet ſome of the ſtately Ruines are ſtill to be ſeen and admired.

The Pariſh-Church, dedicated to *Saint Peter*, was (as I am informed) founded by *George* the ſecond Earl of *Huntly*, about the year 1490. The

The Diocese of *Murray* contains the Shires of *Elgin*, *Nairn*, and part of *Inverness* and *Banff*-Shires.

Bishops of BRICHEN.

BIshop *Sinclair*'s Successour in the See of *Brichen* was one *Campbell*, Cousin to the Earl of *Argile*, about the year 1567. How long he sate, I cannot learn.

Anno 16—— *Andrew Lamb*, Rector of *Burnt-Island*, was preferred to the See, and after was translated to *Galloway*, then void by the death of Bishop *William Cowper*.

Upon this Translation, *Anno* 1619. *David Lindsay*, Parson of *Dundee*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Brichen*: he was translated to *Edinburgh* 1620.

Unto whom succeeded *Walter Whitford*, (of the House of *Milton*,) Rector of —— who was outed by the Covenanters 1639. and his house plundred.

Anno 1662. *David Straughan*, Parson of *Fettercairn*, was preferred Bishop of *Brichen*. He sate nine years, and dying 1671. was buried in the Cathedral-Church.

His Successour was *Robert Leighton*, Dean of *Edinburgh*, who now governs the See.

The Cathedral-Church of *Brichen* is a pretty handsom Fabrick: it hath on the South-side a small Steeple, not unlike the Monument on *Fish-street-hill*, *London*, save that it is broader at the top then at the bottom; by whom built, I cannot learn. The Chancel was demolished by our first Reformers.

The Diocese of *Brichen* contains part of *Angus* and *Mearns*.

Bishops of DUMBLANE.

ABout the year 1572. *Andrew Graham*, Uncle to the Earl of *Montrose*, was preferred Bishop of *Dumblane*.

—— and translated to *Orkney* 1615.

To whom succeeded *Adam Bannatyn* of *Kilconquhar*, Rector of *Fawkirk*, who governed the See till *Anno* 1635. at which time he was translated to *Aberdene*, then void by the death of Bishop *Patrick Forbes*.

His Successour was *James Wedderburn*, Professour of Divinity in *Saint Andrews*, who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1639.

Anno 1662. *Robert Leighton*, Principal of the Colledge of *Edinburgh*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Dumblane*. He was a man of singular and wonderfull Piety, of great Learning; and in him most of the eminent Vertues we admire in the Primitive Bishops seemed to be revived. His Life was most exemplary and severe, he preached constantly, and seemed like one in heaven when he preached: his Humility was astonishing; his Meekness and Charity were extraordinary; his expence on himself very small, but all he had he laid out on the poor: he was very tender of all the concerns of his Clergy, and by his excellent deportment, and heavenly discourses, did much edifie and instruct them all: and he studied by the most gentle methods possible to overcome the peevishness of the Schismaticks; but all was in vain, for they became more insolent and stubborn. He was translated to *Glasgow* 1670.

Upon which Translation, *James Ramsay*, Dean of *Glasgow*, was preferred to the See, now living 1676.

The Bishop of *Dumblane* is always Dean of the King's Chappel Royal.

The Diocese of *Dumblane* contains part of *Perth* and *Striveling-shires*.

Bishops of ROSS.

JOhn *Leslie*, Doctour of the Canon Law, and one of the Senatours of the Colledge of Justice, (before Canonist in the King's Colledge, and Official of *Aberdene*,) was, upon the death of Bishop *Sinclair*, preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ross* 1564. He was a person of great Integrity, and a faithfull servant to Queen *Mary* in the time of her Troubles. He wrote the History of his Nation, together with a Description of the Kingdom. He died at *Bruxels* in *Flanders* 1596.

To him succeeded *Anno* 1599. *David Lindsay*, (of the House of *Edzell*,) Preacher at *Leith*,

Leith, a worthy, pious, and learned Prelate. He sate [illegible] years, and dying [illegible] was buried in the Parish-Church of *Leith*.

After his death, *Patrick Lindsay*, Parson of *Saint Vigens* in *Angus*, was preferred to the See, who being translated to *Glasgow*, *Anno* 1611. left for his Successour

John Maxwell, one of the Preachers of *Edinburgh*, a very Learned man, a great Preacher, and of excellent parts; but was generally censured for meddling too much in Civil affairs, and for being too violent, which was thought a great occasion of the Troubles that followed. He was thrust out by the Covenanters *Anno* 1639. and afterwards much prosecuted by them as an Incendiary.

Anno 1662. *John Paterson*, Preacher in *Aberdene*, was promoted to the Bishoprick of *Ross*, now governs the See.

The Cathedral of *Chanonry* (where the Bishops of *Ross* his Seat is) was demolished by our first Reformers, [illegible] part whereof (as I am informed) is lately rebuilt.

The Diocese of *Ross* hath under her jurisdiction the Shires of *Tayn*, *Cromarty*, and the greatest part of *Inverness-shire*.

Bishops of CATHNES.

After the death of Bishop *Robert Stewart* 1586. the See continued vacant till the year 1599. at which time *George Gladstanes*, Preacher in *Saint Andrews*, was preferred Bishop of *Cathnes*. He was translated to *Saint Andrews* about the year 1606.

Unto whom succeeded *Alexander Forbes*, Rector of *Fettercairn* in *Mernis*, who was translated to *Aberdene*, then void by the death of Bishop *Peter Blackburn*, 1615.

Upon this Translation, *John Abernethy* was promoted to the See, a Learned and worthy Prelat, thrust out by the Covenanters 1639.

Upon the Restitution of Hierarchy, 1662. *Patrick Forbes* was preferred to the See, now living, 1676.

The Diocese of *Cathnes* (whereof *Dornoch* in *Sutherland* is the Bishop's Seat) contains the Shires of *Cathnes* and *Sutherland*.

I can give no account of the Cathedral, having neither seen it, nor received any information concerning it.

Bishops of ORKNEY.

About the year 1565. *Adam Bothwell* was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Orkney*, and deposed 1568. for marrying Queen *Mary* to the Earl of *Bothwell*, but was the year after restored. He exchanged his Bishoprick of *Orkney* (with *Robert Stewart*, one of the base Sons of King *James* the Fifth,) for the Abby of *Holy-rood-house*; by which means he became a Senatour of the Colledge of Justice, and a Temporal Lord, being the Ancestour of the Lord *Holyrood-house*.

Upon this Exchange, *Robert Stewart* became Bishop of *Orkney*, and afterwards (upon the Forfeiture of *James Hepburn* Earl of *Bothwell*, and the obtaining of these Isles for a Temporal Estate,) sole Lord of the Country, being created Earl of *Orkney* 1581.

About the year 1606. *James Law* was Bishop of *Orkney*, and translated to *Glasgow* 1615.

To Bishop *Law* succeeded *Andrew Grahame*, Bishop of *Dumblane*. How long he sate, I cannot learn.

George Grahame was after him preferred Bishop of *Orkney*. This Bishop being terrified with the Censures of the Assembly of *Glasgow*, did abjure Episcopacy, and submitted to Presbyterian Government, betaking himself to the charge of a particular Parish, 1638.

Hereupon King *Charles* the First did promote *Robert Baron*, Doctour and Professour of Divinity in the Marischal Colledge of *Aberdene*, to the Bishoprick. This Learned and worthy man having incensed the Covenanters, by expressing his Loyalty so publickly in the Disputes between the Doctours of *Aberdene*, and Mr. *Henderson*, Mr. *Dickson*, and Mr. *Cant*, the three great Champions for the Covenant, was forced to flee to *Berwick*, where he died shortly after, before his Consecration.

Anno 1662. *Thomas Sydserfe*, Bishop of *Galloway*, the onely Bishop then alive of all those who had been outed by the Covenanters, was translated to *Orkney*. He sate but a few years, and died *Anno* 1663.

Unto

Unto whom succeeded *Andrew Hamilton*, a learned and pious man, and a good Preacher. This Bishop accompanying the Archbishop of *Saint Andrews* at *Edinburgh*, received a wound in the Arm by Pistol shot, aimed at the Archbishop by an obscure fellow, 1668. He died *Anno* 1676. and was buried at Kirkcall in the Cathedral Church.

The Diocese of *Orkney* hath under its Jurisdiction all the Northern Isles of *Orkney* and *Schetland*.

Archbishops of GLASGOW.

UPon the death of Archbishop *Gavin Dumbar*, *Anno* 1552. *James Beaton*, of the House of *Balfour* in *Fife*, was preferred to the See. This Prelat, being attainted of Treason, went into *France*, carrying with him all the Ornaments, Plate and Writings of the Church of *Glasgow*, which he put into the hands of the *Carthusians* in *Paris*, to be restored when *Scotland* became Popish again.

Anno 1572. *James Boyd*, of *Trochrig*, was promoted to the Bishoprick; a wise, worthy and Religious Prelat. He died 1578. and was interred in the Sepulchre of Bishop *Dumbar*.

Unto whom succeeded *Robert Montgomery*, Preacher at *Stirling*, who being much vexed by the Kirk-men, was glad, for peace sake, to betake himself to the Charge of a particular Parish in *Ayr*, 1587. resigning his Bishoprick in favour of

William Erskine, Parson of *Campsey*, who injoyed it but a short time: For

Archbishop *Beaton* was by King *James* the Sixth restored. He was a person honourably disposed, faithfull to Queen *Mary*, while she lived, and to King *James*, whose Embassadour he was, a Lover of his Country, and liberal, according to his means, to all his Country-men. He died 1603. a full Jubilee of years from his Consecration.

After his death, *John Spotiswood*, Parson of *Calder*, was preferred Archbishop of *Glasgow*. He sate twelve years, and was translated to *Saint Andrews*, 1615.

Hereupon *James Law*, Bishop of *Orkney*, was translated to *Glasgow*, who dying *Anno* 1635.

Patrick Lindsay, Bishop of *Ross*, was preferred to the See, and outed by the Covenanters *Anno* 1638.

The first Archbishop after the Restitution of the Hierarchy was *Andrew Fairfoul*, Preacher in *Dunce*, who sate little above a year.

Upon whose death, *Anno* 1664. *Alexander Burnet*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, was translated to *Glasgow*, and outed 1669. and

Robert Leighton, Bishop of *Dumblane*, preferred to the See, who resigning *Anno* 1674. Archbishop *Burnet* was restored, and now governs the See.

The Cathedral of *Glasgow*, a very magnificent Structure, was built by Bishop *John Achaius* 1135. It oweth thanks to the memory of King *James* the Sixth for its preservation from utter ruine. For the Ministers of *Glasgow* persuaded the Magistrates to pull it down, and to build two or three Churches with the materials thereof: the Magistrates condescending, a day is appointed, and workmen ready to demolish it. The Crafts or Tradesmen, having notice given them of this design, convene in Arms, and oppose the Magistrates, threatning to bury the workmen under the ruines of that ancient Building. Whereupon the matter is referred to the King and Council, who decided the Controversie in the Tradesmens favours, reproving the Magistrates very sharply.

The Diocese of *Glasgow* contains the Counties or Shires of *Dumbarton*, *Renfrew*, *Air*, *Lanerick*, part of the Shires of *Roxburgh*, *Dumfrein*, *Peeblis* and *Selkirk*.

Bishops of GALLOWAY.

ABout the year 1606. *Gawin Hamilton* was Bishop of *Galloway*, a very worthy person.

His Successour, *Anno* 1614. was *William Cowper*, Preacher at *Perth*, a Learned and pious Prelat: he died 1619. of whom see the former History, page 540.

Upon whose death, *Andrew Lamb*, Bishop of *Brechen*, was translated to *Galloway*. How long he sate, I cannot learn.

After him, *Thomas Sydserfe* was preferred to the See, a learned and worthy Prelate: he was outed by the Covenanters 1638. and upon the Restitution of the Episcopal Estate, *Anno* 1662. translated to *Orkney*.

About which time *James Hamilton*, Rector of *Cambusnethan*, was promoted to the Bishoprick.

Unto whom succeeded *Anno* 167— *John Paterson*, Dean of *Edinburgh*, who now governs the See.

The Diocese of *Galloway* hath under its Jurisdiction the Shire of *Wigton*, Stewartry of *Kirkubright*, Regality of *Glenluce*, and part of *Dumfreis-shire*.

Bishops of ARGILE.

AFter *George* Laird of *Balcomie*, (who is the last Bishop of *Argile* mentioned by our Reverend Authour in his Second Book,) I meet with some who have been Bishops before the Reformation.

The first was *Robert Montgomery*, one of the Sons of *Hugh* the first Earl of *Eglington*.

Then, one *Campbell*, who spoiled the Benefice, about the time of the Reformation.

After the Reformation, there was one *Kerswell* Bishop of *Argile*: how long he governed the See, I cannot learn.

To him succeeded ——*Boyd*. [*See the Addenda.*]

To whom succeeded *James Fairley*, who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1638. and afterwards renounced his Bishoprick, and accepted a private Charge.

Anno 1662. ——*Fletcher*, Rector of—————was preferred to the See; who dying *Anno* 1665.

William Scrowgie, Parson of *Raphan* in *Aberdene-shire*, was preferred to the place. He governed the See nine years; and died at *Dumbritton Anno* 1675.

Unto him succeeded *Arthur Ross*, Parson of *Glasgow*, who now governs the See.

The Diocese of *Argile* contains the Countries of *Argile*, *Lorn*, *Kintire*, and *Lochabyr*, with some of the West Isles, such as *Lismore*, &c.

Bishops of the ISLES.

ABout the year 1606. *Andrew Knox*, Rector of *Paisley*, was preferred to the See. How long he sate, I know not.

His Successour was *John Knox*, Rector of————How long he governed the See, I cannot learn.

Anno 162—*John Leslie* was Bishop of the *Isles*, and after translated to the Bishoprick of *Rapho*, in the Province of *Atmagh* in *Ireland*.

To him succeeded *Anno* 162— *Neil Campbell*, Rector of———who was thrust out by the Covenanters 1638.

Since the Restauration of Bishops, *Robert Wallace*, Rector of *Barnwell* in the Sheriffdom of *Air*, was made Bishop of this See. He governed it seven years, and died *An.* 1669. and the See hath been void ever since.

EVery Bishop hath under him an Official or Commissary, who is Judge of the Spiritual Court within his Diocese. Unto this Court are referred matters of Testaments, Bastardy, Divorce, Tithes, Perjury, *&c.* and many Civil cases. It sits in the Months of *November*, *December*, *January*, *February*, *June*, and *July*.

Commissaries of *Scotland*.

Sir *David Falconer* of *Glenfarquhar*, *Henry Fowlis*, *James Aikenheid*, *John Wishart*, } Commissaries of *Edinburgh*.

John Lindsay, Official of *Saint Andrews*.

Sir *William Fleeming*, Official of *Glasgow*.

John Stewart, Commissary of *Dunkeld*.

John Scougall, Commissary of *Aberdene*.

Alexander Mackenzie, Official of *Murray*.

George Paterson, Commissary of *Ross*.

James Straughan, Commissary of *Brechen*.

James Innes, Official of *Cathnes*.

——*Monro*, Commissary of————

William Scrougie, Commissary of *Argile*.

The Officials of { *Dumblane*. *Galloway*. *Orkney*. The *Isles*.

HAving given an account of the Succession of the Bishops in their several Sees, let us take a short view of the several Courts, subordinate to them, wherein is exercised Ecclesiastical Discipline.

The

The Firſt and Loweſt (which is in every Pariſh) is called *the Seſſion*. It conſiſts of the chief and moſt grave men of the Pariſh, who are termed *Elders* and *Deacons*. In this ſmall Court (whereof the Miniſter is Preſident) all Fornicatours, Adulterers, Blaſphemers, Swearers, Prophaners of the Lord's-day, *&c.* are convented, and put to make publick Confeſſions of their Sins, and Profeſſions of their Repentance, according to the degree or hainouſneſs of them. For Fornication, they make publick Confeſſion in the Church three ſeverdl Lord's-days; in the laſt of which they receive Abſolution. For an Adultery, they make their Profeſſion of Repentance, for half a year, every Lord's-day; and for ſix Lord's-days they ſtand in ſackcloath at the Church-door half an hour before Morning-prayers: and then in the end receive Abſolution. And for other Faults, they doe penance according to their ſeveral degrees. The Deacon's Office is, to collect the Money for the uſe of the Poor, to delate Delinquents, *&c.* And that of the Elder is, to be carefull of the Fabrick of the Church, to aſſiſt in the cenſuring ſcandalous perſons, and to wait on the Miniſter at the Celebration of the Lord's Supper, *&c.* This Court ſitteth once a week.

The number of the Pariſhes in *Scotland* is uncertain: I conjecture them to be about a Thouſand.

The Next Court is called *the Presbyterie*, conſiſting of twelve or twenty Miniſters, more or leſs. That ſits once in two or three weeks. The Moderatour or Preſident thereof is choſen by the Biſhop. In this Court are diſcuſſed Appeals from Seſſions, and other difficult caſes. Here are convented all thoſe who refuſe to ſubmit to Church-Diſcipline, and all ſuch as apoſtatize to Popery or Quakeriſm; who, if they remain obſtinate, are proſecuted with the Cenſures of the Church. Here alſo all ſuch as enter into Holy Orders are examined, and an account taken of their Learning, and other Qualifications, in a courſe of many ſeveral Trialls; as making Homilies, Sermons, and Common-places; which hold two or three months: and then they are returned to the Biſhop well qualified, who upon that proceeds to ordain them.

Presbyteries of *SCOTLAND*.

The Presbyteries of	*Dunce*,	*Straunaver*,	*Merkis*,
	Chirnſide,	*Aire*,	*Aberdeue*,
	Kelſo,	*Irwing*,	*Kincairden*,
	Erſilton,	*Paſley*,	*Alford*,
	Jedburgh,	*Dumbarton*,	*Gareoch*,
	Melroſs,	*Glaſgow*,	*Deir*,
	Dumbar,	*Hamilton*,	*Turreff*,
	Haddington,	*Lanerick*,	*Fordyce*,
	Dalkeith,	*Biggar*,	*Ellon*,
	Edinburgh,	*Dunnune*,	*Strathbogy*,
	Peebles,	*Kinloch*,	*Abernethie*,
	Linlithgow,	*Innerary*,	*Elgin*,
	Perth,	*Kilmoir*,	*Forreſs*,
	Dunkeld,	*Skye*,	*Aberlower*,
	Auchterardor,	*Saint Andrews*,	*Chanrie*,
	Striveling,	*Kirkaldy*,	*Tayne*,
	Dumblane,	*Cowper*,	*Dingwell*,
	Dumfreis,	*Dumfermling*,	*Dornoch*,
	Penpont,	*Meegle*,	*Week*,
	Lochmabane,	*Dundee*,	*Thirſo*,
	Middlebie,	*Arbroath*,	*Kirkwall*,
	Wigton,	*Forfair*,	*Scalloway*,
	Kirkubright,	*Brichen*,	*Colmkill*.

A Third Court (whereof the Biſhop is Preſident) is *the Provincial Aſſembly*, or *Synod*. In this Court are diſcuſſed all Appeals from Presbyteries, and all other difficult caſes. From hence are iſſued Warrants for viſiting of Churches. Here alſo the Lives of Scandalous Miniſters are tried, who, if found guilty of crimes laid to their charge, are either depoſed, ſuſpended, or excommunicated.

The Sentence of Excommunication cannot be pronounced againſt an obſtinate perſon

but after a long Proceſs of near a years continuance, and many Citations, and much pains to bring the Scandalous perſon (againſt whom onely it is denounced) to a due ſenſe of his Sins, and a willingneſs to ſubmit to the Cenſures of the Church: and then it muſt be ratified and approved by the Biſhop. The Provincial Synod meets twice in the year, in *April*, and *October*.

The Higheſt Eccleſiaſtical Court is *the General Aſſembly*; which, as its Conſtitution and Authority was ſettled in King *James*'s Minority, was made up of two Miniſters Commiſſioners from every Presbytery, and one Lay-Elder, a Commiſſioner from every Royal Burrough, one from every Univerſity, and one from the King. Theſe had the Supreme Authority about all Church-matters; and how much trouble they bred King *James*, the former Hiſtory has fully diſcovered. A ſhadow of this ſtill remains: for the Supreme Eccleſiaſtical Court is declared to be a National Synod made up of Biſhops and Deans, and two Members from every Presbytery, one of whom is of the Biſhops nomination, and a Commiſſioner from every Univerſity. But nothing is to be propoſed but by the King or His Commiſſioner: nor can any thing that they doe be of any force, till it be ratified by the King. But as the calling of this Synod is wholly in the Crown, ſo there is little need of it, ſince the King's Supremacy is ſo large, that He needs not their concurrence, to adde their Authority to any thing that He ſhall think fit to doe about Church-affairs.

3. *Seſſ.* 1. *Par.* Car. 2.

The Biſhops of *Scotland* take their places thus: *Saint Andrews*, *Glaſgow*, *Edinburgh*, *Galloway*; the reſt according to the Seniority of their Conſecrations.

CHAP. II.

Containing a ſhort account of the ſeveral ORDERS of RELIGIOUS PERSONS in *SCOTLAND*, together with a Catalogue of their Convents, ſuppreſſed at the Reformation.

IN the Infancy of Chriſtianity, when Perſecution was grown ſo hot, that moſt Cities and populous Places were viſited therewith, many Godly men fled into Deſarts, there to live with more ſafety, and ſerve God with leſs diſturbance. Theſe were called *MONKS*, from μόνος, *ſolus*, becauſe living alone by themſelves.

Their Houſes were either Caves, Grots, or little Cells; what would Hide and Heat, Cover and Keep warm, ſerved them for Cloaths; Herbs and Roots were their Diet, and Water their Drink. In theſe Solitary places they ſpent their lives conſtantly in Prayer, Reading, Meditating, and ſuch like pious employments. They vowed no Poverty, Chaſtity, or Obedience. Thus continued they during the heat of Perſecution; and when Peace was reſtored, they returned to their former Dwellings, reſuming their Callings, which they had not left off, but for a time laid aſide.

Afterwards there ſprung up another ſort of Monks leading a ſolitary life, when no Perſecution forced them thereunto. Theſe conſidering the inconſtancy of humane affairs, that though they had Proſperity for the preſent, it might be ſoon changed into a contrary condition, if either the reſtleſs endeavours of Satan took effect, or ſinfull Chriſtians were rewarded according to their deſerts, and prompted alſo thereunto by their own Melancholick diſpoſitions, choſe a lone life, and lived in Deſarts. Afterwards they were gathered together to live under one Roof, becauſe their Company would be chearfull in Health, and needfull in Sickneſs one to another. They ſuſtained themſelves by their Labour, (for every one had a Calling whereby to gain his Livelihood,) and relieved others by their Charity; and very ſtrict were they in their Lives and Converſations. But afterwards, Monks having ſufficiency turned lazie, then getting waxed wanton, and at laſt endowed with

with superfluity became notoriously vicious; and so they continued till they were finally extirpated.

Thus much concerning their Original; proceed we next to their several Orders.

The first are the *Benedictines* or Black Monks, so called from Saint *Benedict* or *Bennet*, an *Italian*, (who flourished about the year 500.) first Father and Founder of that Order. The *Benedictines* and *Augustinians* came into *Scotland* about one time.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Icolmkill*, in the Isle *Jona*, founded by Saint *Columba*, about the year 590.

2. The Abbey of *Dumfermling*, in *Fife*, founded by Saint *David* the First, King of *Scotland*, about the year 1130. The Church whereof was built by King *Malcolm* the Third, and was, for several hundreds of years, the Sepulchre of the *Scotish* Kings. This Abbey was, at the Reformation, annexed to the Crown.

3. The Abbey of *Saint Colme*, in *Inch-Colme* in the River *Forth*, founded by King *Alexander* the First, about the year 1120.

4. The Abbey of *Aberbrothock* or *Arbroath*, in *Angus*, founded by King *William*, 1178. This was the richest of our *Scotish* Abbeys. At the Reformation it was conferred upon *James*, Duke of *Chattelrault* and Earl of *Arran*, who gave it to his second Son Lord *John Hamilton*. At this day it is in the possession of the Earl of *Panmure*, and the stately ruines thereof are yet to be seen.

5. The Priory of *Urqhuart*, in *Murray*, founded by King *Alexander* the Third, 126— A Cell belonging to *Dumfermling*.

6. The Priory of *Coldinghame*, in the *Mers*, founded by *Edgar* King of *Scots*, 1106. A Cell belonging to *Durham* in *England*.

7. The Monastery of *South-Berwick*, founded by King *David* the First.

8. The Monastery of *Three wells*, or *Trefontana*, in *Lamermoor* on the Borders of *Lothian*, founded by the Countess of *March*. A Cell belonging to *South-Berwick*.

9. The Monastery of *Kilconqhuar*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Ethred* (or rather *Fergus*) Lord of *Galloway*.

The *Cluniacks* are *Benedictines* sifted through a finer searce, with some additionals invented and imposed upon them by *Odo* Abbot of *Clugny* or *Cluni* in *Burgundy*, who flourished *Anno* 913.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Paisley*, in *Ranfrew-shire*, founded by *Alexander* the great Steward of *Scotland*, 12—. The Monks whereof wrote a History of the Nation. At the Reformation it was bestowed upon *Claud Hamilton*, third Son to the Duke of *Chattelrault*.

2. The Abbey of *Rewls-Cross*, or *Corsraguel*, in *Carrict*, founded by *Thomas* Earl of *Carrict*, 126—.

The *Cistercians* are so called from *Robert* Abbot of *Cisteaux* in *Burgundy*, who *Anno* 1088. did the second time refine the drosse *Benedictines*.

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Sanudell*, in *Kintyre*, founded by Saint *Coule Millicora*. What this Founder was, I know not.

2. The Abbey of *Souls-Seat*, *Sedes Animarum*, in *Galloway*, was founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.

3. The Abbey of *Dundrennan*, in *Galloway*, was founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.

4. The Abbey of *Melrosse*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by King *David* the First.

5. The Abbey of *Newbottle*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *David* the First.

6. The Abbey of *Culross*, in *Clackmannan-shire*, founded by *Malcolm Mackduff*, Earl of *Fife*.

7. The Abbey of *Glenluce*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Rolland* Lord of *Galloway*.

8. The Abbey of *Sweet-heart*, *Dulcis Cordis*, or *New Abbey*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Dornogilla*, Daughter of *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*, and Wife to *John Balliol*.

9. The Abbey of *Balmerino*, in *Fife*, founded by *Emergarda*, Wife to King *William*.

10. The Abbey of *Deir*, in *Buchan*, founded by *William Cummin* Earl of *Buchan*, 1218.
11. The Abbey of *Cowper*, in *Angus*, founded by King *David* the Firſt.
12. The Abbey of *Roſs*, in *Tevviotdail*, founded by King *David* the Firſt.
13. The Priory of *Machlein*, in *Kile*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Melroſs*.
14. The Monaſtery of *Elcho*, in *Strath-Tern*, founded by *David Lindſay*, Anceſtour to the Earls of *Crawfurd*.

The Monks of the Order of the *Valley of Reeds*, *Vallis Caulium*, are a Branch of the Reformed *Ciſtercians*, whoſe Inſtitutions, both in Habit, Diet, Divine Offices, &c. they punctually obſerve; but with greater ſtrictneſs, confining themſelves to much narrower Bills. They poſſeſs very mean Revenues, being wholly intent upon their Devotions; and may not goe without the bounds of the Monaſtery, it being onely lawfull for the Prior and one of the Order to goe abroad upon neceſſary occaſions, and to viſit the Monaſteries under their charge. They are daily imployed in dreſſing the Gardens of Fruits and Herbs, which are within the bounds of the Monaſtery, and improved for the uſe of it.

This Order had four Convents in *Scotland*.

1. The Priory of *Ardchattan*, in *Lorn*, founded by *Duncan Mackowle* of *Lorn*.
2. The Priory of *Liſmehago*, in *Clidiſdail*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
3. The Priory of *Beawley*, in *Roſs*, founded by *John* Lord *Biſſet*.
4. The Priory of *Pluſcardy*, in *Murray*, founded by King *Alexander* the Second: the Monks whereof did write a *Scotiſh* Chronicle. It was afterwards turned into a Convent of *Black Monks*.

The *Auguſtinians* are older in *Europe* then the *Benedictines*. Theſe do obſerve the Inſtitutions of Saint *Auguſtine* Biſhop of *Hippo*, who was Saint *Bennet*'s Senior by ſixty years. The *Auguſtinians* are alſo called *Regular Canons*.

Their Convents in *Scotland* were,

1. The Abbey of *Jedburgh*, in *Tvviotdail*, founded by King *David* the Firſt.
2. The Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*, in *Lothian*, adjoyning to the *Canon-gate* in *Edinburgh*, founded by King *David* the Firſt. This Abbey is now one of the King's Palaces.
3. The Abbey of *Cambuskeneth*, in *Striveling-ſhire*, founded by King *David* the Firſt.
4. The Abbey of *Inchaffray*, in *Strath-Tern*, founded by *Gilbert* Earl of *Strath-Tern*.
5. The Abbey of *Scoon*, in *Gowry*, founded by *Alexander* the Firſt, King of *Scotland*.
6. The Priory of *Cruſa*, in the Weſt Iſles, founded by Saint *Columba*.
7. The Priory of *Omiſtai*, in the Weſt Iſles, founded by Saint *Columba*.
8. The Priory of *Holy-Croſs*, at *Peebis* in *Tweedail*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.
9. The Priory of *Saint Mary Iſle*, in *Galloway*. A Cell pertaining to the Abbey of *Holy-rood-houſe*.
10. The Priory of *Saint Colonor's Iſle*, in *Menteith*, founded by *Edgar* King of *Scotland*.
11. The Priory of *Saint Andrews*, in *Fife*, founded by King *Alexander* the Firſt, 1122. It is annexed to the Archbiſhoprick of *Saint Andrews*.
12. The Priory of *May*, in the Mouth of *Forth*. A Cell belonging to *Saint Andrews*.
13. The Priory of *Pittenweem*, in *Fife*. A Cell belonging to *Saint Andrews*.
14. The Priory of *Monimuſk*, in *Mar*. A Cell belonging to the Priory of *Saint Andrews*.
15. The Priory of *Reſtennot*, in *Angus*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Jedburgh*.
16. The Priory of *Straphillan*, in *Athol*, founded by King *Robert* the Firſt, 132—.
17. The Priory of *Blantyre*, in *Clidiſdail*. A Cell belonging to the Abbey of *Jedburgh*.
18. The Priory of *Port-Mollock*, in *Loch-Leiven* in *Fife*. A Cell belonging to the Priory of *Saint Andrews*. It is annexed to *Saint Leonard*'s Colledge.
19. The Priory of *Loch-Tay*, in *Broad Albain*.

The Order of the *Premonſtratenſes* was founded by *Norbert*, born at *Colein*, and afterwards, as is ſaid, Archbiſhop of *Memberg*. He is ſaid to have done it at the Command of the Bleſſed Virgin, who appear'd to him; whereupon with ſome Companions he retired into a deſolate place called *Premonſtratum*, (thence comes the Title of the Order;) where they ſettled their Society, *Anno* 1120. They are under the Rule of Saint *Auguſtine*, which they tell us *Norbert* in a Viſion immediately received at the hand of Saint *Auguſtine* himſelf.

The

The Habit of their Order is a White Garment, and over that a White Cloak or Mantle, with a Cowl upon their head of the ſame Colour.

The Monks of this Order had five Convents in *Scotland*.

1. The Abbey of *Tungland*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Alan* Lord of *Galloway*.
2. The Abbey of *Holy-wood*, in *Nithſdail*.
3. The Abbey of *Dryburgh*, in *Teviotdail*, founded by *Hugh Morvil*, High Conſtable of *Scotland*.
4. The Abbey of *Ferne*, in *Roſs*, founded by *Fergbuard* Earl of *Roſs*. This Abbey is annexed to the Biſhoprick of *Roſs*.
5. The Priory of *Whiteborn*, in *Galloway*, founded by *Fergus* Lord of *Galloway*.

The *Tironenſes* (as I conceive) are not a diſtinct Order of Monks, but rather young Novices, or freſh-water Monks. In a Catalogue of the Religious Houſes in *Scotland*, which I have by me, I find ſome ſtyled or termed *Ordinis Tironenſis*; which if it were written *Turonenſis*, it would relate to *Tours* in *France*; and the rather, becauſe there is in *France* a *Conventus Turonenſis* of *Auguſtinian* Monks; but wherein, or whether they differed from others, I know not. But leaving that to the Reader's farther inquiry, let us take a view of

Their Convents.

1. The Abbey of *Kilwining*, in *Cunninghame*, founded by *Hugh Morvil*, Conſtable of *Scotland*.
2. The Abbey of *Lindoris*, in *Fife*, founded by *David* Earl of *Huntington*, Brother to King *William*.
3. The Priory of *Fyvie*, in *Forumarten*. A Seminary belonging to the Abbey of *Arbroath*.

We proceed next to the Monks of the Order of *Saint Antony*, whoſe Original was from Saint *Antony* an *Egyptian*, who about the time of the later Perſecutions, not long after *Decius*, retired into the Deſarts, where he lived the beſt part of an hundred years, and became the Father of an Eremitick life, wherein he educated all thoſe Diſciples that reſorted to him. After whoſe Example other Orders were ſet up. About the time of the Wars in *Paleſtine*, his Body was tranſlated from *Conſtantinople* to *Mota*, (now called *Saint Antony*) a Town in the Province of *Viennoys* in *France*, where it was honourably laid up in a Church built to his memory, and became famous for miraculous Cures. Among which, *Gaſto*, a Nobleman of that Province, and his Son *Girond*, being heal'd of a mortal Plague, dedicated themſelves and all that they had to Saint *Antony*, wholly devoting themſelves to the curing and attending of the Sick that came thither. To whom ſhortly after eight more joyned themſelves, who combined into a Society. This was about the year 1121. Their Order was confirmed by ſeveral Popes, eſpecially *Boniface* the Eighth, *Anno* 1297. who preſcribed unto them Rules, and conferred upon them their Privileges. They obſerve the Rule of Saint *Auguſtine*'s Order, and as the peculiar and diſtinguiſhing Badge of their Order, wear about their Necks the letter T in Gold or Silver hanging upon their Breaſts, and carry a little Bell about with them.

The Monks of this Order had onely one Convent in *Scotland*, at *Leith*; but who was the Founder thereof, I cannot learn.

The *Carthuſians* were inſtituted by Saint *Bruno*, a Native of *Colein*, who being a *Pariſian* Doctour of Divinity, and a Canon of *Rheims*, abandoned the World, and with ſix Aſſociats began his auſtere Eremitical courſe of life on the *Carthuſian* Mountains, in the Dioceſe of *Gratianopolis*, with the Licence of *Hugh* then Biſhop thereof. This *Bruno* flouriſhed under Pope *Urban* the Second, and died *Anno Chriſti* 1101. King *James* the Firſt did bring the *Carthuſians* into *Scotland*, and built them a Convent in *Perth*, (known afterwards by the name of *Charter-houſe*,) about the year 1430.

FRom *Monks* we proceed to *FRIERS*. Theſe were differenced from Monks, in that Monks were confined to their Cloiſters; whilſt more liberty was allowed to Friers to go about, and preach in neighbouring Pariſhes: as alſo Monks had nothing in propriety, but all in common; Friers had nothing in propriety not in common, but, being Mendicants,

Mendicants, begg'd all their ſubſiſtence from the Charity of others. But they met with very bountifull Benefactours; and in *Scotland*, when their Neſts were pull'd down, were too rich to profeſs Poverty.

The *Dominicans*, or *Black Friars*, called alſo *Predicatores*, *Preaching Friers*, were inſtituted by Saint *Dominick*, a *Spaniard*, *Anno* 1206. and confirmed by Pope *Honorius* the Third, *Anno Chriſti* 1216.

The *Dominicans* had their Convents

At
1. *Wigton*,
2. *Air*,
3. *Glaſgow*,
4. *Edinburgh*,
5. *Perth*,
6. *Dundee*,
7. *Striveling*,
8. *Monroſs*,

At
9. *Cowper of Fife*,
10. *Aberdene*,
11. *Elgin*,
12. *Innerneſs*,
13. *Saint Andrews*,
14. *Haddington*,
15. *Jedburgh*,
16. *Dumfreis*,

At
17. *Cowper of Angus*,
18. *Innerkeithing*,
19. *Dyſert*,
20. *Linlithgow*,
21. *Kingborn*,
22. *Forres*,
23. *Selkirk*,

The *Franciſcans*, or *Gray Friers*, called alſo *Minorits*, were inſtituted by Saint *Francis*, an *Italian*, about the year of our Lord 1198, and confirmed by Pope *Innocent* the Third. His Rule preſcribed Chaſtity, Obedience, Poverty, much Faſting, and other Auſterities, to all that ſhould be admitted of that Order. The *Franciſcans* are, *Minores tam Obſervantes, quàm Conventuales.*

The Conventuals had their Houſes

At
1. *Roxburgh*,
2. *Dumfreis*,

At
3. *Haddington*,
4. *Innerkeithing*,

At
5. *Lanerick*,
6. *Dundee*.

The Friers Obſervant had their Monaſteries

At
1. *Edinburgh*,
2. *Striveling*,
3. *Air*,

At
4. *Glaſgow*,
5. *Saint Andrews*,
6. *Perth*,

At
7. *Aberdene*,
8. *Elgin*.

The *Carmelites* Friers had their beginning at, and name from, Mount *Carmel* in *Syria*, being inſtituted by *Almericus* Patriarch of *Antioch*, *Anno* 1122. They are alſo called *White Friers*, and had their Convents

At
1. *Dumbar*,
2. *Linlithgow*,
3. *Tillilume*,

At
4. *Queens-ferry*,
5. *Aberdene*,

At
6. *Irwing*,
7. *Bamff*.

The *Trinity* Friers, or *Mathurins*, follow. Theſe were alſo called *Robertines*, and *De Redemptione Captivorum*, whoſe work was to beg mony of well-diſpoſed people for Ranſoming of Chriſtian Captives from the Slavery of the *Turks*.

Theſe Friers had their Houſes

At
1. *Falle*,
2. *Houſtoun*,
3. *Dornoch*,

At
4. *Cromarty*,
5. *Scotland-well*,

At
6. *Aberdene*,
7. *Peeblis*.

I can give no account concerning the ſeveral Orders of *NUNS* in *Scotland*.

Their Convents were,

1. The Priory of *North-Berwick*, in *Lothian*, founded by *Duncan* Earl of *Fife*.
2. The Priory of *Haddington*, in *Lothian*, founded by *Ada* Counteſs of *Northumberland*, Wife to Prince *Henry*, onely Son of King *David* the Firſt.
3. The Priory of *Saint Bothans*, in *Lammer-moor*, founded by *Chriſtiana* Counteſs of *March*.
4. The Priory of *Manuel*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *Malcolme* the Fourth.
5. The Priory of *Coldſtream*, in *Mers*, founded by the Counteſs of *March*.
6. The Priory of *Eccles*, in *Mers*, founded by King *David* the Firſt.

The

The *Gray* Sisters had their Houses

At 1. *Dundee*, | 2. *Aberdene*, | 3. *Sheens* near *Edinburgh*.

What kind of Monks were in the following Monasteries, I have not as yet learned.

1. The Monastery of *Abernethy*, in *Strath-Jerne*, founded by *Caranachus*, the—King of the *Picts*.
2. The Monastery of *Saint Andrew de heugh*, founded by King *Constantine* the Second.
3. The Abbey of *Soutre*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *Malcolm* the Fourth.
4. The Priory of *Cannabie*, in *Eskdail*.
5. The Priory of *Star-inch*, in *Lewis*, founded by *Maclewid* Baron of *Lewis*.
6. The Priory of *Rowadill* in *Harrigh*, founded by *Maclewid* Baron of *Harrigh*.
7. The Priory of *Inchmahomo*, in *Perth-shire*.
8. The Monastery of *Elbottle*, a Cell belonging to *South Berwick*.
9. The Priory of *Gulane*, in *Lothian*, a Cell belonging to *South Berwick*, founded by King *David* the First.
10. The Priory of *Aberdowr*, in *Fife*.

Thus much concerning Monks and Friers.

BEsides the Convents of *Regulars*, there were Colledges erected for *SECULAR PRIESTS*, and amply endowed with Revenues. The chief person of the Colledge of Secular Canons was called the *Provost*, and the Colledge it self the *Provostry*. Let us take a view of them.

1. The Colledge of *Bothwell*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by *Archbald* the First, Earl of *Douglas*. It was before a Cloister of Nuns.
2. The Colledge of *Linclowden*, in *Nithisdail*, founded by the same *Archbald*.
3. The Colledge of *Bothans*, in *Lothian*, founded by *William Hay* Baron of *Yester*.
4. The Provostry of *Minniboll*, in *Carrick*, founded by Sir *Gilbert Kennedy* Knight.
5. The Colledge of *Dunbar*, in *Lothian*, founded by *George* Earl of *March*.
6. The Colledge of *Carnwath*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by *Thomas* Lord *Summerville*.
7. The Colledge of *Methuen*, in *Strath-Jerne*, founded by *Walter Stewart* Earl of *Athol*.
8. The Provostry of *Dalkeith*, in *Lothian*, founded by *James Douglas*, the second Earl of *Morton*.
9. The Provostry of *Fowlis*, in *Angus*, founded by *Andrew Gray* of *Fowlis*.
10. The Colledge of *Kilmund*, in *Cowal*, founded by Sir *Duncan Campbell* Knight.
11. The Provostry of *Dirlton*, in *Lothian*, founded by Sir *Walter Haliburton* of *Dirlton*.
12. The Colledge of *Rosseline*, in *Lothian*, founded by *William Sinclair* Earl of *Orkney*.
13. The Provostry of *Dunglas*, in *Mers*, founded by *Alexander Hume* Lord *Hume*.
14. The King's Colledge of *Striveling*, founded by King *James* the Third.
15. *Trinity* Colledge in *Edinburgh*, founded by *Mary*, Widow of King *James* the Second.
16. The Provostry of *Restalrig*, in *Lothian*, founded by King *James* the Fourth.
17. The Provostry of *Seaton*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Lord *Seaton*.
18. The Provostry of *Costorphine*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Baron of *Costorphine Forrester*.
19. The Colledge of *Creighton*, in *Lothian*, founded by the Earl of *Bothwell Hepburn*.
20. The Provostry of *Sempill*, in *Ranfrew-shire*, founded by the Lord *Sempill*.
21. The Colledge of *Kilmawers*, in *Cunninghame*, founded by the Earl of *Glencarn*.
22. The Colledge of *Hamilton*, in *Clidisdail*, founded by the Lord *Hamilton*.
23. The Colledge of *Dumbarton*, in *Lennox*, founded by one of the Countesses of *Lennox*.
24. The Provostry of *Tillibarden*, in *Strath-Jerne*, founded by the Baron of *Tillibarden Murray*.
25. The Provostry of *Tayne*, in *Ross*, founded by King *James* the Fourth.
26. The Provostry of *Abernethie*, in *Strath-Jerne*, founded by one of the Earls of *Douglas*.

The chief Church in great Towns was a Collegiate-Church; as *Saint Giles* in *Edinburgh*, &c.

LAST of all follow the *KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.*

This Order was instituted by Pope *Gelasius*, about the year of our Lord 1120. Their Office and Vow was, to defend the Temple and the Holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, to entertain Christian Strangers that came thither for Devotion, and to guard them in safety when they went to visit the places of the Holy Land. Their Habit was a White Cloak, with a Red Cross, and a Sword girt about them. They were suppressed by Pope *Clemens* the Fifth, about the year 1310. and their Lands were (by a General Council held at *Vienna*) conferr'd on the Knights of the Order of *Saint John of Jerusalem*, called also *Joannites*, and after Knights of the *Rhodes*, and lastly of *Malta*, where they live at this day.

The *Templars* and their Successours (spoken of before) had onely one House in *Scotland*, which was the Hospital of *Saint Germans* in *Lothian*. This House was dissolved *Anno* 1494. and the greatest part of its Revenues by King *James* the Fourth conferr'd upon the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*, then newly founded by Bishop *William Elphingston*.

Though I cannot give an account in what year every particular Monastery in *Scotland* was founded, yet their general Dissolution was about the year 1560.

There was also a Convent of *Red Friers* at the mouth of *Teviot* near *Kelso*; but by whom built, I cannot learn.

CHAP. III.

The UNIVERSITIES of *SCOTLAND.*

THere are four Universities in *Scotland*,

SAINT ANDREWS, } *ABERDENE*,
GLASGOW, } *EDINBURGH.*

The Universitie of SAINT ANDREWS

WAS founded by Bishop *Henry Wardlow*, *Anno Christi* 1412. It is endowed with very ample Privileges.

The Archbishops of *Saint Andrews* are perpetual Chancellours thereof.

The Rector is chosen yearly, and by the Statutes of the Universitie he ought to be one of the three Principals. His Power is the same with that of the Vice-chancellour of *Oxford* or *Cambridge*.

There are in this Universitie three Colledges; *viz.* *SAINT SALVATOR'S*, *SAINT LEONARD'S*, *NEW COLLEDGE.*

SAINT SALVATOR'S Colledge.

James Kennady, Bishop of *Saint Andrews*, founded this Colledge, built the Edifice, furnished it with costly Ornaments, and provided sufficient Revenues for the maintenance of the Masters and Professours.

Persons endowed at the Foundation were,

A Doctour
A Bachelour } of Divinitie;
A Licenciate

Four Professours of Philosophy, who are called *Regents*;
Eight poor Scholars, called *Bursars*.

Bene-

Benefactours.

I can give little or no account of the Benefactours.
The Earl of *Caſſils* hath founded a Profeſſour of Humanitie to teach the *Latin* tongue.
George Martyn cieled the great Hall.

Preſent Profeſſours.

George Weemis, Doctour of Divinity, Provoſt.
James Rymer, *George Thomſon*, *Edward Thomſon*, *James Strachan*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.

The Arms of *Saint Salvator*'s Colledge are the Globe and Saint *Salvator*'s Croſs.

SAINT LEONARD'S Colledge

Was founded by *John Hepburn*, Prior of *Saint Andrews*, *Anno* 152—.

Perſons endowed are,

A Principal or Warden,
Four Profeſſours of Philoſophy,
Eight poor Scholars.

Benefactours.

Of theſe I can give no account.
The Priory of *Portmuck* is annexed to this Colledge.
And lately, the Parſonage of *Kinkell* in *Aberdeneſhire*.

Preſent Profeſſours.

James Weemis, Doctour of Divinity, and Dean of *Saint Andrews*, Principal.
William Sanders, *Alexander Skene*, *Alexander Grant*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.

NEW COLLEDGE

Was founded by *James Beaton*, Archbiſhop, *Anno* 153—.

The Profeſſours and Scholars endowed are of Divinity; for no Philoſophy is taught in this Colledge.

Preſent Profeſſours.

Walter Comrie, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinity, Principal.
David Faulconar, Profeſſour of Divinity.

There was lately founded in the Univerſitie of *Saint Andrews* a Profeſſour of Mathematicks.

The preſent Rectour of the Univerſitie is *Andrew Bruce*, Doctour of Divinitie, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*.

The ſhort and bad Account which I have given of this Univerſitie proceeds meerly from want of Information.

Learned men and Writers.

John Mayor, Provoſt of *Saint Salvator*'s, a perſon, according to the Learning of thoſe Times, very famous. His Hiſtory of the *Scotiſh* Nation is not ſo much eſteemed, being very ſhort, and in the ſtyle and way of writing Scholaſtical and Quodlibetical. He wrote alſo on the Maſter of the Sentences: but ſee his Character page 68. He flouriſhed about the year 1520.

Andrew Melvill, Profeſſour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, a man well ſeen in the *Hebrew* Language and the Rabbinical writings. He was the firſt who kindled the great Combuſtions in this Church, by introducing the Diſcipline of *Geneva* amongſt us, as may be more fully ſeen in the foregoing Hiſtory.

John Baron, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, was a person of great Worth and Learning, and of great Candour. He died in the time of our late Combustions.

Sir *John Wedderburn* was a Professour of Philosophy in this Universitie; but that was too narrow a place for so great a Person, who became since so celebrated for his great Learning and skill in Physick: and though his infirmities and great age forced him to retire from publick practice and business, yet his fame attracts all the Nation to him, and his noble Hospitality and kindness to all men that are learned and vertuous makes his Conversation no less loved then his Advice is desired.

Samuel Rutherfurd, Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, was very famous in those Times, for quickness and subtilty in disputing and writing. He was judged to be very devout: he wrote *Exercitationes de Gratia*, and *Disputationes de Providentia*: he was a wonderfull Assertour of the *Supralapsarian Hypothesis*: he wrote also many Books in *English*; some Controversial, as *the Divine right of Presbytery*, others pieces of Devotion and Sermons: he wrote also a Seditious Book, condemned by Law, about the Power of the King, and the Priviledges of the People, called *Lex Rex*. He died *1661*.

Alexander Colvill, Doctour and Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*: he was before Professour at *Sedan*. He was learned in the *Hebrew*, and was a great Textuary, and well seen in Divinitie. He died about the year *1664*.

James Wood, Professour of Divinitie, and Provost of *Saint Salvator*'s, was a person both judicious and wise, as also of considerable Learning: he wrote a Book against Independency: he died about the year *1664*.

John Johnston, Professour of Divinitie in the *New Colledge*, wrote a Paraphrase of the *Psalms*, and other most excellent Poems, and for his skill in the *Latin* tongue and Poesie was second to none in his time: he flourished about the year *1610*.

David Calderwood, a man of great reading and study, but very unhappy in his way of expressing himself, both which appeared in his *Altare Damascenum*. He was at first very factious, and banished the Kingdom by King *James*; yet was afterwards much neglected by that violent Party, who judged him too moderate, though from his Book none would imagine him guilty of it.

James Durham, a Gentleman of a good Family and learned, was bred in this famous Universitie; he wrote a judicious Book of *Scandal*, with good Learning in it: there are also Expositions of his upon the *Revelation*, and on the *Song of Solomon*, and the *Ten Commandments*, all published since his death.

George Gillespie was also bred here, who was a very pregnant young man, had great freedome of expression and much boldness, which raised him to make a very considerable figure among the Covenanters. He had some good Learning, but was very factious; he wrote against the Ceremonies, and many pieces against the *Erastians*. He died *An. 1649*.

James Gregory, Professour of the Mathematicks in this Universitie, was a person of most extraordinary Learning in those Sciences. He had a strange faculty of resolving the hardest Problems, and seems to have found a *Non plus ultrà* in Geometry. He was Fellow of the Royal Society, and much admired both in *England*, *France* and *Italy*, where he travelled; but lost both his eyes, and soon after died, *1674*.

In this Universitie many of the chief Nobility are bred, among whom none has done greater honour to *Saint Leonard*'s Colledge, where he was bred, then his Grace the Duke of *Lauderdail*: to whom as Learning seemed entailed, (his Family for four Descents having been most famed for Learning of any of their Quality;) so he received those impressions in this Universitie, that, being since much improved, have rendered him so eminent for Learning; of which onely my Subject leading me to speak, I shall say nothing of his other extraordinary Qualities.

Archbald Lord *Napier* of *Merchiston* was a profound Scholar, and of great worth. His *Logarithms* have rendered him famous throughout the whole world: he wrote also an Exposition on the *Revelation*. He died *162—*.

Sir *Robert Murray*, a great Promoter and Fellow of the Royal Society, was a person of wonderfull abilities, vast apprehensions, great depth of Judgment, and universally knowing in every thing, but more particularly in the Mathematicks. He was a great Ornament to the Age he lived in, and an honour to his Country. He died *Anno 1674*.

The

The Universitie of GLASGOW

WAS founded *Auspiciis, Pietate & Benignitate Eximii Principis, Jacobi Secundi, Scotorum Regis Serenissimi; indulgentiam faciente, & jus ac facultatem Studii Generalis sanciente, Nicolao Quinto, Pontifice Romano; ejus Erectionem & Constitutionem magno labore & sumptibus procurante Reverendo Antistite Gulielmo Turnbullo, Episcopo Glasguensi.*

The words of the Bull are, *Ut Studium Generale vigeat tam in Theologia ac Jure Canonico & Civili, quàm Artibus & qualibet alia Facultate; quódque Doctores & Magistri ibidem omnibus & singulis Privilegiis, Libertatibus, Honoribus, Immunitatibus, Exemptionibus, per Sedem Apostolicam vel alios quomodolibet Magistris, Doctoribus & Studentibus, in Studio nostræ Civitatis Cononiensis concessis, gaudeant & utantur.*

The Persons founded were, a Rector, a Dean of Faculties, a Principal or Warden, who was to teach Theologie, three Professours to teach Philosophy. Afterwards some Clergy-men professed the Laws here, being invited to that Profession rather by the commodity of a Collegiate life, and the Immunities of the Universitie, then by any considerable Salary. King *James* the Sixth, *Anno* 1577. did establish Twelve persons in the Colledge; *viz.* a Principal, three Professours of Philosophy called Regents, four Scholars called Bursars, an *OEconomus* or Provisor, who furnisheth the Table with provisions, the Principal's servant, a *Janitor*, and a Cook.

Benefactours.

The Kings of *Scotland* have been great Benefactours to this Universitie.

King *James* the Second, the Founder of it, did bestow considerable Revenues, and endue it with many Privileges and Immunities. The words of the Letter under the Great Seal 12. *Kal. Maii* 1453. are, *Omnes & singulos Rectores qui pro tempore fuerint, Facultatum Decanos, Procuratores Nationum, Regentes, Magistros & Scholares in hac Universitate studentes, sub nostra firma pace & custodia, defensione & manutenentia suscipimus; eosdemque Rectores, &c. ab omnibus tributis, exactionibus, taxationibus, collectis, vigiliis, custodiis, eximimus, & postea eximendos statuimus.*

The same Privileges were confirmed by King *James* the Third, *Anno* 1472. by King *James* the Fourth, 1509. by King *James* the Fifth, 1522. and by Queen *Mary*, 1547.

About the time of the Reformation, the Universitie was almost brought to desolation, and had been ruined, had not King *James* the Sixth, in his Minority, restored it by his Royal Bounty and munificence. He confirmed all its Privileges, and bestowed upon it the Tithes of the Church of *Govan*, *Anno* 1577. Afterwards he ratified all the former Acts made in favour of the Universitie, and made some new Donations, *Anno* 1617.

King *Charles* the First did ratifie all the old Privileges, and bestowed money for repairing the Fabrick.

King *Charles* the Second, by the advice of the Estates of Parliament, gave also money for the same purpose.

Bishop *William Turnbull*, by whose procurement the Pope's Bull was obtained, was very liberal to the Colledge, bestowing upon it both Lands and Revenues; and so were several of the Bishops and Archbishops who succeeded him.

The Citie of *Glasgow* were also Benefactours to the Colledge.

The Ground on which the Colledge stands, with a Field adjacent thereunto, was the donation of *James* Lord *Hamilton*.

Since the Reformation, sundry private men have given considerable summs of money towards the maintenance of poor Scholars or Bursars; as *William Struthers*, *Zachary Boyd*, *Thomas Crawford*, Ministers.

Others have bestowed money for repairing the Fabrick, as *Alexander Boyd*, *Matthew Wilson*, Ministers.

James Law, Archbishop of *Glasgow*, was very bountifull to the Colledge; for he much augmented the Revenues thereof, and bestowed many choice Books, which are in the Library.

William Earl of *Dundonald*, *Anno* 1672. gave about 1000 pounds sterling towards the maintenance of Bursars.

John Snell hath of late bestowed 6000 Marks *Scotish* for enriching the Library, and adorning the Fabrick.

The Archbiſhops of *Glaſgow* are perpetual Chancellours of the Univerſitie. The Rectour is choſen once every year. *David Cadyow*, Canon of *Glaſgow*, was the firſt Rectour; and *William Elphingſton*, Official of *Glaſgow*, afterwards Biſhop of *Aberdene*, was the firſt Dean of Facultie.

Principals.

1454. *David Binch* firſt Principal.

His Succeſſours are not known, becauſe the old Records and Regiſters of the Colledge were either deſtroyed or taken away at the Reformation.

1577. *Andrew Melvin.*
1580. *Thomas Smeton.*
1600. *Patrick Sharp.*
1615. *Robert Boyd* of *Trochrig.*
1622. *John Cameron.*
1626. *John Strang*, Doctour of Divinitie.
1650. *Robert Ramſay:* he lived but a month after his Inſtalment.
1653. *Patrick Gilleſpie.*
1660. *Robert Bailie.*
1662. *Edward Wright*, preſent Principal.

Profeſſours of Divinitie.

The Principals taught Theologie till *Anno* 1640. at which time there was a Salarie ſettled for maintenance of a Profeſſour of Divinitie.

1640. *David Dickſon.*
1649. *Robert Bailie.*
1660. *John Young.*
1668. *Gilbert Burnet.*
1674. *David Liddell*, preſent Profeſſour of Divinitie.

There is not a Coat of Arms peculiar to this Univerſitie, but they uſe the Arms of the Citie of *Glaſgow.*

Preſent Profeſſours.

Sir *William Fleming* of *Ferm*, Rectour.
Doctour *Matthew Brisban*, Dean of Facultie.
Edward Wright, Principal or Warden.
David Liddell, Profeſſour of Theologie.
William Blair, *Thomas Nicolſon*, *John Tran*, *John Boyd*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.

Learned men and Writers.

John Sharp, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinitie, a man well learned, and a good Textuary.

John Cameron, Principal, of whom I need ſay no more, but that he was the Great *Cameron* ſo well known to the World by his excellent Prelections on the New Teſtament. He acquired ſo much fame in *France*, where he was Profeſſour of Divinitie in *Saumur*, that King *James* brought him to *Scotland*, hoping that his Learning and Worth would have had ſome effects on the Puritans: but he finding them untractable, went back to *France*, where he lived and died in great eſteem.

Robert Boyd, Principal, was a very excellent Perſon, and of conſiderable Learning: he wrote a large Commentary on the *Epheſians.*

John Strang, Doctour of Divinity, Principal, a man of great Parts, extraordinary Subtilty, and of a moſt ſolid Reaſon, as appears by his excellent Books *De voluntate Dei in actibus humanis*, and *De Scriptura Sacra.*

David Dickſon, Profeſſour of Divinitie, a man wonderfully eſteemed and reverenced for his Piety by the Covenanters, not unlearned: he wrote a Commentary on S. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, on the *Pſalms*, and the Epiſtles to the *Romans* and *Hebrews*; alſo a Book of Practical Divinitie, called *Therapeutica Sacra*, which he wrote in *Latin.*

Robert

Robert Bailie, Professour of Divinity, and afterwards Principal, a learned and modest man: though he published some very violent Writings, yet those flowed rather from the instigation of other persons, then his own inclinations. He has left a great evidence of his Diligence and Learning in his *Opus Chronologicum*.

Alexander Nisbet and *James Ferguson*, two Ministers much esteemed, were bred in this University: they wrote each of them Commentaries on some of the Epistles.

George Hutchinson was also bred here, who was accounted one of the greatest Preachers of the Presbyterian party, and was a Learned man: he wrote on the Twelve *Minor Prophets*, on *Job*, and on the Gospel of Saint *John*. He died *Anno* 1674.

George Buchanan was a person that deserves a higher Character then I can give him: but it is done to such advantage in the foregoing History, that I must referre the Reader to it, page 325.

The Universitie of ABERDENE.

IN the Reign of King *Alexander* the Second, *Anno* 121— there was a *Studium Generale in Collegio Canonicorum*, where there were Professours and Doctours of Divinitie, and of the Canon and Civil Laws, and many Learned men have flourished therein.

King *James* the Fourth, and *William Elphingston*, Bishop of *Aberdene*, procured from Pope *Alexander* the Sixth the Privilege of an Universitie in *Aberdene*, *Anno Christi* 1494. It is endowed with as ample Privileges as any Universitie in Christendom; and particularly the Foundation relates to the Privileges of *Paris* and *Bononia*, but hath no reference to *Oxford* or *Cambridge*, because of the Wars between *Scotland* and *England* at that time. The Privileges were afterwards confirmed by Pope *Julius* the Second, *Clement* the Seventh, *Leo* the Tenth, and *Paul* the Second; and by the Successours of King *James* the Fourth.

The Bishop of *Aberdene* is perpetual Chancellour of this Universitie, and hath power to visit in his own person, and to reform Abuses: and although he be not a Doctour of Divinitie, yet the Foundation gives him power of conferring that Degree.

The Office of Vicechancellour resides in the Official or Commissary of *Aberdene*.

The Rectour, who is chosen yearly, with the assistence of his four Assessours is to take notice of Abuses, *&c.* in the Universitie, and to make a return thereof to the Chancellour. If one of the Masters happen to be Rectour, then is his power devolved upon the Vicechancellour.

The Colledge was founded by Bishop *William Elphingston*, *Anno* 1500. and was called the *King's Colledge*, because King *James* the Fourth took upon him and his Successours the special Protection of it.

Persons endowed were,

A Doctour of { Theologie, who was Principal;
the Canon Law;
the Civil Law;
Physick;

A Professour of Humanity to teach Grammar;
A Subprincipal to teach Philosophy;
A Cantor;
A Sacrist;
Six Students of Divinitie;
Three Students of the Laws;
Thirteen Students of Philosophy;
An Organist;
Five Singing-boys, who were Students of Humanitie.

Benefactours.

Bishop *William Elphingston*, the Founder, built most part of the Fabrick, furnished the great Steeple with ten Bells, gave many costly Ornaments, as Hangings, Books, *&c.*

King *James* the Fourth bestowed upon the Colledge the Rents of the Hospital of *Saint Germens* in *Lothian*, whereof the Tithes of the Parishes of *Aberluthnot* in *Mernis*, of *Glenmuik* and *Glengairden* in *Mar*, are a part; as also the Tithes of the Parishes of *Slanes* and *Furvie* in *Buchan*.

King

King *James* the Sixth beſtowed upon it the Rents of the *Carmelite* Friers of *Bamff*, the Chaplainries of *Weſtball* and *Falleyroull*.

King *Charles* the Firſt gave to the Colledge two parts of the Revenues of the Biſhoprick of *Aberdene*, ſo long as the See ſhould remain vacant, *Anno* 1641. Upon which Donation, eight Burſars more were endowed, and the Univerſitie was called the *Caroline* Univerſitie.

King *Charles* the Second, by the advice of the Eſtates of Parliament, did beſtow upon it, *Anno* 1672. the Stipends of all thoſe Churches which ſhould happen to be vacant within the Dioceſes of *Aberdene*, *Murray*, *Roſs*, and *Cathnes*, and that for ſeven years following the date of the Act.

Gawin Dumbar, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, built the South-quarter of the Colledge, and the houſes belonging to the Prebendaries, and did perfect whatſoever Biſhop *Elphingſton* left unfiniſhed.

William Stewart, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, built the Library, Chapter-houſe, Veſtry-houſe, a School, and Chambers for the Chaplains.

Duncan Sherar, Parſon of *Clat*, gave certain Lands towards the maintenance of Burſars.

Nicolaus Hay, Profeſſour of the Civil Law, and Official of *Aberdene*, gave maintenance to Burſars.

Robert Maitland, Dean of *Aberdene*, procured the annexation of the Deanry to the Colledge, 1579.

Walter Stewart, Principal, procured the annexation of his Rectory of *Methlick* to the Colledge.

Sir *Thomas Burnet* of *Leyis* endowed three Burſars.

James Wat, Rector of *Snaith* in *Yorkſhire*, gave certain Lands towards the maintenance of a Student of Divinitie.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Phyſick, left in legacy to the Colledge two hundred pounds of *Engliſh* money: he alſo left his Books to the Library.

John Forbes, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinitie, did purchaſe two houſes, and left the one for the accommodation of his Succeſſours Profeſſours of Divinitie, and the other for the uſe of the Cantor.

The following perſons left their Books to the Library.

Andrew Strachan, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinitie.

George Clerk, a Miniſter.

Thomas Garden.

George Anderſon.

Sir *Francis Gordon.*

Alexander Blackhall, Student of Divinitie, reſident at *London.*

Thomas Mercer, Burgeſs of *Aberdene.*

Principals.

150—. *Hector Boeth*, or *Boyes*, (deſcended from the *Boeths* of *Panbride* in *Angus*,) born in *Dundee*, and bred up in Letters in the Univerſitie of *Paris*, was the firſt Principal. Beſides his Hiſtory of the *Scots*, he wrote the Lives of the Biſhops of *Aberdene*.

153—. *William Hay*, Subprincipal, was his Succeſſour.

1552. *John Biſſait* continued ſix years, and reſigned his place (becauſe of his infirmitie proceeding from long ſickneſs) to

1558. *Alexander Anderſon*, Subprincipal, who was alſo Parſon of *Tyrie*, and Vicar of *Kinkell*. This man was a great Scholar, and a ſubtil Diſputant, but no great friend to the Colledge. For the hatred he bare to the Reformed Religion, he alienated ſome of the Colledge-Revenues, deſtroyed many of its Writings and Evidences, whereby many Lands and other Rents belonging to *Saint Germans* are quite loſt; ſold the Ornaments, Books, and other Furniture belonging to the Colledge. Commendable he was in one thing; for when ſome of the Reformers would have taken away the Lead and Bells, *repulit vim ferro.* He was afterwards turned out, and the Place conferred upon

1569. *Alexander Arbuthnot*, (Brother to the Baron of *Arbuthnot*,) Parſon of *Arbuthnot* and *Logy Buchan*, a modeſt, learned, and pious Divine.

1584. *Walter Stewart*, Subprincipal, was his Succeſſour, a very hopefull perſon, taken away in the thirty-fixth year of his age.

1593. Upon his death, *David Rait*, (of the Houſe of *Halgreen* in the *Mernis*,) Subprincipal,

principal, was preferred to the place. He continued Principal fortie two years.

1634. To him ſucceeded *William Leſlie*, Doctour of Divinitie, Subprincipal, a man of great Learning. In his time, *Anno* 1634. a ſtorm of wind beat down the top of the great Steeple, which afterwards was built more ſtately, conſiſting of four Arches ſupporting a Crown with a Globe and Croſs. Principal *Leſlie* was for his Loyalty thruſt out by the Covenanters, and in his room was elected

1640. *William Guild*, Doctour of Divinitie, Miniſter in *Aberdene*, and one of the Chaplains to King *Charles* the Firſt; a Learned and worthy perſon. He built the Tradeſmens Hoſpital in *Aberdene*, left conſiderable Legacies to the Poor, and bequeathed his Books to the Library of *Saint Andrews*.

Anno 1649. the General Aſſembly gave a Commiſſion to ſome Miniſters and Lay-Elders to reform the Colledge, and to expell the Malignants.

Perſons thruſt out.

Doctour *William Guild*, Principal;
Alexander Middleton, Subprincipal;
Patrick Gordon, *George Middleton*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.

Perſons put in.

The Commiſſioners at that time did not unanimouſly agree whom to put in; and conſidering (Winter drawing near) that the Colledge could not be well governed, unleſs there were a Principal or Subprincipal, therefore they ordered the Subprincipal to continue, till his place were ſupplied by another. Shortly after, the Maſters reſtored the Principal (in deſpite of all oppoſition) to his place. But *Anno* 1651. General *Monk* ſent five Colonels to reform the Coledge; Colonel *Fenwick*, *Moſeley*, *Owen*, *Disborough*, and *Smith*. At this Reformation both Principal and Subprincipal were again turned out: *Gilbert Rewle* was ſubſtituted in the room of the latter, and the place of the former was conferred upon

1652. *John Row*, an Independent Miniſter in *Aberdene*, a perſon well ſeen in the *Latin* and *Greek* Languages, and not ill in the *Hebrew*. In his time, *Anno* 1657. was laid the foundation of the New work in the North-Eaſt corner of the Colledge, of ſix ſtories high, conſiſting of twenty four Chambers with Chimneys and Conveniences, a School, and a Bulliard-houſe. The Money that built it was given by the Maſters, and other well-diſpoſed perſons, whoſe Names are written in a Regiſter called *Album amicorum Collegii Regii Aberdonenſis*. Mr. *Row* continued Principal till *Anno* 1661.

At which time *William Rait*, Miniſter at *Brichen*, was preferred to the place. He ſtayed onely a year, and returned to *Brichen*.

1662. *Alexander Middleton*, Miniſter in *Old Aberdene*, and Subprincipal, of whom before, ſucceeded him.

Profeſſours of Divinitie.

The Profeſſour of Divinitie was founded by the Biſhop, Synod, and Colledge of *Aberdene*, *Anno* 162—. The firſt Profeſſour was

162—. *John Forbes*, Doctour of Divinity, a moſt pious, peaceable and learned Divine. He continued till the year 163—. and being by the Magiſtrates of *Aberdene* choſen to be one of the Miniſters of the Town, left for his Succeſſour

1634. *Andrew Strachan*, Doctour of Divinity, who lived little above a year after his Inſtalment.

1635. Doctour *Forbes* was choſen Profeſſour again, and continued till for his Loyalty he was thruſt out by the Covenanters, *Anno* 1639. Shortly after he went over into *Holland*, where he publiſhed his *Inſtructiones Hiſtorico-Theologicæ*, and returning home died in his houſe of *Corſe*, *Anno* 165—.

164—. *William Douglas*, Miniſter at *Forgue*, ſucceeded Doctour *Forbes*. He died *Anno* 1665.

1673. *Henry Scougal*, Parſon of *Achterleſs*, was after ſome years Vacancy preferred to the place.

The Election of the Rectour, Dean of Facultie, Profeſſour of the Oriental Languages, Profeſſours of Philoſophy, *Janitor*, &c. is by the major part of the Maſters: but the Principal and the reſt of the Prebendaries are choſen not onely by the major part, but alſo by four *Procuratores Nationum*. In all the Elections the Foundation gives the Principal one great Privilege: *Volumus enim ut in omnibus hiſce Electionibus, Principalis habeat vocem*

Nominativam, *Electivam*, & *Concluſivam*: which ſeems to be a Negative voice inherent in him.

If a Place be vacant, a Burſar (*Alumnus*) is to be preferred before any other, if he be ſufficiently qualified.

If a vacant Place be not filled within one month, then it falls to the Chancellour *Jure devoluto*, who preſents one for that time.

The *Procuratores Nationum* their having a voice in the Elections, imports the like to be in the Scholars, from whom they derive their power of voting. The Scholars are divided into four Claſſes, according to the number of the Dioceſes or Provinces wherein they live. The Provinces are theſe.

1. *Provincia Aberdonenſis* contains the Shires of *Aberdene* and *Bamff*.
2. *Provincia Moravienſis* includes all thoſe Countries that lie on the North ſide of the River *Spey*.
3. *Provincia Anguſienſis* contains *Angus* and *Mernis*.
4. *Provincia Laudonienſis* comprehends (beſides *Lothian*) all the reſt of *Scotland*.

The Students of each Province do chuſe a Procuratour to give up their Vote in the Election.

Every *Michaelmas*, the Maſters convene after the ending of the ten weeks Vacation, and a Probleme is affixed on the Colledge-Gates, inviting young Scholars to come and diſpute for a Burſe, (which is their maintenance at the Colledge.) To theſe are preſcribed Exerciſes or Themes to make, then *Latin* Authours in Proſe and Verſe to expound: and the firſt four (for ſo many Burſes are void at every Commencement) who are reckoned to be the beſt Scholars, are preferred.

In *Octobe*r the Students begin to convene. They wear a Red or Scarlet Gown with hanging Sleeves; but thoſe who are Burſars, a Black Gown with a Girdle. Their time of continuance at the Univerſitie is four years. They are ranked into four Claſſes.

To thoſe of the firſt Claſs is taught the *Greek* Language.

The Students of the ſecond Claſs do learn Logicks and Metaphyſicks.

Thoſe of the third Claſs (who at the year's end are Bachelours of Arts) do learn Ethicks and General Phyſicks.

The fourth and higheſt Claſs do compleat their Courſe with Special Phyſicks and Mathematicks.

The time of the Commencement of Maſters of Arts is in *July*; the manner thus.

Before the day appointed, thoſe who are to receive their Degree do publiſh their *Theſes*, inviting all Learned men and Scholars to come and diſpute.

At the day appointed, great preparation is made, the *Candidati* are apparelled in Black, with Black Gowns, and at ten of the clock all go into the publick School, where the Profeſſour of Philoſophy or Regent, who is to conferre the Degree, makes a long Speech (beginning with a Prayer) to the Auditours: which being ended, the Diſputes begin, and continue till four or five of the clock. Then they take a little refreſhment, and ſo return to the Graduation, (Laureation.)

The Regent doth tender to the *Candidati* the following Oath:

Ego, A. B. coram Omniſcio & Omnipotenti Deo, Religionem & Fidem, unicam & ſolam Orthodoxam, in Eccleſia Scoticana palàm propoſitam, profeſſurum me, & ab omnibus Pontificiorum & aliorum quorumcunque Hæreſibus longè abhorrentem, ſpondeo, voveo, juro. Inſuper, Univerſitati huic, almæ Parenti, cui hanc Ingenii culturam debeo, liberaliter relaturum me nutritiam quam potero, eâdem fide ſolenniter promitto. Quòd ſi fidem ſciens & volens fefellero, arcanorum cordis receſſuum Scrutatorem Deum, ultorem & vindicem non recuſo. Ità me adjuvet Deus.

After the Oath one of the *Candidati* aſcends the Desk, and the Regent taking into his hand a Hat or Cap, with theſe following words doth give him his Degree.

Ego eâdem authoritate, quam Summi ac Potentiſſimi Principes Almæ huic Univerſitati amplißimam indulsêre, te A. B. in Artibus Liberalibus, & Diſciplinis Philoſophicis, Magiſtrum creo, proclamo, conſtituo, renuncio: tibique poteſtatem do, Legendi, Scribendi, omniáque id genus alia committendi, quæ hîc, aut ubivis Gentium, Artium Magiſtris concedi ſolet. Et in ſignum manumiſſionis tuæ, Caput tuum hoc Pileo (putting the Cap on the Scholar's Head) *adorno: quod ut tibi felix fauſtúmque ſit, Deum Optimum Maximum precor. Inſuper, Librum hunc tibi apertum trado: ut Ingenii tui aliquod ſpecimen coram celebri hoc cœtu edas, rogo.*

Then the Graduate hath a ſhort Speech to the Auditours, and ſo the Ceremony is ended

ded with clapping of hands, ſounding of Trumpets, ſhouting, &c. Thus are all the *Candidati* graduated one after another. The ſame way almoſt is uſed in all the Univerſities of *Scotland*.

Concerning the Graduation of Bachelours and Doctours of Divinitie, Law, and Phyſick, I can give no account.

Preſent Maſters and Profeſſours.

John Menzeis, Profeſſour of Divinitie in the *Mariſchal* Colledge of *Aberdene*, Rector.
Doctour *Lewis Gordon*, Dean of Facultie.
Alexander Middleton, Dean of *Aberdene*, Principal.
Henry Scougal, *George Nicolſon*, } Profeſſour of { Divinitie. / the Laws.
Patrick Urqhuart, Doctour and Profeſſour of Phyſick.
Andrew Maſſie, Subprincipal.
Patrick Gordon, Profeſſour of Humanitie, and of the Oriental Languages.
Robert Forbes, *George Middleton*, *John Buchan*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.
There are alſo
A Student of Divinitie,
Fifteen Burſars of Philoſophy,
A Cantor, who is Maſter of the Muſick-School in the Town;
An *OEconomus*,
A *Janitor*,
A Cook,
A Gardener, and other inferiour Servants.

Learned men and Writers.

Hector Boeth, Principal, according to the Learning of the Times he lived in, was very conſiderable: for whoſe Character ſee Page 68. in the foregoing Hiſtory.

John Leſlie, Canoniſt in the *King*'s Colledge, and Official of *Aberdene*, was a very worthy perſon, and of great Learning in thoſe days he lived in: he ſuffered much for his Loyalty to his Princeſs Queen *Mary*.

John Forbes, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinity. All I ſhall ſay to this great man is, that he was one of the beſt Scholars that ever our Kingdom bred, as will appear to all that ever read his *Inſtructiones Hiſtorico-Theologicæ*, which theſe unhappy Times ſuffered him not to finiſh, to the great regret of all Learned men. His *Irenicum* does alſo ſhew both his Learning and Moderation. But his Piety and Devotion was ſo ſignal, that his Name will be alwaies remembred there with great honour.

William Gnild, Doctour of Divinity, Principal. He wrote Commentaries on ſeveral Books of the Old Teſtament, a Syſteme of Divinity, and many Treatiſes againſt the Papiſts. He had a fair Eſtate, which he left wholly to pious uſes.

Arthur Johnſton, Doctour of Phyſick, and Rector of the Univerſitie, was an excellent Poet.

William Douglas, Profeſſour of Divinity, a man of great Induſtry: he wrote ſome little Treatiſes.

There were alſo three Brothers deſcended from a Noble Family, *Duncan*, *Thomas*, and *Gilbert Burnet*, who were bred here, and were in great eſteem. The firſt was a Doctour of Phyſick, and practiſed in *Norwich*: he was a learned, holy, and good man. The ſecond was of the ſame Profeſſion, and likewiſe in great eſteem in *Braintrey*, where he practiſed Phyſick. The third was a Profeſſour of Philoſophy, firſt at *Baſil*, then at *Montaubon*; and was in ſuch eſteem there, that a National Synod of the Proteſtants in *France* appointed his Philoſophical Writings to be printed at the expence of the Clergy. But he dying before his Manuſcripts were put in order, onely his Book of *Ethicks* was printed. They all three flouriſhed about the year 1630.

George Middleton, Doctour of Phyſick, was once a Profeſſour of Philoſophy here; a man of conſiderable Parts, of good Learning, and well skilled in the practice of Phyſick. He died very lately.

William Gordon, Doctour and Profeſſour of Phyſick here, was a very worthy perſon, of great Judgment, and well ſeen in that Science. He died *Anno* 164—.

James Sandilands, Doctour and Professour of the Laws here, and Official of *Aberdene*, was a Learned man, and a great Civilian. He died *Anno* 164—.

Many other Learned men have been Professours here, besides those who have had their Education in this Colledge.

THE *MARISCHAL* Colledge of *Aberdene* was founded by *George Keith* Earl *Mariſchal*, *Anno* 1593.

Persons endowed were,

A Principal,
Three Professours of Philosophy.
Since that time there have been added,
A Professour of { Divinitie, / Mathematicks,
A fourth Professour of Philosophy,
Twenty four poor Scholars.

Benefactours.

George Earl *Mariſchal*, Founder, gave towards the maintenance of the Professours certain Lands lying near *Aberdene*, and at *Bervie* in *Mernis*.

The Town of *Aberdene* built most part of the Edifice.

Thomas Reid left an annual Salary to a Library-keeper.

Bernard Cargill gave a considerable summe of money towards the maintenance of a Professour of Divinitie.

Duncan Liddell, Doctour of Physick, left a considerable summe of money towards the maintenance of a Professour of Mathematicks.

Sir *Alexander Irwing* of *Drum* left in Legacy towards the maintenance of poor Scholars, or Bursars, of Philosophy and Divinity, a thousand pounds Sterling mony.

King Charles the First bestowed on the Colledge the third part of the Rents of the Bishoprick of *Aberdene*, so long as the See should continue vacant, *Anno* 1641.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Physick, left in Legacy to the Colledge and Grammar-School two hundred pounds of *English* mony.

Alexander Ross, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Aberdene*,
William Guild, Doctour of Divinity, Minister in *Aberdene*,
Patrick Dune, Doctour of Physick,
Each of them gave mony to maintain Bursars.
Several of the Benefactours left their Books to the Library.

Principals.

1593. *Robert Hony*, first Principal.
159+. *Gilbert Gray*.
160—. *Andrew Aidie*.
161—. *William Forbes*, Doctour of Divinity, afterwards Bishop of *Edinburgh*.
162—. *Patrick Dune*, Doctour of Physick.
1639. *William Moir*.
1663. *James Leslie*, Doctour of Physick.

Professours of Divinity.

162—. *Robert Baron*, Doctour and Professour of Divinity, afterwards Bishop Elect of *Orkney*.
164—. *John Menzeis*.

Present Professours.

George Meldrum, Minister in *Aberdene*, Rector.
James Leslie, Doctour of Physick, Principal.
John Menzeis, Professour of Divinity.
Duncan Liddell, Professour of Mathematicks.
Robert Paterson, *George Peacock*, *John Farquhar*, *John Paton*, } Professours of Philosophy.

The

The Earl *Marischal* is the onely Patron of this Colledge.

Learned men and Writers.

William Forbes, Doctour of Divinity, Principal, was a person of rare Endowments, vast Learning, and a celebrated Preacher. He was the first Bishop of *Edinburgh*, and indeed a most holy person, of whom all that ever knew him give this Character, that they never saw him but they thought his heart was in heaven. He was indeed a fit pattern to all that should come after him.

Robert Baron, Doctour and Professour of Divinity, was a person of incomparable worth and Learning. He had a clear apprehension of things, and a rare facultie of making the hardest things to be easily understood. He is well known by his Book *De objectio formali Fidei*, and his Metaphylicks and other small Treatises: there are many other excellent Manuscripts of his that are not yet published: and he bare the greatest share of that famous Debate *Anno* 1638. between the Doctours of *Aberdene* and the Covenanters.

Alexander Reid, Doctour of Physick, was bred here: he grew very famous in *London*, and left a great part of his Estate to pious uses in and about the places of his Education.

Duncan Liddell, Doctour of Physick, was a person much esteemed for his learned Writings, as his Book *De Febribus*, and several other Books which he wrote.

But since I have named some Physicians educated in *Aberdene*, I must not pass over Sir *Alexander Fraser*, His *Majestie*'s First Physician, whose great learning and happy Practice of Physick, as they have raised him to such esteem and dignity, so his constant Loyalty and high Generosity do answer that Noble race of the *Frasers* from whom he is descended.

The University of EDINBURGH

WAS founded by King *James* the Sixth of blessed memory; for *Anno* 1580. upon the Magistrates of that Citie's Supplication and Address to him for that effect, he granted to them a Charter under the Great Seal, allowing them the full Liberty and Privilege of an University within their Town. But the Foundation was not perfected till *Anno* 1582.

The Privileges of this University are the same with those of any other University in the Kingdom.

The Dignity of Chancellour and Vice-chancellour doth reside in the Magistrates and Town-Council of *Edinburgh*, who are the onely Patrons. I do not find that ever the Dignity was conferred upon any single person.

The Persons founded were,

A Principal or Warden,
A Professour of Divinitie,
Four Masters or Regents (for so they are called) of Philosophy,
A Professour or Regent of Humanitie (*Humanarum literarum*) and Philologie.

Since the first Foundation, the Town hath added a Professour of *Hebrew*, *Anno* 1640. and Doctour *Conradus Otto*, a Learned *Jew*, was the first Professour:

And a Professour of Mathematicks, preferring *James Gregory*, Fellow of the Royal Society, to the place, *Anno* 1674.

Benefactours.

King *James* the Sixth, Founder.

The Colledge was built, and the Masters and Bursars are maintained, by the publick and private Benevolence of the Citizens of *Edinburgh*.

Some Donations have been by others, but not considerable.

All the Benefactours Names are inserted in the Books of the Town-Council, and in the Register of the Library; and are also drawn in Gold Letters upon several places on the Walls of the Library, together with their several Donations; and also at the time of the publick Commencement (which is once every year) they are recited (*viva voce*) in the hearing of all.

The Library was founded by *Clement Litle*, one of the Officials or Commissaries of

Edinburgh, *Anno* 1635. ſince which time it is much increaſed, both by Donatives from the Citizens, as alſo from the Scholars, who are more in number here then in any other Colledge in the Kingdom.

Principals.

1583. *Robert Rollock*, one of the Miniſters of the Citie, who was likewiſe Profeſſour of Divinity, (for all the Principals here are *Primarii Profeſſores Theologiæ*,) was the firſt Principal, and Rectour of the Univerſitie.
1600. *Henry Charters.*
1620. *Patrick Sands.*
1622. *Robert Boyd.*
1625. *John Adamſon.*
1653. *Robert Leighton*, who was afterwards preferred to be Biſhop of *Dumblane.*
1662. *William Colvil.*
1675. *Andrew Cant.*

Profeſſours of Divinitie.

162—. *Andrew Ramſay.*
1630. *John Sharp*, Doctour of Divinity.
1650. *David Dickſon.*
1664. *William Keith*, Doctour of Divinity.
1675. *Laurence Charters.*

Preſent Profeſſours.

Andrew Cant, Principal.
Laurence Charters, Profeſſour of Divinity.
Alexander Dickſon, *Hebrew* Profeſſour.
James Pillan, *John Wishart*, *John Wood*, *William Paterſon*, } Profeſſours of Philoſophy.
Gilbert Mackmurdo, Profeſſour of Humanity.
William Henderſon, Library-keeper.
No Profeſſour of Mathematicks ſince Mr. *Gregorie*'s death.

There is no Coat of Arms peculiar to this Univerſitie; but the Magiſtrates allow them to uſe the Arms of the City.

Learned men and Writers.

Robert Rollock, Principal, a perſon of great worth and Learning. He wrote Commentaries on the *Pſalms* and ſome of the Prophets: ſome Sermons and Pieces of Devotion were alſo publiſhed by him: but of him ſee the former Hiſtory, Page 454.

Henry Charters, Principal, a perſon of great modeſty and humility, and well ſeen in Theological Learning.

Patrick Sands, Doctour of Divinity, Principal, a man very learned in the Mathematicks.

John Adamſon, Principal, a man of great Learning, and of very quick Parts.

Alexander Henderſon, Rectour of the Univerſitie, and one of the Miniſters in the City, the greateſt Ring-leader of the Covenanters, and often employed by them in the affairs of Church and State, both in *Scotland* and *England*, was a perſon of great gravity and compoſedneſs, and of conſiderable Learning. That Debate between His late *Majeſty* and him at *Newcaſtle* 1646. about Church-Government, and the occaſion he then had of knowing that Bleſſed *Martyr*, wrought much upon him, ſo that he went back to *Scotland* much changed in his Principles; and it was believed, that if he had lived, he would have been very inſtrumental in the King's ſervice; but he died ſoon after, and was much lamented, being the moſt univerſally-eſteemed man of all the Party.

William Colvil, Principal, a man of a very moderate temper. He was depoſed by the Covenanters, and yet he would never accept Preferment, though divers Biſhopricks were profered to him. He wrote divers Pieces, which are printed, in *Engliſh*, and *Ethica Chriſtiana* in *Latin.*

William

William Keith, Doctour and Profeſſour of Divinity, a man of great Learning, who had diligently ſtudied both the Fathers and Schoolmen, and was a great Maſter of Languages, being very well skilled in the *Hebrew* and Rabbinical Learning. He was wholly mortified and denied to the world, and led a moſt ſevere and aſcetical kind of life. He died *Anno* 1674.

I forbear to mention thoſe Learned Profeſſours in the Four Univerſities who are yet alives and therefore I leave it to thoſe who ſhall follow, to celebrate their fame to poſterity.

CHAP. IV.

Of the GOVERNMENT and LAWS of *SCOTLAND.*

THE Kingdom of *Scotland* hath been governed by Kings in as long a Succeſſion as any Nation in the world. The King is an abſolute and unaccountable Monarch, and (as the Law calls him) *a Free Prince, of a Sovereign Power; having as great Liberties and Prerogatives by the Laws of this Realm, and Privilege of His Crown and Diademe, as any other King, Prince or Potentate whatſoever.* So that it is delivered as a Maxim in the Heads of our Law, *That all Juriſdiction ſtands and conſiſts in the King's Perſon, by reaſon of His Royal Authority and Crown, and is competent to no Subject, but flows and proceeds from the King having Supreme Juriſdiction, and is given and committed by Him to ſuch Subjects as He pleaſes.* 15. Par. Jac. 6. c. 25. Title 8. by Sir *John Skeen.*

The Crown of *Scotland* deſcends by Inheritance, the Heir female not being excluded; and the undoubted Right to it has been for above three hundred years in the Family of the *Stewarts*, and is now in the Perſon of King *CHARLES* the Second, whom God long preſerve.

Upon the death of a King, the next Heir is preſently King, and the Coronation is onely a ſolemn Inſtalment in that which was his Right before. All the difference between our Kings before and after their Coronation is, that they hold onely Conventions of Eſtates, but no Parliaments, before they are Crowned: of the diſtinction of which an account ſhall be given afterwards.

When a King is Crowned, he ſwears the Oath appointed to be taken at the Coronation, which before the Reformation was no other then the Oath ſet down in the Roman Pontifical to be ſworn by Kings; for there is no Proviſion made about it in our Laws: but at the Reformation it was enacted, That all Kings at the time of their Coronation ſhould make their faithfull Promiſe by Oath, &c. which Oath is to be found in that Act, and to it the Reader is referred. 1. Parl. Jac. 6. c. 8. Anno 1567.

The Prerogatives of the Crown are great; the Power of Peace and War, the Power of raiſing and arming the Subjects, the Power of the Mint, the Nomination of all Officers, both of the State, and of War and Juſtice, (except ſome Sheriffs that are ſuch by Inheritance,) the Power of Calling, Adjourning, (Prorogation is not in our Law) and Diſſolving of Parliaments, the giving the Votes of Parliament the Authority of Laws, the executing of the Law, and the pardoning of Offences, are clearly and onely in the Crown.

But to theſe, other great Additions have been made in the two Parliaments held ſince His MAJESTIE's Reſtauration. For whereas the Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical affairs was always in the Crown ſince the Reformation; yet in the Reign of King *James* the Sixth the Power of the General Aſſembly was raiſed very high by Law, which was the chief foundation of the late Troubles; it being pretended, that it was contrary to Law for the King to introduce any thing into the Church without the conſent of a General Aſſembly. It was therefore enacted in Parliament, *That the External Government and Polity of the Church was wholly in the King's power; and that his Orders ſent to the Privy Council, and publiſhed by them, about all Eccleſiaſtical matters, Meetings and Perſons, were to be obeyed by the Subjects, any* Act 1. 2. Par. held by the Duke of *Lauderdail.*

any Law or Practice to the contrary notwithstanding. So that in all matters that relate to the Church-Government the King's Power is absolute.

[a] The Laws of Alex. 2. 1. Par. Jac. 1. cap. 4. 13. Par. Jac. 2. cap. 57. [b] 1. Parl. Car. 2. third Session, Act 25. 2. Par. Car. 2. Act 2. [c] 1. Parl. Car. 2. third Session, Act 26.

The Second Point is about the *Militia.* By the ancient Laws of *Scotland*, [a] all the King's Subjects were to assist him in his Wars. Upon which a great enlargement of the King's Prerogative was grafted of late by two [b] Acts of Parliament; the Kingdom of *Scotland* offering to the King, *to raise and arm Twenty thousand Foot and Two thousand Horse, and to furnish them with forty days Provision, to march into any of His Majestie's Dominions of* Scotland, England *or* Ireland, *for suppressing any Forein Invasion, Intestine Trouble or Insurrection, or for any other Service wherein His Majestie's Honour, Authority or Greatness may be concerned.* And these Forces, by another Act, *are to give due Obedience to all such Directions as they shall receive from His Majestie's Privie Council.*

A Third Point is the Ordering and disposing of Trade with Forein Nations, [c] and the laying of Restraints and Impositions upon Forein imported Commodities; which is declared a Prerogative of the Crown.

With these Sacred Rights is the Crown of *Scotland* cloathed.

The King's Revenue consisted anciently most in the Crown-Lands, which could not be alienated but by Act of Parliament, and in the Wards and Marriages of the Vassals of the Crown. But most of these have been of late years given away, and most of the Tenures of Lands are changed, although there has been no general Law for taking away the Wards. The Revenue is now raised out of the Customes and the Excise. The last is given to this King for life, but the former is in the Crown for ever. The rest is raised out of what remains of the Crown-Lands and the Wards.

The Persons neerest in bloud to the King are, first, all the Issue of King *James* and King *Charles*; which are so well known to every one, that they need not be repeated. Next to them are all that are descended from the Daughter of King *James* the Second, (since whom, till the Queen of *Bohemia*, no Collateral Branch sprung from the Royal Family of whom any Issue remains,) who was married to *James* Lord *Hamilton*, and had issue, first, *James*, created Earl of *Arran*, whose Son was the Duke of *Chastelherault*, from whom by two Sons and two Daughters are descended the Families of *Hamilton* and *Abercorn*, and the Families of *Huntly* and *Lauderdail*. And by an Act of Parliament, signed by all the Three Estates, (the Original whereof is yet extant,) in the Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Duke of *Chastelherault*'s Family is declared, next the Queen and her Issue, the rightfull Heir of the Crown. The Sister of King *James* the Third bare likewise to the Lord *Hamilton* a Daughter, married to the Earl of *Lennox*, from whom descended the Family of *Lennox*. There is no other Branch of the Royal Family, since it was in the Line of the *Stewarts*, except the Earl of *Cassils* his Family, whose Ancestour, the Lord *Kennedy*, married King *James* the First's Sister, from which Mariage that Family is descended. And so much of the Royal Family.

The Chief and Supreme Court is the High Court of Parliament, which is made up of Three Estates. The First is the Ecclesiattical, that of old consisted of the Bishops and Mitered Abbots, but since the Reformation consists onely of Archbishops and Bishops. The Second Estate is the Nobility, who were anciently divided into the Greater Barons and the Lesser, (for every man that holds Lands of the Crown with a Privilege of holding a Court, much like the Lord of a Manour in *England*, is called a Baron,) and all were obliged to appear personally in Parliament, (for Proxies were never allowed by the Law of *Scotland*,) and give the King Counsel. This proved a very heavy burthen to the small Barons, upon which they desired to be excused from their attendance in Parliament: and this was granted to them as a favour in King *James* the First's reign. And though by that Act they might have sent two or three, or more, to represent them from every Shire; yet they made no use of that for above 150 years: but King *James* the Sixth, to balance the Nobility, got them restored to that Right; so that ever since there are two sent from every Shire, who are Commissioners for the Shires. The Third Estate is the Burroughs, every one of which chuseth one Commissioner; onely the City of *Edinburgh*, as the Metropolis, chuseth two. The Parliament is summoned by Proclamation made at the Head-Burrough of every Shire 40 days before they meet; upon which the Shires and Burroughs meet about their Elections. Every man that holds Lands of the Crown, that in the Rolls of the Taxation (the ancient Name of Subsidies or Assessments) are valued at 40 shillings *Scotish* mony of Taxation to the King, which will be in real value about Ten pounds Sterling a year, is an Electour, and may be Elected, so he be rightly vested in the Land, or (according to the *Scotish* terms) infeoft and seised, and be not at the King's

Parl. 7. c. 101. Parl. 11. Jac. 6. c. 113.

Horn,

Horn, (that is, under an Outlawry.) The Electours ſubſcribe the Commiſſions they give, and ſo their Commiſſioner is returned : and if there be croſs Elections, the Parliament is the onely Judge. In the Burroughs the Common-Council of the Town makes the Election.

When the day comes in which the Parliament is to be held, the *Regalia*, the Crown, Sceptre, and Sword of State, which are kept in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, are brought down in State to the King's Palace, and are to be carried by three of the ancienteſt Earls that are upon the place, bare-headed, before the King or His Commiſſioner. In the great Court before the King's Palace all the Members of Parliament do mount on Horſeback with Footcloaths, *&c.* The Burgeſſes ride firſt, the Commiſſioners of the Shires next ; then the Lords, Viſcounts, and Earls, in their Robes, the laſt of whom do carry the *Regalia*, the Lion Herauld, with ſome Heraulds and Purſevants riding before the Honours ; laſt of all, when the King is preſent in perſon, rides the Lord Chancellour, bearing the Great Seal : but this is not done before a Commiſſioner. After theſe rides the King or His Commiſſioner, with the High Conſtable (who is by Inheritance the Earl of *Arroll*) on his right hand, with a white Batton in his hand ; and the great Mariſchal (who is alſo by Inheritance the Earl *Mariſchal*) on his left hand, with a ſilver Batton in his hand. If the King be preſent in perſon, the Marqueſſes and Dukes ride after the Earls ; but if His Commiſſioner onely be there, they follow him at ſome diſtance. At the outward Gate of the Parliament-houſe they all alight off their horſes, and the Earl Mariſchal receives and conducts the King to the inner Gate, where he is received by the High Conſtable, and led into the Houſe where the Parliament is held. The Throne is raiſed ſix ſteps high, with a State over it ; and there the King, or the Commiſſioner in His abſence, ſits. And in the firſt ſtep under him, on a Bench, ſits the Lord Chancellour, with other Officers of State on both hands of him. In the next ſtep under theſe ſit the Lords of Seſſion, or Judges. On the right hand of the Throne is the Biſhops Bench, that riſes up three ſteps and rows of Benches. On the higheſt the two Archbiſhops ſit, and in the lower ſteps ſit the Biſhops according to the dignity of their Sees. On the left hand of the Throne there is another great Bench of three ſteps and rows of Benches, on which ſit the Nobility according to their precedency. In the middle of the Floor there are two Tables ; on the one of them the *Regalia* are laid, and in two great Chairs by them ſit the Conſtable and the Mariſchal : at the other Table ſits the Lord Clerk of Regiſters with his Deputy-Clerks, who are the Clerks of the Parliament. There are alſo Fourms placed on the floor : thoſe on the right ſide are for the Commiſſioners of the Shires, and thoſe on the left hand are for the Commiſſioners of the Burroughs.

When all are placed, the Parliament is fenced (as the phraſe is) in the King's Name. Then the King ſpeaks to them, (if He be preſent,) ſitting in His Robes, with the Crown on His Head, all ſtanding up bare-headed : but when a Commiſſioner repreſents Him, he is in an ordinary Sute, and ſtands and ſpeaks alſo bare-headed, (nor is the Commiſſioner covered but when there is pleading at the Bar, but continues bare-headed, as all the Members are,) and tells them the reaſon for which they are called together ; which is enlarged upon by the Lord Chancellour. Then they goe about the chuſing of the Lords of the Articles, who are Eight for every State, who have been choſen in different ways. Sometimes the Biſhops did chuſe the eight Lords of the Nobility, and the Nobility eight for the Biſhops ; at other times the Biſhops did chuſe their own eight, and the Nobility their eight : but now it is ſettled by an Act of Parliament, that the King or His Commiſſioner names eight of the Biſhops, the Lords chuſe eight for themſelves : and thoſe ſixteen do chuſe eight Commiſſioners for the Shires, and as many Commiſſioners for the Burroughs. Theſe Thirty two are the Committee of Parliament to prepare Matters. When a Bill is drawn by them, it is brought into the Parliament. And anciently all theſe Bills were brought in the laſt day of Parliament, on which the Members ride in the ſame State as they do the firſt day : and the Bills being read, they were put to the Vote of Parliament, and either were approved, or not : and then being approved, were preſented to the King, who by touching them with the Sceptre gave His Aſſent to them, which alſo is done by His Commiſſioner in His abſence ; if he refuſed to touch them, they were of no force. But of late times matters have been at full length and freely debated in Parliament. They ſit all in one Houſe, and every one anſwers diſtinctly to his Name, and gives his Vote, which is in theſe Terms, *I approve*, or *not* : onely thoſe who are not ſatisfied one way or another, ſay, *Non liquet* ; which is a great eaſe to thoſe who are conſciencious, and a common refuge to the cunning Politician : the major Vote carries it. No Diſſents or Proteſts are allowed in

publick Acts, but are accounted treaſonable; but in private Acts, that relate to mens Properties and Rights, any one may proteſt for his Intereſt. After all buſineſs is ended, the King or His Commiſſioner makes a Speech to them, and diſſolves them.

A Convention of Eſtates is made up of the ſame Members that conſtitute a Parliament, but can make no Laws; onely they can lay Impoſitions on the Subjects: they do not ſit in ſtate, and have been moſt uſed before the Kings were Crowned. The Lord Chancellour is Preſident in both theſe Courts, and the Votes are taken and numbered by the Clerk of Regiſters. And whatever Acts are paſſed in Parliament or Convention, are to be proclaimed ſoon after their Diſſolution at the publick Mercat-Croſs of *Edinburgh*, by the Lion Herauld, (who is at preſent Sir *Charles Erskin* of *Cambo*,) with a great deal of ſtate and Ceremony; after which they are obligatory on the Subjects. And ſo much for the Parlaiment and the Three Eſtates, whoſe Authority is ſupreme: and it is Enacted, *that none of the Lieges ſhall preſume to impugn the Dignity and Authority of the Three Eſtates, or to ſeek or procure the Innovation or Diminution of the Power and Authority of the ſame Three Eſtates, or any of them, in time coming, under the pain of Treaſon.*

Par. 8. Jac. 6. cap. 130.

The Government of the Kingdom being wholly in the Crown, the King adminiſters it by His Officers of State and Privy Council.

The Officers of State are Eight.

The Firſt is the Lord Chancellour, who is Keeper of the Great Seal, and Preſident in all Courts where-ever he is, except in the Exchequer. This Office is now in the perſon of the Right Honourable *John Leſlie* Earl of *Rothes*.

The Second Officer is the Lord High Treaſurer, who governs the Revenue, and preſides in the Exchequer. This Office is now in Commiſſion.

The Third Officer is the Lord Privie Seal, who is at preſent the Marqueſs of *Athol*. Theſe three take place of all the Nobility.

The Fourth Officer is the Lord Secretary, who keeps the Signet, and is a Lord by his Office, and takes place of all of his rank. The Office of Secretary is executed by his Grace the Duke of *Lauderdail*.

The Fifth Officer is the Lord Clerk of Regiſters, who has the charge of all the publick Records, Rolls and Regiſters, and names all the Clerks of Parliament and Seſſion, and the Keepers of publick Regiſters.

The Sixth Officer is the King's Advocate, who is alſo called the Lord Advocate. He is commonly a Judge, except in Cauſes in which the King is concerned; and in thoſe he pleads in the King's Name. The preſent Advocate is Sir *John Nisbet* of *Dirlton*.

The Seventh Officer is the Lord Treaſurer Deputy, who is aſſiſtent to the Lord High Treaſurer, and is a Check upon him, and preſides in the Exchequer in his abſence. This Office is executed by Sir *Charles Maitland* of *Hatton*.

The Eighth Officer is the Lord Juſtice Clerk, who aſſiſts the Lord Juſtice general in Criminal cauſes. The preſent Juſtice Clerk is Sir *Thomas Wallace* of *Craigie*.

All theſe have the Title of Lord, and the precedency of all under Noblemen and their eldeſt Sons.

The Privy Council is chiefly employed about publick Affairs, and judges of Riots and any Diſturbance given to the Peace of the Kingdom. Anciently the Lords of the Seſſion were the King's Council, and ſo are ſtill called *the Lords of Council and Seſſion:* but the Power of the Privy Council has been moſt raiſed ſince King *James* got the Crown of *England*, that by reaſon of the King's neceſſary abſence from *Scotland*, the King hath lodged much of His Power with the Privy Council. Lawyers do plead the cauſes of Riots before them; and when Sentence is given, every Privy Councellour gives his Vote, and the major Vote carries it.

Lords of His Majeſtie's *Privy Council.*

John Earl of *Rothes*, Chancellour of the Kingdom, Lord Preſident of the Privy Council.
James Lord Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews* his Grace.
John Duke of *Lauderdail* his Grace.
Alexander Lord Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow* his Grace.
William Marqueſs of *Douglas*.
John Marqueſs of *Athol*.

Archbald

Archbald Earl of *Argile.*
John Earl of *Errol.*
George Earl *Mariſchal.*
William Earl of *Morton.*
Alexander Earl of *Murray.*
Charles Earl of *Mar.*
———Earl of *Linlithgow.*
John Earl of *Wigton.*
Patrick Earl of *Kinghorn.*
Alexander Earl of *Kelley.*
David Earl of *Weemis.*
James Earl of *Airley.*
William Earl of *Dundonald.*
George Lord *Roſs.*
Sir *Charles Maitland* of *Hatton.*
Sir *James Dalrymple* of *Stair.*
Sir *John Nisbet* of *Dirleton.*
Sir *Thomas Wallace* of *Craigie.*
Sir *James Fowlis* of *Collington.*
Sir *William Sharp* of *Stainibill.*
Sir *William Scot* of *Ardroſs.*
Sir *George Kinnaird* of *Roſſie.*
Sir *John Wachop* of *Nidrie.*
Sir *Gerge Monro* of *Culkairn.*
Lieutenant General *Thomas Dalyell.*

The Supreme Court of Judicature about the Property of the Subject is called the *Colledge of Juſtice*, or the *Seſſion*; which was anciently an ambulatory Court, but was ſettled as it now is by King *James* the Fifth, *Anno Chriſti* 1532. to conſiſt of fourteen, who are called *Senatours of the Colledge of Juſtice*, or *Lords of Councill and Seſſion*, and a Preſident; to whom are added the Lord Chancellour, and four extraordinary Lords, who are of the chief Nobility. The extraordinary Lords have no Salary, and are not obliged to attendance; but when they come, they have a Vote. This Court ſits from the firſt of *June* till the laſt of *July*, and from the firſt of *November* till *Chriſtmas*-Eve, and from the firſt of *January* till the laſt of *February*: they ſit from 9 a clock in the Morning till 12, all the days of the Week except Sunday and Monday. There is an Outer Houſe, and an Inner. In the Outer there is a Bench, where one of the Senatours ſits a Week, (and all of them except the Preſident have their turns in it,) who hears all Cauſes originally; and where the Caſe is clear, he gives Sentence: But if it be difficult, or if either party deſires it, he reports it to the reſt of the Senatours; who either ſend out their Anſwer by him, or if it be very intricate, and the parties or either of them deſire it, do appoint it to be heard before themſelves. This is a Court of great diſpatch. But beſides the Judge on the Bench, there is a Side-Bar, to which one of the Judges comes out weekly by turns, as in the former, and receives and anſwers all Petitions and Bills. The Inner Houſe, where all the reſt of the Senatours ſit, is a Court of great State and Order. The Senatours ſit in a ſemicircle in Robes: under them ſit their Clerks, who write the moſt material heads of all that is pleaded at the Bar, where the Pleadings are long and very learned. When the Senatours have (after all the parties are removed) reconſidered their Arguments, they give their Sentence, and the major Vote carries it. Their final Sentence determines the buſineſs, there lying no Appeal from them, (onely the Parliament, as the Supreme Court, may review and repeal their Sentence:) and they are called *Decreets*, from the Latin *Decreta.*

Senatours of the Colledge of Juſtice.

Sir *James Dalrymple* of *Stair*, Preſident.
Sir *John Nisbet* of *Dirleton.*
Sir *Thomas Wallace* of *Craigie.*
Sir *Charles Maitland* of *Hatton.*
Sir *James Fowlis* of *Collington.*
Sir *Robert Nairn* of *Strathurd.*
Sir *David Nevoy* of *Nevoy.*
Sir *Peter Wederburn* of *Gosfurd.*
Sir *John Baird* of *Newbyth.*
Sir *John Lockart* of *Caſtlehill.*
Sir *Richard Maitland* of *Pitrichie.*
Sir *David Balfour* of *Forret.*
Sir *Thomas Murray.*
Sir *James Fowlis* of———
Sir *David Falconar* of *Newton.*

The Law of *Scotland* is made up of the Municipal and Civil Laws. The Municipal conſiſts either of Acts of Parliaments, or of the Cuſtomes and Practicks of the Colledge of Juſtice, which are held of no leſs force then Acts of Parliament: and where neither of theſe contradicts the Civil Law, the *Roman* Law is of force. This makes our Lawyers generally great Civilians; for they goe either to *Leiden*, *Poictiers*, or *Bourges*, and ſtudy the Civil Law, in which ſome are learned to a high degree.

The Law of *Scotland* is eaſie and regular, by reaſon of our Regiſters, which are ſo full, that Titles are much more eaſily cleared here then can be done where thoſe Regiſters are not: which may appear from the following Inſtances.

No man can have a Right to any Eſtate but by his being ſeiſed of it, which is done by the delivery of Earth and Stone; upon which an Inſtrument is formed called a *Saſine*, and this muſt be regiſtred within 60 days, otherwiſe it is of no force: by which means all ſecret Conveyances are cut off: for if no Saſine be paſſed upon them, or if theſe be not put in the publick Regiſters, (which every one may ſearch,) the Conveyance is of no force.

All Bonds have a Clauſe in them for inſerting them in the publick Regiſters; and they being regiſtred, without any farther action, by a charge of ſix days the Debitor muſt make payment, otherwiſe Writs called *Letters of Horning*, *Caption* and *Poynding*, are given out: by the firſt of which the party is under Outlawry and Rebellion, and forfeits to the King his perſonal Eſtate; and if he continues a year under it, the Life-rent of his real Eſtate: in which the Creditor is to be preferred for his intereſt, the reſt goes into the Exchequer. By the Letters of Caption the party is ſeiſed on, and put in priſon: nor is his Houſe a place of ſecurity, but may be ſearched for him. By the Letters of Poynding the Debitor's Goods may be diſtrained, where-ever they can be found.

A third Inſtance, to which I ſhall adde no more, is, that any Creditor may ſerve a Writ on his Debitor, called *Letters of Inhibition*, by which he can make no Diſpoſition of his Goods or Eſtate, till the party be ſatisfied; and all is null that he does after that, if theſe Letters be returned and regiſtred within 21 days after they are ſerved, otherwiſe they have no force.

The next Supreme Court is the *Juſtice Court*, where all Criminals are tried. It conſiſted anciently of a Lord Juſtice General, and a Lord Juſtice Clerk, who was his Aſſiſtent. The Earls of *Argile* had this Office by Inheritance: but King *Charles* the Firſt agreed with the Earl of *Argile*, and gave him the hereditary Juſticiarſhip in the *High-lands*, for which he laid down his Pretenſions to the other. The Juſtice General is not bound to ſerve in perſon, but might doe it by Deputies, and he commonly named two: but the Parliament changed this *Anno* 1669. and appointed four of the Judges to ſit in this Court with the Lord Juſtice General and the Lord Juſtice Clerk. All Trials for Life are in this Court, which ſits every Friday in the time of Seſſion in the afternoon. Here all the Subjects, Peers as well as Commons, are tried: nor is there any difference between the Trial of a Peer and of a Commoner, but that the greater part of the Peers Jury (called by the *Scotiſh* Law an *Aſſize*) muſt be Peers. Fifteen make a Jury. The Foreman, who is called the *Chancellour of the Aſſize*, gathers and reports their Votes: the major Vote determines the matter. The preſent Juſtice General is the Earl of *Murray*.

The next Supreme Court is the *Exchequer*. That conſiſts of the Lord Treaſurer, (or the Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, when it is in Commiſſion,) the Lord Treaſurer Deputy, and ſome Aſſiſtents, called the *Lords of Exchequer*, who have little power, the Lord Treaſurer and the Lord Treaſurer Deputy carrying all matters in it as they pleaſe. Here all the King's Grants, Penſions, Gifts of Wards, Letters Patents, and ſuch like, are to be paſſed.

And theſe are the Supreme Civil Courts.

The Seat of thoſe Courts is *Edinburgh*, which has been long the chief Seat of the Government: and though the making of Circuits for giving Juſtice has been oft begun; yet the charge it puts the Country to is found a greater inconvenience, then the bringing up all their Affairs to *Edinburgh*.

Next to theſe Supreme Courts there are other inferiour Courts. And,

Firſt, there are many Regalities in the Kingdom, where the Lord of the Regality has a Royal Juriſdiction within his grounds, and power of Life and death, beſides many other great Immunities and Privileges. This began chiefly in Church-Lands; for all the Biſhops and moſt of the Abbots had theſe Regalities granted them: ſome of the ancient and great Peers likewiſe got the ſame power beſtowed on them, but many more have lately got their Lands erected into Regalities.

The Judge is called the *Bailif of the Regality*, who ſits as often as there is cauſe. Moſt of the Bailifs of the Biſhops are ſo by Inheritance; for theſe were given by the King, ſince a Church-man cannot give a Commiſſion *in Cauſa Sanguinis*.

There are alſo in all the Shires of *Scotland* Sheriffs, who are the Judges in all matters of *Meum* and *Tuum*, in Thefts, and in all leſſer Crimes, as likewiſe in Murthers, if the Murtherer be taken in hot bloud, as they call it, when the perſon is newly ſlain. But though there lies no Appeal in any Court in this Kingdom, yet there is ſomewhat equivalent to it; for the Supreme Courts by a Writ called an *Advocation* may take any Cauſe

out

out of the hands of inferiour Judges, and order it to be brought before themſelves.

Moſt of the Sheriffs were anciently ſuch by Inheritance: and it being in this Kingdom no matter of charge, but of profit, it gave the Hereditary Sheriffs ſo great a power in their Shires, that our Kings of late have thought fit to agree with many of thoſe Sheriffs for their Rights, by which it comes to paſs that divers of them are now in the King's gift. The Sheriffs may either ſit and give Judgment themſelves, or doe it by a Deputy; which they moſt commonly doe, except in ſome greater caſes.

SHIRES *or* COUNTIES *of* SCOTLAND, *and their* SHERIFFS.

SHIRES.	SHERIFFS.
The Shire of *Edinburgh* containeth *Middle Lothian.*	Sir *Charles Maitland* of *Hatton.*
The Shire of *Berwick* containeth *Mers.*	The Earl of *Hume.*
The Shire of *Peebles* containeth *Tweeddail.*	The Earl of *Tweeddail.*
The Shire of *Selkirk* containeth the Forreſt of *Etterick.*	———
The Shire of *Roxburgh* containeth *Teviotdail, Lidiſdail, Eskdail, Ewſdail,* &c.	Duke of *Bucklengh.*
The Shire of *Dumfreis* containeth *Nithiſdail,* and *Annandail.*	Earl of *Queensbury.*
The Shire of *Wigton* containeth the Weſt part of *Galloway.*	Sir *Patrick Agnew* of *Lochnaw.*
The Shire of *Aire* containeth *Kyle, Carrict,* and *Cunninghame.*	Earl of *Dumfreis.*
The Shire of *Renfrew* containeth the Barony of *Renfrew.*	Earl of *Eglington.*
The Shire of *Lanerick* containeth *Clidſdail.*	Duke of *Hamilton.*
The Shire of *Dumbritton* containeth *Lennox.*	Duke of *Lennox.*
The Shire of *Bute* containeth the Iſles of *Bute* and *Arran,* &c.	Sir *James Stewart* of———
The Shire of *Innerara* containeth *Argile, Lorn, Kintyre,* the moſt part of the Weſt Iſles, as *Ila, Jura, Mull, Wyiſt, Terife, Coll, Liſmore,* &c.	Earl of *Argile.*
The Shire of *Perth* containeth *Athol, Goury, Glenſhee, Strath-Ardel, Braid Albain, Rainach, Balwhidder, Glenurqhuay, Stormont, Menteith,* and *Strath-Jern.*	Marquis of *Athol.*
The Shire of *Striveling* lieth on both ſides of the River *Forth.*	Earl of *Mar.*
The Shire of *Linlithgow* containeth *Weſt Lothian.*	Earl of *Calendar.*
The Shire of *Clackmaunan* containeth a ſmall part of *Fife* lying on the River *Forth* towards *Striveling.*	Sir *David Bruce* of *Clackmannan.*
The Shire of *Kinroſs* containeth ſo much of *Fife* as lieth between *Loch-Leiven* and the *Ochell* Hills.	Earl of *Morton.*
The Shire of *Cowper* containeth the reſt of *Fife.*	Earl of *Rothes.*
The Shire of *Forfar* containeth *Angus* with its pertinents, as *Glen-Ila, Glen-Esk, Glen-Proſſin,* &c.	Earl of *South-Esk.*
The Shire of *Kincairden* containeth *Mernis.*	Earl *Mariſchal.*

SHIRES.	SHERIFFS.
The Shire of *Aberdene* containeth *Mar* with its pertinents, as *Birſe*, *Glen-Taner*, *Glen-Muik*, *Strath-Dee*, *Strath-Don*, *Bray* of *Mar* and *Cromar*, moſt part of *Buchan*, *Forumarten*, *Gareoch*, and *Strathbogie-land*.	Earl of *Dunfermline*.
The Shire of *Bamff* containeth a ſmall part of *Buchan*, *Strath-Dovern*, *Boyn*, *Enzie*, *Strath-Awin* and *Balveny*.	Sir *James Baird* of *Auchmedden*.
The Shire of *Elgin* containeth the Eaſtern part of *Murray*.	*Robert Dumbar* of ———
The Shire of *Nairne* containeth the Weſt part of *Murray*.	
The Shire of *Innerneſs* containeth *Badenoch*, *Lochabyr*, and the South part of *Roſs*.	Earl of *Murray*.
The Shire of *Cromarty* containeth a ſmall part of *Roſs* lying on the South ſide of *Cromarty* Firth.	Sir *John Urqhuart* of *Cromarty*.
The Shire of *Taine* containeth the reſt of *Roſs*, with the Iſles of *Sky*, *Lewes*, and *Harrigh*.	Earl of *Seaforth*.
The Shire of *Dornoch* containeth *Sutherland*, and *Strath-Navern*.	Earl of *Sutherland*.
The Shire of *Weik* containeth *Cathnes*.	Earl of *Cathnes*.
The Shire of *Orkney* containeth all the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Schetland*.	———
The Conſtabularie of *Hadington* containeth *Eaſt Lothian*, and *Lauderdail*.	Duke of *Lauderdail*.
STEWARTRIES.	**STEWARDS.**
Strath-Jern,	Earl of *Perth*.
Menteith,	Earl of *Menteith*.
Annandail.	Earl of *Aunaudail*.
Kirkubright containeth the Eaſt part of *Galloway*.	Earl of *Nithiſdail*.
BAILIARIES.	**BAILIFFS.**
Kile.	———
Carrich.	Earl of *Caſſils*.
Cunninghame.	Earl of *Eglington*.

Beſides theſe, every man that holds a Barony of the King has a Baron-Court, in which leſſer matters are alſo judged, and they may Fine and Diſtrain. Anciently theſe Baron-Courts might judge of Life and death; but that is now out of uſe.

For all the other particulars that relate to the Regalities, Superiorities, and other things of the Law of *Scotland*, ſuch as are curious may find full ſatisfaction in that moſt learned Work of *Craigs de Jure Feudali*, written in *Latin*, and Printed at *Edinburgh in Folio*.

The Military Government in *Scotland* of every County is not lodged in one perſon, but the Regiments of Foot are commanded by Colonels, and the Troups of Horſe by Captains, named by the King, without any dependence upon one Lord Lieutenant: nor are there Deputy-Lieutenants, but the Lieutenant-Colonels and other Officers are named by the King, as is uſual in an Army.

The Court of Admiralty ſits in *Leith*, the chief Sea-port of this Kingdom; but has not much buſineſs, except in times of War to judge of Prizes. The preſent High Admiral is His Royal Highneſs, *James* Duke of *York*.

The Burroughs of *Scotland* are of three ſorts; either Royal Burghs, Burghs of Regality,

lity, or Burghs of Barony. The former have Commiſſioners in Parliament, and beſides are a State apart, for they meet yearly in a Convention called the *Convention of Burroughs*, to which a Commiſſioner comes from every one of them. There they make Laws for themſelves about Trade, and other things relating to their Corporations. They hold theſe Meetings in a Circuit around the chief, or, as they call them, *the Head Burghs:* and at the end of one Convention, they name the time and place for the next.

In theſe Burghs there is a Provoſt, who has the chief Power; and there are four Bailiffs that are next to him in the Government: there is alſo a Dean of Gild, who is the chief Judge among the Merchants, likewiſe a Treaſurer, and a Common Council; the one half of which is choſen yearly by the Merchants, the other half by the Tradeſmen; who have likewiſe a Court of their own, in which there is one from every Trade, who is called the *Deacon* of the Trade, and a *Deacon Conveener*, who is their Preſident, and calls a Meeting of them when he pleaſes. Thoſe Deacons are choſen yearly by all the Freemen of their Trade, and have a little Juriſdiction over them. There are in moſt Burghs great Animoſities and Factions between the Merchants and Tradeſmen.

The Burghs of Regality are the Towns where theſe Lords hold their Courts. The chief Magiſtrates are named by the Lord, the reſt they chuſe themſelves. They have alſo great Freedoms, little inferiour to the Royal Burghs; onely they have no Commiſſioners in Parliament.

The Burghs of Barony are Mercat-Towns, where the Lord of the Barony names ſome of their Magiſtrates, and the Corporation chuſes the reſt. In all theſe Burghs the Magiſtracy is no matter of burthen nor charge, but of Power and Advantage; from whence ariſe great Factions almoſt in them all.

A Catalogue of the Free CORPORATIONS *or Royal* BURGHS *in* SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh, *Linlithgow*, *Hadington*, *North-Berwick*, *Dunbar*, } in *Lothian.*

Saint Andrews, *Cowper*, *Dunfermlin*, *Kirkaldy*, *Craill*, *Anſtruther*, *Pittenweem*, *Dyſert*, *Earles-ferry*, *Kinghorn*, *Burnt-Iſland*, *Culroſs*, *Clackmannan*, *Queens-ferry*, } in *Fife.*

Dundee, *Montroſs*, *Forfar*, *Brichen*, *Arbroath*, } in *Angus.*

Kirkubright, *Wigton*, *Whithorn*, *Stranraver*, } in *Galloway.*

Glaſgow, *Lanrick*, } in *Clidiſdail.*

Elgin, *Nairn*, *Forres*, } in *Murray.*

Ranfrew, *Paſley*, *Rugten*, } in *Ranfrewſhire.*

Aberdene, *Kintor*, } in *Mar.*

Bamff, *Cullen*, } in *Boyn.*

Inverneſs, *Tayne*, } in *Roſs.*

Air, in *Kyle.*
Irwing, in *Cunninghame.*
Rothſay, in *Bute.*
Dumbarton, in *Lennox.*
Inverara, in *Argile.*
Jedburgh, in *Teviotdail.*
Peeblis, in *Tweeddail.*
Selkirk, in *Forreſtſhire.*
Striveling, upon *Forth.*
Dumblane, in *Menteith.*
Innerkeithing, in *Fife.*
Dornoch, in *Sutherland.*
Annand, in *Annandail.*
Dumfreis, *Sanqhuar*, } in *Nithiſdail.*
Bervie, in *Mernis.*
Innerowrie, in *Gareoch.*

The People of *Scotland* are naturally candid and honeſt, ſtout and reſolute, which makes

makes them ſo much valued beyond the Seas, the onely School of War to them ſince the happy Conjunction of this Iſland under one King. They naturally love their King.

The Nobility have great Power, chiefly in the *High-lands*, where their Families (commonly called *Clannes*) depend abſolutely upon the head of the Name, whom they commonly call their *Chief*. But the great Power of the Nobility of late years is much abated, yet they are ſtill very conſiderable.

The Property of the Subject is fully ſecured by Law: and though the King has great Prerogatives, yet the People have alſo great Liberties and Freedoms.

The COMMISSIONERS *that have repreſented our* KINGS *ſince* K. JAMES *was ſettled on the Throne of* England *were as follows.*

KING *JAMES* the VI.

John Grahame, Earl of *Montroſs*, Commiſſioner, 1604.
George Hume, Earl of *Dumbar*, Commiſſioner, 1606.
George Keith, Earl *Mariſchal*, Commiſſioner, 1609.
Alexander Seaton, Earl of *Dunfermlin*, Commiſſioner, 1612.
James Hamilton, Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner, 1621.

Anno 1625. KING *CHARLES* the I. Crowned *Anno* 1633.

James Hamilton, Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner, 1638.
John Stewart, Earl of *Traquair*, Commiſſioner, 1639.
James Grahame, Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, Governour, 1644.

Anno 1649. KING *CHARLES* the II. Crowned *Anno* 1651.

John Middleton, Earl of *Middleton*, Commiſſioner, 1660.
John Leſlie, Earl of *Rothes*, Commiſſioner, 1663.
John Maitland, Duke of *Lauderdail*, Commiſſioner, 1669.

A Catalogue of the CHANCELLOURS *of the Kingdom, ſince the year* 1198. *collected out of Hiſtories.*

1198. *William Malvoiſin*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1220. *William de Boſco*, Biſhop of *Dumblane*.
1226. *Matthew Kinninmouth*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1239. *William Babington*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1247. ——Abbot of——
1248. *Richard* of *Innerkeithing*, Biſhop of *Dumblane*.
1259. *Gamelinus*, Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1273. *William Wuhart*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1280. *William Fraſer*, Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1298. *Maurice*, Biſhop of the Iſles.
1363. *Adam*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1372. *Patrick*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1380. *John Lyon*, Lord *Glammes*.
1390. *Gilbert Grimlaw*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1409. *William Lawder*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1434. *John*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1436. Sir *William Creighton* of *Creighton*.
1444. *James Bruce*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*.
1448. *Patrick Lyon*, Lord *Glammes*.
1453. *William Sinclare*, Earl of *Orkney*.
1463. *George Shorſwood*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1474. *John Lang*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1476. *Andrew Stewart*, Lord *Evendail*.
1484. *William Elphingſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1494. *Archbald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*.
1497. *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntlie*.
1502. *James Stewart*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1512. *Alexander Stewart*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1518. *James Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1526. *Gawin Dumbar*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1534. *William Stewart*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1539. Cardinal *David Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.

1561.

Bishops of the *ISLES.*

277. 1. *Amphibalus*
518. 2. *Macilla*
3. *Michael*
1203. 4. *Nicolas*
1217. 5. *Reginald*
1257. 6. *Richard*
1289. 7. *Onaeus*
8. *Mauricius*
9. *Marcus*, Lord Chancellour.
1606.10. *Andrew Knox*
11. *John Knox*
1630.12. *John Leslie*
13. *Neil Campbell*
1662.14. *Robert Wallace*
Vacat Sedes.

Those Bishops who have been the Sons of Kings, *&c.* or Noblemen, are marked with an Asterisk *.

ADDENDA.

Pag. 4. *after the Bishops of* Edinburgh, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of *Edinburgh* are, *Azure*, a Saltier *Argent*, in Chief a Miter of the Second, garnished *Or*.

Pag. 8. *after the Bishops of* Ross, *adde*,

The Arms of the Bishoprick of *Ross* are, *Argent*, a Bishop standing on the Sinister, habited in a long Robe close girt, *Purpure*, Mitred and holding in his left hand a Crosier *Or*, and pointing with the right to S. *Boniface* on the Dexter side, clothed, and both his Hands placed on his Breast, *Proper*.

Pag. 10. *after the Bishops of* Galloway, *adde*,

The Coat Armorial belonging to the See of *Galloway* is, *Argent*, S. *Ninian* standing full-faced *Proper*, cloathed with a Pontifical Robe *Purpure*, on his head a Miter, and in his Dexter hand a Crosier, *Or*.

Ibid. *in the Bishops of* Argile, *adde*,

Then was—*Boyd* promoted to this See, *An.* 162—who as he was descended from one of the Noblest families in the Kingdom, being Brother to the Lord *Boyd*, so he was a very Extraordinary person: he found his See full of Ignorance and Barbarity, scarce any Churches or Schools in it; and in many places the very Name of *Christ* was not known: he set himself wholly to the Work of the Gospel, and planted many Churches: he resided constantly in his Diocese, and was a great Example of Piety and Vertue. And for all the prejudices that are in these parts against that Order, yet he is never named among them to this day but with great honour as an Apostolical person.

Ibid. *after the Bishops of* Argile, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of *Argile* are, *Azure*, two Crosiers disposed in Saltier, and in Chief a Miter, *Or*.

THE END.

SHIRES.	SHERIFFS.
The Shire of *Aberdene* containeth *Mar* with its pertinents, as *Birſe*, *Glen-Taner*, *Glen-Muik*, *Strath-Dee*, *Strath-Don*, *Bray* of *Mar* and *Cremar*, moſt part of *Buchan*, *Forumarten*, *Gareoch*, and *Strathbogie-land.*	Earl of *Dunfermline.*
The Shire of *Banff* containeth a ſmall part of *Buchan*, *Strath-Dovern*, *Boyn*, *Enzie*, *Strath-Awin* and *Balveny.*	Sir *James Baird* of *Auchmedden.*
The Shire of *Elgin* containeth the Eaſtern part of *Murray.*	*Robert Dumbar* of———
The Shire of *Nairne* containeth the Weſt part of *Murray.*	
The Shire of *Innerneſs* containeth *Badenoch*, *Lochabyr*, and the South part of *Roſs.*	Earl of *Murray.*
The Shire of *Cromarty* containeth a ſmall part of *Roſs* lying on the South ſide of *Cromarty* Firth.	Sir *John Urqhuart* of *Cromarty.*
The Shire of *Taine* containeth the reſt of *Roſs*, with the Iſles of *Sky*, *Lewes*, and *Harrigh.*	Earl of *Seaforth.*
The Shire of *Dornoch* containeth *Sutherland*, and *Strath-Navern.*	Earl of *Sutherland.*
The Shire of *Weik* containeth *Cathnes.*	Earl of *Cathnes.*
The Shire of *Orkney* containeth all the Iſles of *Orkney* and *Schetland.*	
The Conſtabularie of *Hadington* containeth *Eaſt Lothian*, and *Lauderdail.*	Duke of *Lauderdail.*

STEWARTRIES.	STEWARDS.
Strath-Jern,	Earl of *Perth.*
Menteith,	Earl of *Menteith.*
Annandail.	Earl of *Aunaudail.*
Kirkubright containeth the Eaſt part of *Galloway.*	Earl of *Nithiſdail.*

BAILIARIES.	BAILIFFS.
Kile.	
Carrick.	Earl of *Caſſils.*
Cunninghame.	Earl of *Eglington.*

Beſides theſe, every man that holds a Barony of the King has a Baron-Court, in which leſſer matters are alſo judged, and they may Fine and Diſtrain. Anciently theſe Baron-Courts might judge of Life and death; but that is now out of uſe.

For all the other particulars that relate to the Regalities, Superiorities, and other things of the Law of *Scotland*, ſuch as are curious may find full ſatisfaction in that moſt learned Work of *Craigs de Jure Feudali*, written in *Latin*, and Printed at *Edinburgh in Folio.*

The Military Government in *Scotland* of every County is not lodged in one perſon, but the Regiments of Foot are commanded by Colonels, and the Troups of Horſe by Captains, named by the King, without any dependence upon one Lord Lieutenant: nor are there Deputy-Lieutenants, but the Lieutenant-Colonels and other Officers are named by the King, as is uſual in an Army.

The Court of Admiralty ſits in *Leith*, the chief Sea-port of this Kingdom; but has not much buſineſs, except in times of War to judge of Prizes. The preſent High Admiral is His Royal Highneſs, *James* Duke of *York.*

The Burroughs of *Scotland* are of three ſorts; either Royal Burghs, Burghs of Regality,

lity, or Burghs of Barony. The former have Commissioners in Parliament, and besides are a State apart, for they meet yearly in a Convention called the *Convention of Burroughs*, to which a Commissioner comes from every one of them. There they make Laws for themselves about Trade, and other things relating to their Corporations. They hold these Meetings in a Circuit around the chief, or, as they call them, *the Head Burghs:* and at the end of one Convention, they name the time and place for the next.

In these Burghs there is a Provost, who has the chief Power; and there are four Bailiffs that are next to him in the Government: there is also a Dean of Gild, who is the chief Judge among the Merchants, likewise a Treasurer, and a Common Council; the one half of which is chosen yearly by the Merchants, the other half by the Tradesmen; who have likewise a Court of their own, in which there is one from every Trade, who is called the *Deacon* of the Trade, and a *Deacon Conveener*, who is their President, and calls a Meeting of them when he pleases. Those Deacons are chosen yearly by all the Freemen of their Trade, and have a little Jurisdiction over them. There are in most Burghs great Animosities and Factions between the Merchants and Tradesmen.

The Burghs of Regality are the Towns where these Lords hold their Courts. The chief Magistrates are named by the Lord, the rest they chuse themselves. They have also great Freedoms, little inferiour to the Royal Burghs; onely they have no Commissioners in Parliament.

The Burghs of Barony are Mercat-Towns, where the Lord of the Barony names some of their Magistrates, and the Corporation chuses the rest. In all these Burghs the Magistracy is no matter of burthen nor charge, but of Power and Advantage; from whence arise great Factions almost in them all.

A Catalogue of the Free CORPORATIONS *or Royal* BURGHS *in* SCOTLAND.

Edinburgh, *Linlithgow*, *Hadington*, *North-Berwick*, *Dumbar*, } in *Lothian.*

Saint Andrews, *Cowper*, *Dunfermlin*, *Kirkaldy*, *Craill*, *Anstruther*, *Pittenweem*, *Dysert*, *Earles-ferry*, *Kinghorn*, *Burnt-Island*, *Culross*, *Clackmannan*, *Queens-ferry*, } in *Fife.*

Dundee, *Montross*, *Forfar*, *Brichen*, *Arbroath*, } in *Angus.*

Kirkubright, *Wigton*, *Whithorn*, *Stranraver*, } in *Galloway.*

Glasgow, *Langrick*, } in *Clidisdail.*

Elgin, *Nairn*, *Forres*, } in *Murray.*

Ranfrew, *Paisley*, *Rugten*, } in *Ranfrewshire.*

Aberdene, *Kintor*, } in *Mar.*

Bamff, *Cullen*, } in *Boyn.*

Innerness, *Tayne*, } in *Ross.*

Air, in *Kyle.*
Irwing, in *Cunninghame.*
Rothsay, in *Bute.*
Dumbarton, in *Lennox.*
Innerara, in *Argile.*
Jedburgh, in *Teviotdail.*
Peebles, in *Tweeddail.*
Selkirk, in *Forrestshire.*
Striveling, upon *Forth.*
Dumblane, in *Menteith.*
Innerkeithing, in *Fife.*
Dornoch, in *Sutherland.*
Annand, in *Annandail.*
Dumfreis, *Sanghuar*, } in *Nithisdail.*
Bervie, in *Mernis.*
Innerowrie, in *Gareoch.*

The People of *Scotland* are naturally candid and honest, stout and resolute, which makes

makes them ſo much valued beyond the Seas, the onely School of War to them ſince the happy Conjunction of this Iſland under one King. They naturally love their King.

The Nobility have great Power, chiefly in the *High-lands*, where their Families (commonly called *Clannes*) depend abſolutely upon the head of the Name, whom they commonly call their *Chief*. But the great Power of the Nobility of late years is much abated, yet they are ſtill very conſiderable.

The Property of the Subject is fully ſecured by Law: and though the King has great Prerogatives, yet the People have alſo great Liberties and Freedoms.

The COMMISSIONERS *that have repreſented our* KINGS *ſince* K. JAMES *was ſettled on the Throne of* England *were as follows.*

KING *JAMES* the VI.

John Grahame, Earl of *Montroſs*, Commiſſioner, 1604.
George Hume, Earl of *Dumbar*, Commiſſioner, 1606.
George Keith, Earl *Mariſchal*, Commiſſioner, 1609.
Alexander Seaton, Earl of *Dunfermlin*, Commiſſioner, 1612.
James Hamilton, Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner, 1621.

Anno 1625. KING *CHARLES* the I. Crowned *Anno* 1633.

James Hamilton, Marqueſs of *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner, 1638.
John Stewart, Earl of *Traquair*, Commiſſioner, 1639.
James Grahame, Marqueſs of *Montroſs*, Governour, 1644.

Anno 1649. KING *CHARLES* the II. Crowned *Anno* 1651.

John Middleton, Earl of *Middleton*, Commiſſioner, 1660.
John Leſlie, Earl of *Rothes*, Commiſſioner, 1663.
John Maitland, Duke of *Lauderdail*, Commiſſioner, 1669.

A Catalogue of the CHANCELLOURS *of the Kingdom, ſince the year* 1198. *collected out of Hiſtories.*

1198. *William Malvoiſin*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1220. *William de Boſco*, Biſhop of *Dumblane*.
1226. *Matthew Kinninmouth*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1239. *William Babington*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1247. ——Abbot of——
1248. *Richard* of *Innerkeithing*, Biſhop of *Dumblane*.
1259. *Gamelinus*, Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1273. *William Wishart*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1280. *William Fraſer*, Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1298. *Maurice*, Biſhop of the Iſles.
1363. *Adam*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1372. *Patrick*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1380. *John Lyon*, Lord *Glammes*.
1390. *Gilbert Grimlaw*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1409. *William Lawder*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1434. *John*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1436. Sir *William Creighton* of *Creighton*.
1444. *James Bruce*, Biſhop of *Dunkeld*.
1448. *Patrick Lyon*, Lord *Glammes*.
1453. *William Sinclare*, Earl of *Orkney*.
1463. *George Shorſwood*, Biſhop of *Bricben*.
1474. *John Lang*, Biſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1476. *Andrew Stewart*, Lord *Evendail*.
1484. *William Elphingſton*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1494. *Archbald Douglas*, Earl of *Angus*.
1497. *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntlie*.
1502. *James Stewart*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1512. *Alexander Stewart*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.
1518. *James Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1526. *Gawin Dumbar*, Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*.
1534. *William Stewart*, Biſhop of *Aberdene*.
1539. Cardinal *David Beaton*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*.

1561.

1561. *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntlie.*
1563. *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton.*
1567. *George Gordon*, Earl of *Huntlie.*
1570. *James Douglas*, Earl of *Morton* again.
1572. *Archbald Campbell*, Earl of *Argile.*
1575. *John Lyon*, Lord *Glammes.*
1578. *John Stewart*, Earl of *Athol.*
1579. *Colinè Campbell*, Earl of *Argile.*
1584. *James Stewart*, Earl of *Arran.*
1591. *John Maitland*, Lord *Thirlſtane.*
1598. *John Grahame*, Earl of *Montroſs.*
1604. *Alexander Seaton*, Earl of *Dunfermlin.*
1622. *George Hay*, Earl of *Hinnoule.*
1635. *John Spotiſwood*, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews.*
1641. *John Campbell*, Earl of *Lowdoun.*
1660. *William Cunnighame*, Earl of *Glencairn.*
1665. *John Leſlie*, Earl of *Rothes*, preſent Lord High Chancellour of *Scotland*, 1676.

Writers of the Scotiſh *Hiſtory.*

Cornelius Hibernicus.

Veremundus, a *Spaniard*, Archdeacon of *Saint Andrews*, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation from its original till the reign of King *Malcolm* the Third.

Joannes à Campo Bello, or *Campbell.*

Turgot, Prior of *Durham*, and Biſhop of *Saint Andrews*, wrote the Lives of King *Malcolm Canmoir* and of his Queen *Margaret.*

Liber Scone, a Chronicle written by the *Monks* of *Scoon.*

Liber Paſletenſis, the Black Book of *Paiſlay*, a Chronicle written by the Monks of *Paiſlay.*

Liber Pluſcartenſis, a Chronicle wriiten by the Monks of *Pluſcardy.*

One *Blind Henry* wrote the Hiſtory of Sir *William Wallace* in *Scotiſh* Meeter.

John Barbour, Archdeacon of *Aberdene*, did write the Life of King *Robert Bruce* in *Scotiſh* Meeter.

John Major, Provoſt of *Saint Salvator*'s Colledge in *Saint Andrews*, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation.

William Elphingſton, Biſhop of *Aberdene*, wrote a Treatiſe of the *Scotiſh* Antiquities.

Hector Boeth, or *Boyes*, Principal of the King's Colledge of *Aberdene*, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation till the Reign of King *James* the Firſt; continued till the Reign of King *James* the Sixth by *John Ferrerius* a *Piemontoiſe*, a Monk of *Pluſcardy.*

John Baleuden, Archdeacon of *Murray*, did tranſlate *Boyes* Hiſtory into *Engliſh.*

George Buchanan, Schoolmaſter to King *James* the Sixth, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation till the year 1572.

Robert Johnſton wrote a continuation of the Scotiſh Hiſtory from the year 1572. to the year 1628. in *Latin*, *Folio.*

John Leſlie, Biſhop of *Roſs*, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation till the year 158—.

Raphael Holinſhed, wrote the Hiſtory of the Nation till the Reign of King *James* the Sixth, continued by *Francis Thin.*

William Cambden wrote a Deſcription of the Kingdom.

John Dempſter wrote an Introduction to the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory.

David Chalmer wrote a Treatiſe of the *Scotiſh* Saints.

David Hume of *Godscroft* did write the Hiſtory of the Earls of *Douglas* and *Angus.*

William Drummond of *Hawthornden*, did write the Lives of the Five King *Jameſes.*

William Sanderſon wrote the Lives of Queen *Mary*, King *James* the Sixth, and King *Charles* the Firſt.

John Spotiſwood, Archbiſhop of *Saint Andrews*, did write the Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland*, from the firſt Plantation of the Chriſtian Faith therein, till the death of King *James.*

George Wuhart, Doctour of Divinity, did write the Actions of *James* Marqueſs of *Montroſs.*

Robert Gordon of *Stralogh* did write the *Theatrum Scotiæ*, being a Deſcription of the whole Kingdom, with the Maps of every particular Country, Printed by *John Janſon Bleaw* at *Amſterdam*; a very excellent Work. The Mercenary Printer did him a double injury. Firſt, in printing with his Book, *Buchanan*'s Seditious Pamphlet *de Jure Regni apud Scotos*; it being ſufficiently known that the Authour was of no ſuch Principals, but always loyal. Then, in Dedicating that Work to the Uſurper *O. Cromwell*; whereas the

Authour ſent over to the Printer, a Dedication of his Book to His moſt *Sacred Majeſtie*, at that time Prince of *Wales:* and the Copy of that Dedication, written with his own hand, is yet in the cuſtody of his Son, the Reverend *James Gordon*, Parſon of *Rothiney*. Thus much I thought fit to ſay in vindication of that worthy Gentleman, who was one of the moſt learned perſons of the Age he lived it.

Dempſter, in his *Apparatus* to the *Scotiſh* Hiſtory, has promiſed a great many things to the World which he never performed: ſome have thought, that he onely amuſed people by the undertaking he mentions in that Book: Others believe that he knew of a great many *Scotiſh* Manuſcripts beyond the Seas, which were carried thither by Monks and Friers at the Reformation. In moſt Religious houſes there was a Chronicle written of the times, divers of which I have ſeen, that yet remain in *Scotland*, ſome written in rithme, *Engliſh* and *Latine*, ſome in proſe: but there cannot be much made out of them, they being full of Legends and Idle ſtories. There are beſides, very conſiderable Manuſcripts in *Scotland*, that relate to private Families; but give an account of ſeveral publick Tranſactions: as, the Hiſtory of the Families of the *Drummonds*, the *Gordons*, &c. But for a publick Hiſtory of the Kingdom, there is little more to be expected of paſt times, then what hath been already publiſhed: for as when *Edward* the Firſt conquered *Scotland*, he carried the Records and Regiſters of that Kingdom with him to *London*; ſo in the late Invaſion, *Cromwell* thought it a very valuable pledge of the *Scotiſh* Nation to ſend up to the Tower of *London*, all the publick Records, Rolls, and Regiſters of the Kingdom, which lay there till His MAJESTY's happy Reſtauration: after which, by the KING's Orders, they were ſent down by Sea, to be laid up in the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*; but the Ship that was loaded with them was caſt away near the Holy Iſland. So they were all irrecoverably ſunk and loſt: Therefore we muſt rely upon the credit of our ancient Hiſtorians, ſince there are no means left to correct them by.

A compleat Catalogue of the BISHOPS and ARCHBISHOPS ſucceeding each other in their ſeveral SEES.

Biſhops in *SCOTLAND* before its diviſion into Dioceſes.

277. 1. *Amphibalus*
370. 2. *Regulus*
450. 3. *Ninian*
460. 4. *Palladius*
490. 5. *Hildebert*
606. 6. *Columba*
520. 7. *Servanus*
650. 8. *Colman*
669. 9. *Adamannus*
689. 10. *Wiro*
681. 11. *Plecthelmus*
700. 12. *Bonifacius*
700. 13. *Machanus*
700. 14. *Glacianus*
700. 15. *Gervadius*
496. 16. *Tervanus.*
600. *Thomianus*, *Chromonus*, *Dagamus*, *Bathanus* } Biſhops

Biſhops and Archbiſhops of *SAINT ANDREWS.*

840. 1. *Adrian*
872. 2. *Kellach*
896. 3. *Maliſius*
904. 4. *Kellach* 2d.
939. 5. *Malmore*
6. *Maliſius* 2d.
7. *Alwinus*
8. *Maldwin*

970. 9.

970. 9. *Tuthaldus*
10. *Fothadus*
1010.11. *Gregorius*
12. *Edmundus*
1063.13. *Turgot*
1098.14. *Godricus*
1110.15. *Eadmerus*
1114.16. *Robert*
1159.17. *Arnold*
1161.18. *Richard*
1178.19. *Hugo*
1188.20. *Roger* *
1202.21. *William Malvoisin*, Lord Chancellour.
1231.22. *David Benham*
1251.23. *Abel*
1253.24. *Gamelinus*, Lord Chancellour.
1274.25. *William Wishart*
1280.26. *William Fraser*, Lord Chancell.
1300.27. *William Lamberton*
1328.28. *James Bane*
1332.29. *William Landels*
1385.30. *Stephen*
1386.31. *Walter Trail*
1401. Vacat Sedes annis 13.
1409.32. *Henry Wardlaw*
1444.33. *James Kennedy* *
1466.34. *Patrick Grhame*, first Archbishop *.
1478.35. *William Shevez*
1497.36. *James Stewart* *
1503.37. *Alexander Stewart* *
1513.38. *Andrew Forman*
1522.39. *James Beaton*, Lord Chancell.
1539.40. *David Beaton*, Chardinal and Lord Chancellour.
1545.41. *John Hamilton*
1572.42. *John Douglas*
1575.43. *Patrick Adamson*
1591. Vacat Sedes annis 15.
1606.44. *George Gladstanes*
1615.45. *John Spotiswood*, Lord Chanc.
1639. Vacat Sedes annis 23.
1662.46. *James Sharp.*

Bishops of *DUNKELD.*

1130. 1. *Gregorius*
1172. 2. *Richard*
1176. 3. *Cormacus*
1180. 4. *Walder de Bidden*
1186. 5. *John Scot*
1206. 6. *Richard Provand*
1213. 7. *John Leicester* *
1217. 8. *Hugo de Sigillo*
1226. 9. *Matthem*, Lord Chancellour.
1236.10. *Galfride Liverance*
1249.11. *Richard*
1250.12. *Richard* of *Jennerkething*, Lord Chancellour.
1272.13. *Robert Sutevile*
1300.14. *Matthew*
1312.15. *William Sinclare*
1338.16. *Duncan*
1364.17. *Michael* of *Monimusk.*
1376.18. *John Peeblis*
1396.19. *Robert Carden*
1436.20. *Donald Macknaughtan*
1437.21. *James Kennedy* *
1439.22. *Alexander Lawder*
1441.23. *James Bruce*, Lord Chancellour.
1447.24. *John Ralston*
1450.25. *Thomas Lawder*
1476.26. *James Levington*
1484.27. *George Brown*
1514.28. *Gawan Dowglas* *
1522.29. *George Creighton*
1572.31. *Robert Creighton*
1572.31. *James Patton.*
1603.32. *Peter.*
1607.33. *James Nicolson*
34. *Alexander Lindsay*
1662.35. *George Haliburton*
1665.36. *Henry Guthry*

Bishops of *ABERDENE.*

1010. 1. *Beanus*
1040. 2. *Bornotius*
1082. 3. *Cormachus*
1121. 4. *Nectanus*
1154. 5. *Edward*
1163. 6. *Matthew Kinninmouth.*
1197. 7. *John*
1206. 8. *Adam*
1227. 9. *Matthew*, Lord Chancellour.
1228.10. *Gilbert Striveling.*
1239.11. *Radolph*
1246.12. *Peter Ramsay*
1256.13. *Richard Pottock*
1269.14. *Hugh Benham*
1281.15. *Henry Cheen* *
1329.16. *Alexander Kinninmouth*
1341.17. *William Deyn*
1351.18. *John Rait*

1357.19. *Alexander Kinninmouth*
1380.20. *Adam Cunninghame*
1390.21. *Gilbert Greinlow*, Lord Chancellour.
1424.22. *Henry Leighton*
1441.23. *Ingram Lindſay*
1457.24. *Thomas Spence*
1480.25. *Robert Blacadar*
1484.26. *William Elphingſton*, Lord Chancellour.
1514.27. *Alexander Gordon*
1518.28. *Gawan Dumbar*
1532.29. *William Stewart*, Lord Chan.
1546.30. *William Gordon*
1579 31. *David Cunninghame*
1603.32. *Peter Blackburn*
1615.33. *Alexander Forbes*
1618.34. *Patrick Forbes*
1635.35. *Adam Ballanden*
1662.36. *David Mitchel*
1663.37. *Alexander Burnet*
1664.38. *Patrick Scougal*

Biſhops of *MURRAY.*

1150. 1. *William*
1171. 2. *Simon*
1184. 3. *Richard*
1203. 4. *Bricius*
1227. 5. *Andrew*
1247. 6. *Simon*
1256. 7. *Archbald*
1303. 8. *David Murray*
1330. 9. *John Pilmore*
1367.10. *Alexander Barre*
1397.11. *William Spinie*
1406.12. *John Innes*
1414.13. *Henry Leighton*
1424.14. *Columba Dumbar*
1434.15. *John Wincheſter*
1448.16. *James Stewart*
1450.17. *David Stewart*
1464.18. *William Tulloch*
1469.19. *Andrew Stewart* *
1488.20. *Andrew Forman*
1513.21. *James Hepburn*
1528.22. *Robert Schaw*
1530.23. *Alexander Stewart* *
1537.24. *Patrick Hepburn*
1573. Vacat Sedes annis 33.
1606 25. *Alexander Douglas*
26. *John Guthry.*
1662.27. *Murdo Mackenzie.*

Biſhops of *BRICHEN.*

1260. 1. *Edward*
2. *Turpinius*
3. *Rodolphus*
4. *Hugo*
5. *Gregorius*
1275. 6. *William*
1311. 7. *John*
1363. 8. *Adam*, Lord Chancellour.
1372. 9. *Patrick*, Lord Chancellour.
1384.10. *Stephen*
1414.11. *Walter Forreſter*
1434.12. *John*, Lord Chancellour.
1463.13. *George Shoreſwood*, Lord Chancellour.
1483.14. *John*
1500.15. *Walter Meldrum*
1542.16. *John Hepburn*
1556.17. *Henry Sinclare*
1567.18. ——*Campbell*
1606.19. *Andrew Lamb*
1619.20. *David Lindſay*
1634.21. *Walter Whitfurd*
1662.22. *David Straughan*
1671.23. *Robert Lowry*

Biſhops of *DUMBLANE.*

1160. 1. *Jonathus*
1203. 2. *Simon*
1210. 3. *Abraham*
1218. 4. *William de Boſco*, Lord Chan.
5. *Othert*
1233. 6. *Clement*
1256. 7. *Robert*
8. *Alpin*
9. *Nicolaus*
10. *Maurice*
11. *William*
1363.12. *Walter Cambuſlang*
1400.13. *Finlaw*
1419.14. *William Stephen*
15. *Michael Ochiltrie*
16. *Robert Lawder*

1471.17.

1471.17. *John Hepburn*
1508.18. *James Chisholme*
1534.19. *William Chisholme*
1572.20. *Andrew Grhame* *
1615.21. *Adam Ballanden*
1635.22. *James Wedderburn*
1662.23. *Robert Leighton*
1671.24. *James Ramsay*

Bishops of *ROSS.*

1132. 1. *Gregorius*
2. *Reynaldus*
1213. 3. *Andrew Murray*
4. *Robert*
1274. 5. *Matthew*
6. *Thomas Dundie*
7. *Roger*
8. *Alexander*
9. *Thomas Urqhuart*
10. *Alexander Kilbuines*
11. *William Bullock*
12. *Thomas Tulloch*
13. *Henry Cockburn*
14. *James Woodman*
15. *Thomas Hay* *
16. *John Guthry*
17. *John Fraser* *
18. *Robert Cockburn*
19. *William Elphingston*
1481.20. *James Hay* *
1534.21. *Robert Carvetros*
1544.22. *David Panter*
1550.23. *Henry Sinclare*
1564.24. *John Leslie*
1597.25. *David Lindsay*
1614.26. *Patrick Lindsay*
27. *John Maxwell*
1662.28. *John Paterson*

Bishops of *CAITHNES.*

1066. 1. *Darrus*
1110. 2. *Andrew*
3. *John*
4. *Adam*
1223. 5. S. *Gilbert Murray*
1245. 6. *William*
1261. 7. *Walter*
1271. 8. *Archbald*
1288. 9. *Andrew*
1301.10. *Ferqhuard*
1328.11. *David*
1348.12. *Thomas Fingask*
1360.13. *Alexander*
1404.14. *Malcolm*
1421.15. *Robert Strabock*
1440.16. *John Innes*
1448.17. *William Mudie*
1460. Vacat Sedes annis 24.
1484.18. *Andrew Stewart*
1517.19. *Andrew Stewart* *
1542.20. *Robert Stewart* *
1586. Vacat Sedes annis 13.
1599.21. *George Gladstanes*
1606.22. *Alexander Forbes*
1617.23. *John Abernethy*
1662.24. *Patrick Forbes*

Bishops of *ORKNEY.*

1390. 1. *William*
1450. 2. *William Tulloch*
1468. 3. *William*
4. *Andrew*
1498. 5. *Edward*
1530. 6. *Robert Maxwell*
1546. 7. *Robert Reid*
1559. 8. *Adam Bothwell*
1569. 9. *Robert Stewart* *
1606.10. *James Law*
1615.11. *Andrew Grhame* *
12. *George Grhame*
1639.13. *Robert Barron* Elect.
1662.14. *Thomas Sydserfe*
1665.15. *Andrew Honniman*

Biſhops of *EDINBURGH.*

1633. 1. *William Forbes*
1634. 2. *David Lindſay*
1662. 3. *George Wiſhart*
1671. 4. *Alexander Young*

Biſhops and Archbiſhops of *GLASGOW.*

599. 1. S. *Mungo*
1129. 2. *John Achaian*
1146. 3. *John*
4. *Herbert*
5. *Angelramus*, Lord Chancel.
6. *Joceline*
7. *Eugenius*
8. *Hugo*, Lord Chancellour.
9. *William Malvoiſin*
1200.10. *Florentius* *
1207.11. *Walter*
1234.12. *William Babington*, Lord Chan.
1261.13. *John de Chyan*
1268.14. *Nicolas Moffat*
1270.15. *William Wiſhart*, Lord Chancel.
1274.16. *Robert Wiſhart*
1316.17. *John Lindſay*
1325.18. *Stephen Dundie*
19. *John Wiſhart*
20. *William Rae*
1367.21. *Walter Wardlaw*, Cardinal.
1387.22. *Matthew Glendunning*
1408.23. *William Lawder*, Lord Chanc.
24. *John Cameron*
1446.25. *James Bruce*
26. *William Turnbull*
27. *Andrew Moorehead*
28. *John Lang*, Lord Chancellour.
1481.29. *Robert Blaccader*, firſt Archbiſh.
1500.30. *James Beaton*
1522.31. *Gawan Dumbar*, Lord Chanc.
1552.32. *James Beaton*
1572.33. *James Boyd*
1581.34. *Robert Montgomery*
1587.35. *William Erskine*
Vacat Sedes
James Beaton reſtored
1603.36. *John Spotiſwood*
1615.37. *James Law*
1634.38. *Patrick Lindſay*
1662.39. *Andrew Fairfoul*
1664.40. *Alexander Burnet*
1670.41. *Robert Leighton*
1674. *Alexander Burnet* reſtored

Biſhops of *GALLOWAY.*

450. 1. S. *Ninian*
681. 2. *Plecbelmus*
740. 3. *Frithwaldus*
768. 4. *Pethumus*
778. 5. *Ethelbert*
6. *Radulphus*
7. *John*
1440. 8. *Thomas Spence*
9. *David*
10. *Alexander*
11. *Henry*
12. *George*
1550.13. *Andrew Dury*
1557.14. *Alexander Gordon*
15. *Gawan Hamilton*
1615.16. *William Cowper*
1619.17. *Andrew Lamb*
18. *Thomas Sydſerfe*
1662.19. *James Hamilton*
1974.20. *John Paterſon*

Biſhops of *ARGILE.*

1200. 1. *Evaldus*
2. *William.*
1240. 3. *William*
1350. 4. *David*
1425. 5. *Finlaw*
6. *George Learmouth*
7. *Robert Montgomery*
8. ——*Boyd*
9. ——*Campbell*
10. ——*Kerſwell*
1636.11. *James Fairlis*
1662.12. *David Fletcher*
1666.13. *William Scrowgie*
1675.14. *Arthur Roſs*

Biſhops

Bishops of the *ISLES.*

277. 1. *Amphibalus*
518. 2. *Macilla*
3. *Michael*
1203. 4. *Nicolas*
1217. 5. *Reginald*
1257. 6. *Richard*
1289. 7. *Onaeus*
8. *Mauricius*
9. *Marcus*, Lord Chancellour.
1606.10. *Andrew Knox*
11. *John Knox*
1630.12. *John Leslie*
13. *Neil Campbell*
1662.14. *Robert Wallace*
Vacat Sedes.

Those Bishops who have been the Sons of Kings, &c. or Noblemen, are marked with an Asterisk *.

ADDENDA.

Pag. 4. *after the Bishops of* Edinburgh, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of *Edinburgh* are, *Azure*, a Saltier *Argent*, in Chief a Miter of the Second, garnished *Or*.

Pag. 8. *after the Bishops of* Ross, *adde*,

The Arms of the Bishoprick of *Ross* are, *Argent*, a Bishop standing on the Sinister, habited in a long Robe close girt, *Purpure*, Mitred and holding in his left hand a Crosier *Or*, and pointing with the right to S. *Boniface* on the Dexter side, clothed, and both his Hands placed on his Breast, *Proper*.

Pag. 10. *after the Bishops of* Galloway, *adde*,

The Coat Armorial belonging to the See of *Galloway* is, *Argent*, S. *Ninian* standing full-faced *Proper*, cloathed with a Pontifical Robe *Purpure*, on his head a Miter, and in his Dexter hand a Crosier, *Or*.

Ibid. *in the Bishops of* Argile, *adde*,

Then was—*Boyd* promoted to this See, *An.* 162—who as he was descended from one of the Noblest families in the Kingdom, being Brother to the Lord *Boyd*, so he was a very Extraordinary person: he found his See full of Ignorance and Barberity, scarce any Churches or Schools in it; and in many places the very Name of *Christ* was not known: he set himself wholly to the Work of the Gospel, and planted many Churches: he resided constantly in his Diocese, and was a great Example of Piety and Vertue. And for all the prejudices that are in these parts against that Order, yet he is never named among them to this day but with great honour as an Apostolical person.

Ibid. *after the Bishops of* Argile, *adde*,

The Arms of the See of *Argile* are, *Azure*, two Crosiers disposed in Saltier, and in Chief a Miter, *Or*.

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